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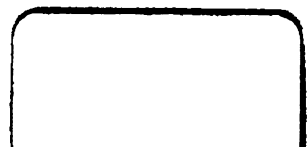
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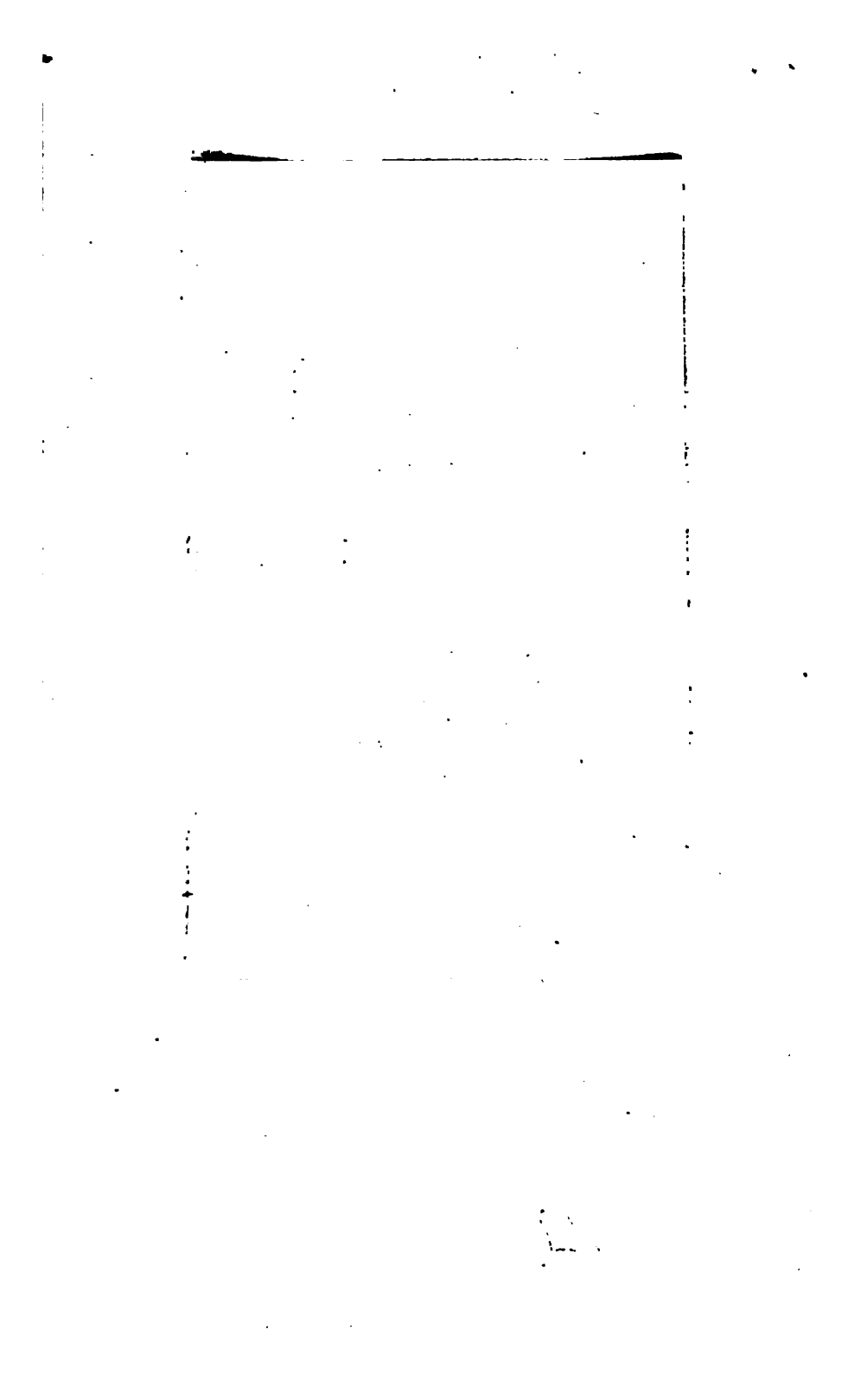
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OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.
VOL. X.

1945

THE
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Universal History,

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Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

B O O K XIV.

C H A P. VI.

History of the English East India Company.

S E C T I.

Of the Charter, First Expeditions, Settlements, Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the English East India Company; together with a complete View of their Colonies, Commerce, &c. to the present Times.

FROM the time that a passage to the *East Indies* round the *Cape of Good Hope* was discovered by the *Portuguese*, the voyages thither by the *Spaniards*, *Dutch*, *English*, and *French*, have been almost infinite. Each of these nations has made its particular discoveries; and that country now is as well known as many parts of *Europe*. *Introduction to the history of the East India Company.*

It is, however, with reason, that we have complained of the want of proper materials for compiling a full, just, and accurate history of our expeditions into *Asia*; and the rise and progress of the *English East India* company. No nation has been less careful than we, of preserving and of digesting into method, the memorials of such occurrences as are absolutely necessary to our design of tracing this great branch of *English* commerce from its original. Perhaps, greater helps are to be met with from foreign writers, of many important transactions, than from our own. Here little occurs, besides a few

rough narratives, or succinct passages in our general historians that can reflect any light upon our subject, during the earlier period. The great misfortune of foreign authors is, that they write with a visible partiality, prejudice, and passion; which greatly diminishes the weight of their authority. They almost constantly represent the *English* as an imperious, arrogant, and cruel people; fond of power, without knowing how to use it. The *Dutch*, in particular, accuse us of treating the natives with an unrelenting severity, punishing with the utmost rigour, the most trivial faults; and rather of governing with a despotic insolence, than treating in the friendly manner of merchants and traders*.

SOME particular instances, we are sensible, may give an appearance of truth to this general asseveration; but we hope to make it appear, from undeniable facts, that our good allies have, in palliation of their own conduct, retorted upon us a character more, and perhaps only applicable to themselves. As faithful historians, we shall relate true facts from the best authorities; leaving it to the reader's judgment to make what reflexions he may think natural. Comparisons in this instance would be invidious, and necessarily attended with an air of national prejudice, least becoming historians of all men; and many cases in course of our narrative will occur, in which it would be impossible to refrain from an acrimony destructive of that candour we profess, and believe we have hitherto preserved; without engaging in a long disputed political point; viz. whether the *East India* trade in general, and particularly the method of carrying it on by an exclusive company, is not in itself prejudicial to the community, as well as injurious to the individual. It may not be improper to adduce, previous to our history, the allegations of both parties.

Arguments
in favour
of an East
India
trade and
company.

THOSE who favour this trade, and a monopoly, assert, the advantages which all nations engaged in this commerce, have drawn from it. They instance the *Hebrews*, *Tyrians*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, whose paths have been pursued with equal avidity by the *Venetians*, *Genoese*, *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, and *French*. Thus, by the universal consent and practice of the wisest states, do they prove the importance of this trade; than which scarce another argument is needful. But to wave authority and example; what, say they, can more contribute to the increase of our naval power, the bulwark of our state, than this commerce, in which such a number of ships and seamen are employed?

* V. Recueil des voyages de la Compagnie, tom. 8. *passim*.
Vid. Histoire des voyages par l'Abbe Prevost, vol. ii. p. 153.

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What can better improve the art of navigation, than voyages along so many shores, into so many seas, through so many climates, and round the greatest part of the globe? Besides, what a flux of riches does it bring; and what useful subjects does it constantly employ, both at home and abroad? How many thousands, after amassing large fortunes in *India*, have returned to settle in their native country, and enlarge the common stock of wealth? What part of commerce carried on by the merchants of this island, is not in some measure dependant on or connected with that to the *East Indies*? How unjust is it to overlook the great quantities of home manufactures they are obliged by the terms of their charter to export; and the prodigious importation of unwrought commodities, by means of this company! yet are these important particulars omitted in every estimate made by the enemies to this traffic! But it is likewise said, that the method of conducting the *East India* trade, by an exclusive charter, is both injurious to the individual, and hurtful to the community. Does the conduct of other nations countenance this assertion? It seems to be the universal opinion of all states engaged in this traffic, that it can only succeed by a monopoly. The real state and condition of the trade can be known; the necessary regulations and instructions given or executed, by no other means; precautions without which, this commerce must inevitably fall to ruin. Experience fully declares the inconveniencies which attend the settlements of any trading companies being in possession of the crown. The ministry, aware of this, has not only granted *St. Helena*, but *Bombay*, the dowry of king *Charles* the second with the infanta of *Portugal*, to the company, for the public good. Lastly, if two companies only, say they, could not possibly subsist, which we have seen was actually the case, how is it reconcileable to reason, that a multiplicity of traders, whose interests must eternally disagree, should flourish, or indeed produce any thing but repeated losses, and the intire ruin of the trade? For these reasons, they conclude, there is no alternative, but either the traffic carried on to the *East Indies* must be abandoned, or it must be pursued under the conduct of a company, and the method we now enjoy in common with all other nations ^b."

THESE arguments would seem to carry weight, and the appearance of truth and reason; but they are answered by

^b V. An Address to Parliament, A. 1748. Also Doddsley's History of the East Indies, vol. ii.

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the only exporters of such goods, may have occasion for *?

THESE are the arguments of those who pretend, that the trade in general is pernicious; or at least, that the only method of rendering it beneficial is, to make it free, and lay the traffic open (A). We shall not pretend to decide upon the

* The Pamphlet and Hist. cited.

(A) Whoever carefully examines the nature of trade in general, will be able to form a judgment how far this commerce is advantageous to the public, and in what particular manner it may the most commodiously be carried on. When our readers have perused our account of the companies trading to *Asia*, established by other *European* states; the emolument and empire derived by the *Hollanders* in particular, from this branch of traffic; they will probably be of the opinion of those who assert the advantages of an *East India* commerce, and perhaps of those who imagine it can only be conducted under a company and joint stock. As to the allegation that it is a losing trade, the arguments seem too general, and contradict the policy of the wisest and most thriving nations. It would indeed be surprizing, that the chief *European* potentates should be so insensible to their interest, as zealously to cultivate a traffic pernicious to them; that new states should struggle to obtain a footing in it; and that they should unanimously agree in carrying it on upon joint stock, with such privileges and immunities as shall give them weight, influence, and power in that part of the world, proportionable to the importance of the trade. While

other nations trade upon joint-stock corporations, thus endowed, it does not seem advisable in any of the rest, to resist the measures pursued by them. A regulated company, without a joint stock, will not, 'tis probable, effectually counterbalance the weight of the former. An equality of force and union, the basis of strength, would seem absolutely necessary in a comparative view; nor perhaps is a balance of power in trade a less useful or ideal maxim, than that long pursued one of a balance of power in politics. The want of union, and its advantages, would be the inevitable consequence of a free and open trade to all the subjects of any state; and this might be illustrated by examples in our own nation.

With regard to the exportation of our bullion; a question proposed by the learned *Camden*, upon the first institution of the *East India* Company; many of our best political writers have proved, that a free exportation is for the benefit of the kingdom. It is certainly a mistake, to imagine, that money is the cause of the increase or decrease of trade; since it is not money that so much influences trade, as it is trade that discovers money; the medium whereby commerce is conducted; but not

the merits of either assertion; though we cannot help remarking, that some arguments, made use of to evince the pre-

the source from whence it arises. No company or private trader exports bullion, but with a view of enlarging his capital, and gaining by it. It was a maxim with *Ferdinand the First*, one of the most political princes of his time, to lend his subjects money, and permit them to export it in trade; by which he raised the commerce of the state to an incredible height. Mr. *Mum*, an *Englishman*, tells us, that himself experienced the duke of *Florence's* liberality, who lent him 40,000 crowns, without interest; all of it exported in specie to *Turkey*. Hence *Leghorn*, a pitiful, poor, and contemptible town, soon became a fair, rich, and flourishing city.

As to an exclusive trade and monopoly, we cannot do better than oblige our readers with the sentiments of Mr. *Postlethwaite*, who seems to have accurately examined the subject. His words are, "although the government should be at the expence of supporting and maintaining forts, troops, and a fleet in *India*, or lay a duty on all exports and imports *ad valorem*, yet it is greatly to be feared, that such measures would not enable the *British* nation to maintain that weight of influence, dignity, or commerce, that either the *French*, *Dutch*, or *Portuguese* at present do. Nay, such is the peculiarity of this trade, that a mere military force, capable only of supporting forts and garrisons, might be more liable to destroy, than to cultivate and cement com-

mercial friendships, upon a footing equal to those, who wisely constitute a proper trading interest, at the head of their military, which is absolutely necessary on these occasions.

"A regulated company, duly supported by a *British* government, might certainly be very well devised for the temporary support of a general freedom of trade; but that the nation could permanently preserve so distant a commerce, any thing like what our rivals do, I have never yet seen satisfactorily proved. Till it is, I must, for my own part, always be an advocate for the continuance of the *East India* company, rather with additional power, privileges, and immunities, than any diminution of those which they at present possess.

"It is frequently said, that our *East India* company do not trade and exert themselves to the full extent of their charter; but that if private merchants had the unrestrained liberty to drive this trade to the full latitude it would admit of, they would leave no part of the *Indies* untraded to; especially all that are within the limits and jurisdiction of the *British* rights.

"In regard to the company's not prosecuting this commerce to its full extent, as is pretended, it cannot proceed from a deficiency of capital or credit. What reason have we to believe they would be

prejudice of the *India* trade to the nation, will hold good with respect to most branches of trade we are engaged in.

BUT

“ be backward in augmenting
 “ their gains to the utmost de-
 “ gree in their power? A com-
 “ pany, it is said, cannot trade
 “ at so small an expence, and
 “ therefore cannot offer to trade
 “ at so small a profit, as trivial
 “ traders can. This is allowed to
 “ be true in general; but before
 “ this matter comes to be con-
 “ sidered, the previous question
 “ is, whether we should enjoy
 “ any trade at all to this coun-
 “ try, if not by virtue of the
 “ company’s forts, castles and
 “ settlements? The extensive
 “ correspondence, and high
 “ credit of this company in the
 “ *Indies*, will certainly capaci-
 “ tate them to traffic in every
 “ corner of that quarter of the
 “ world within their rights
 “ and privileges, where they
 “ can be gainers. To do so,
 “ where they must be losers,
 “ would shew little regard
 “ to the interest of the pro-
 “ prietors. The point, if I
 “ am rightly informed, lies
 “ here. Such branches of
 “ trade, by which the com-
 “ pany cannot gain at all, or
 “ at least, but in a less bene-
 “ ficial manner than in other
 “ branches; these are actually
 “ carried on by private *British*
 “ traders under the company’s
 “ licence and authority. Nor
 “ is the company scrupulous in
 “ granting such licences to per-
 “ sons of reputation. Their
 “ profits undoubtedly are less,
 “ than if they were admitted by
 “ a free trade to export their
 “ own goods, and import them
 “ to and from *Europe*; that is,
 “ the profit to the individual is

“ smaller; but nearly the same
 “ to the nation, in proportion
 “ to the quantity of goods ex-
 “ ported, and hands employed.
 “ To pursue this point a little
 “ farther, in regard to the con-
 “ tinuance of this national
 “ company; for such, in our
 “ opinion, is the distinguishing
 “ characteristic of this com-
 “ pany in particular. The trade
 “ to the *East Indies* is of such
 “ a nature, that it is of the last
 “ consequence to the nation, to
 “ have from time to time dis-
 “ tinct accounts of its state and
 “ condition, which could not be
 “ so well, or at least so easily
 “ received, if it was not mana-
 “ ged by a company. On the
 “ other hand, the instructions
 “ could not with such facility
 “ be delivered, conveyed or
 “ executed. What seems to
 “ strengthen this opinion is, the
 “ conduct of all other nations.
 “ Whoever considers how things
 “ are to be distributed or con-
 “ ducted in the *Indies*, and what
 “ a connection and dependen-
 “ cy there is between the com-
 “ merce of the several countries
 “ included within the extent of
 “ the *East India* company’s
 “ charter, will easily discern,
 “ that if the whole trade were
 “ in the hands of a disjointed
 “ number of separate traders,
 “ it would be impossible this
 “ commerce should continue
 “ prosperous; or even that it
 “ should at all subsist. It may
 “ in like manner be conceived,
 “ that if the forts and settle-
 “ ments were in the crown, and
 “ the management of the trade
 “ only in the hands of the

A 4

“ com-

BUT not to waste the reader's time upon a subject, rather political than historical, we will observe, that next to the Dutch,

" company, it could not but be
 " attended with numberless in-
 " conveniences; as, indeed, ex-
 " perience shewed in the reign
 " of *Charles the Second*, when
 " *Bombay* and *St. Helena* were
 " granted to the company for
 " the public good. It is plain,
 " from the disorder of the com-
 " pany's affairs, in that reign
 " and the following, that it is
 " highly detrimental to this
 " commerce, and the benefits
 " resulting from thence to the
 " nation, that the company
 " should be immediately under
 " the power of the crown, so
 " as to stand indebted for all
 " encouragement, and to have
 " no other resource in case of
 " grievances, than what they
 " can draw from royal power.
 " This, on the one hand, ren-
 " ders trade precarious; and on
 " the other, interests a great
 " body of people in the sup-
 " port of the prerogative, which
 " might be attended with con-
 " sequences injurious to the
 " constitution.

" Experience has effectually
 " shewn the mischiefs flowing
 " from the subsistence of two
 " *East India* companies at the
 " same time: so great were
 " they, that each became sen-
 " sible, that nothing but a union
 " of interests could possibly af-
 " ford a remedy. Yet we can
 " conceive, that laying this
 " trade open, which is what
 " hath often been contended
 " for, would be a scheme big
 " with still greater evils, be-
 " cause it would be in fact a
 " multiplication of companies,
 " all acting upon separate in-

" terests, perpetually clashing
 " and interfering with each
 " other; which would give the
 " powerful and united trading
 " interests of other nations op-
 " portunities to destroy all, and
 " extirpate *Britons* from the
 " *Asiatic* commerce. From a
 " just sense of this, we may
 " presume it is, that so much
 " is done by parliament in fa-
 " vour of this company, and so
 " many new powers granted
 " them." In short, this judi-
 " cious author concludes, that the
 " sole objection to the *India* trade
 " or company lies in this; that
 " it is against the interest of the
 " western, to correspond with the
 " eastern part of the world. Yet
 " are the arguments made use of
 " to prove this only plausible, not
 " conclusive. It is said, that the
 " balance of trade is against us;
 " that we export silver in ex-
 " change for the luxuries of *India*;
 " that since the discovery of the
 " passage by the *Cape of Good*
 " *Hope*, the *East* has gained from the
 " *West*, upwards of 200,000,000 *l.*
 " sterling; which immense sum
 " they possess, while all that we
 " have received in lieu is long
 " since perished. This, say those
 " zealots, who greatly overshoot
 " the mark, incontestably proves,
 " that the commerce is prejudi-
 " cial.

But admitting the argument,
 yet does it by no means affect
 us. Are we the legislators of
Europe? and can we oblige other
 nations, *French*, *Dutch*, and
Danes, to withdraw their com-
 merce? Granting that the
 trade is founded upon the ca-
 price, whim, and imaginary
 advan-

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9

Dutch, the *English* nation is justly reputed to possess the largest share of the commerce to the *East Indies*. Some historians allege, that those countries were not unknown to the *Britons* in very antient times. The great *Alfred*, the ornament of the annals of this country, must, to his other virtues, have this glory superadded, of relieving poor christians in the *Indies*. *Sigheimus*, we are told, executed this commission of the king, and distributed his charity; leaving at his death, in the treasury of the church of *Sherburne*, a valuable quantity of spices and jewels; an unquestionable proof of the certainty of his having performed his commission, though we are not told in what manner he carried on this traffic (B) ^f. It cannot here be deduced, indeed, that there

was

^f Vit. ALFRED Magni. fol. p. 45. V. A Tract upon Trade, addressed to Lord Halifax, A. 1751.

advantages which other nations draw from it; yet still is it our interest effectually to maintain and support it, as long as they continue in this humour. While the rest of the world has a taste for *Indian* commodities, we must engage our company to take off as large a quantity of home produce and manufactures as possible; otherwise labour will cease; we shall be underfold at every market in *Europe*; and *Britain*, instead of the most formidable maritime power, and greatest commercial nation in the west, will become the most contemptible. Upon the whole, the *India* trade seems to be one great wheel, that sets every other branch of commerce and industry in motion. Nor does there seem any very weighty reason against its being in the hands of an exclusive company. It is now established upon a sure basis, greatly beneficial to the nation; however some, rather sanguine than

judicious, persons may think. In our considerations upon this trade, it should always be remembered, that from its earliest period, the shipping, commerce, and naval power of *Europe*, has been so much increased, that this alone is sufficient to evince its importance and advantage.

(B) *Alfred*, the glory of whose reign, even the confusion of succeeding times, and the obscurity of that period of our history, has not buried in oblivion, sent this favourite ecclesiastic, A. 883. to carry alms to the distressed christians of *St. Thomas*, and *St. Bartholomew*, in the *Indies* (1). The fact is, indeed, pretty extraordinary; to which we should hardly give our assent, had it not as clear and distinct evidence to support it, as any one point of record. *Sigheimus* not only performed the voyage, as the *Saxon* annals testify, but returned rich, was made bishop of *Sherburne* in

(1) *Orb.* vol. i. *Repin*, vol. i. *Smollet*, vol. i.

Dorset-

How we
received
Indian
goods be-
fore a
trade was
opened
thither.

was any kind of direct commerce between this island and those remote kingdoms ; nor has the assertion the appearance of truth. On the contrary, 'tis probable that our knowledge of the produce of the east was conveyed by the *Venetians*, who, with *Genoa*, *Pisa*, and other free states, had possessed themselves of this rich commerce, from the time that the northern barbarians had overthrown the *Roman* empire, and with it, all the traffic of the east, which had changed its channel from *Alexandria*, to *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, and *Trebizond*. From *Venice* this country was supplied with *Indian* commodities, by an annual ship of great burthen ; which, as the *Venetians* had it in their power to sell at their own price, cost the nation an infinite deal of treasure. In this condition did the *Indian* commerce continue, till the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, when a *Venetian* carack, of immense value, was cast away on the *Isle of Wight* ; the sight of which whetted the ardor of the merchants to attempt a trade by *Turkey*, the only route by which the *East India* commodities were brought to *Europe* in those days². This accident gave birth to the *Levant* trade, and was the foundation of our commerce with the east ; which was soon after improved into a direct traffic, by means of the lights and informations com-

² See *RAPIN* under this reign. *DODSLEY's Hist.* vol. ii.

Dorsetshire ; and left in the treasury a valuable catalogue of the wealth and curiosities he imported. Yet it must be confessed, that the most curious inquirers into this subject, have been able to trace no vestiges of the continuance of this commerce. *Eden* and *Hackluyt* descend to much more modern times ; and first mention the travels of an *Englishman*, whose name they omit, through *Tartary*. But though no footsteps appear of the travels or voyages of individuals, yet in those days, as appears from the *Venetian* historians, there was a direct commerce between the eastern and western parts of the world (2). When the *Goths* and

Vandals over-ran the *Roman* empire, the commerce through the *Red Sea* by *Alexandria*, ceased, and was afterwards carried on by the way of *Trebizond*, *Damascus*, and *Aleppo*, by the free states of *Italy*, *Genoa*, *Venice*, and *Pisa*, &c. *Indian* commodities were not only sold in all the countries bordering on the *Mediterranean*, but in *Germany*, the *Low Countries*, *England*, and all over the *Paltick*. Upon this was founded the commerce of *Bruges*, which was a sort of granary for the northern states ; their commodities being exchanged by the merchants of *Bruges* to the *Italians*, for the produce of the east.

(2) *Sabellia Hist. Venet.* l. ii. d. 1. *Dondale Hist. di Ven.* l. i.

nunciated by Sir Francis Drake, after his return from his voyage round the world, A. 1580 (C).

PREVIOUS to this, very extraordinary privileges were granted by the Grand Seigneur for the establishment of a *Turkey* trade, in consequence of a treaty between the queen of *England* and the *Porte*. The *Turkey* merchants were at this time looked upon as the true *East India* traders, by means of their factories at *Alexandria*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and the different ports of *Egypt*, and the *Turkish* dominions. However, the queen, though she had procured her subjects the liberty of trading to *Turkey*, for the produce of the *East*, was sensible that something greater was still wanting to bring this commerce to a flourishing pitch ^b (D). Thorne, a London merchant,

Turkey trade, and a treaty with the Grand Seigneur.

^b LEDIARD'S Naval Hist. reign Q. Eliz.

(C) Sir William Monson was an eye-witness of the loss of this rich Carack, of which he gives a clear, entertaining, and minute account. After describing the accident at large, he adds, "About this time our merchants of London began to take into consideration these great and inestimable riches brought into the land by the *Venetians*, &c. They devised how such commodities might come into our hands by a more direct way, than to be served, as we were, at second-hand; and therefore resolved to make an overture, by favour of the queen, and her letters, to the *Great Turk*, for an immediate traffic from *England* to *Turkey* and his dominions, and so thence again, with ships of her own subjects, without being beholden to them. These letters were sent by her majesty, and received with great humanity and courtesy by the *Grand Seigneur*, as appears by his letters yet extant. In conclusion, the articles were

"agreed upon, and a grant of great privileges and immunities to her majesty's subjects, which have since continued, and been peaceably enjoyed (1)." Thus did we open a trade to *India*, first by the *Levant*, some years before it was attempted by a direct passage.

(D) It appears that our trade to the *Levant* on *English* bottoms, was very considerable in the year 1512. Hackluyt says, that in the years 1511, 1512, &c. till the year 1534, several stout ships from *London*, *Southampton*, and *Bristol*, had a constant trade to *Candia*, *Chios*, *Cyprus*, *Tripoli*, *Baruth* in *Syria*. Thence they imported silks, camblets, rhubarb, malmesies, muscadels, and other wines; sweet oil, cotton, carpets, galls, pepper, cinnamon and other spices. Their exports consisted in home manufactures, such as fine and coarse kerseys, of various colours; white western dozans; cloths called statutes, and others called cardinal whites, calves skins, leather,

(1) Sir William Monson's voyages, p. 69.

Thorne's
proposal
for a
north-west
passage to
China.

chant, who had long resided at *Seville*, and there acquired some knowledge of the *East India* trade, had represented to *Henry* the 8th, the advantages this kingdom might derive from the *Eastern* commerce; but the scheme he formed was found more specious than solid. *Thorne's* proposal was to open a passage by the north-west passage to *Tartary*, *China*, or *Cathay*, the difficulties of which have never yet been surmounted. A. 1576, some merchants of *London*, in expectation of reaping the benefit of this discovery, as it would greatly shorten the voyage, fitted out two ships under captain *Forbisher*; but this gentleman, as all his successors have been, was unsuccessful in three several attempts (E). In short, the

&c. Our author says, that besides the natural inhabitants of those places, our merchants employed *Jews*, *Turks*, &c. both in person, and by their shipping, so considerable was the trade; and to evince the fact, and to assert its credit, he says, he has carefully transcribed those particulars from the ledger books of some of the greatest merchants in *London*, viz. Sir *William Locke*, merchant of *London*; Sir *William Bowyer*, alderman of *London*; Mr. *John Gresham*, and other eminent traders (1).

(E) That there was a passage from the *North* to the *South Seas*, which would greatly shorten the voyage to many parts of *America*, as well as the *East Indies*, was the opinion of *John Cabot*, and other very experienced seamen before the time of *Forbisher*. A variety of reasons have been offered in support of this conjecture, all of them plausible, specious, and perfectly consistent with our knowledge of the terraqueous globe, but baffled and foiled by experience. The first advantage proposed by this dis-

covery was, the reaching *Japan*, the land of *Yedzo*, &c. by a much easier, shorter, and more wholesome route, than either by *Cape Horn*, or the *Cape of Good Hope*. Supplying the northern countries with our produce, as well as opening a commerce with many parts of the *Indies* now unknown to us, would indisputably be an infinite advantage to the nation, and obvious on the bare inspection of a globe, or charts of the northern hemisphere. The immense tract, whether islands or continent, between *California* and *Yedzo*, must, from the nature of its situation, afford valuable commodities, as well as a good mart for our woollen manufactures. 'Tis not without reason then, we have seen so much written on this subject; so many attempts for the discovery set on foot, and such a variety of undertakings, both here and in *Holland*, made to come at a north-west passage.

Without entering upon the arguments advanced for and against the possibility of this attempt's succeeding, we shall ob-

(1) See his collection. P. ii. p. 96. See also *Led. nov. hist.* P. i. C. xxii. p. 93.

the hint communicated by *Thorne*, was, after repeated fruitless trials, rejected as hazardous, if not impracticable. Sir *Francis Drake* confirmed this, upon his return from his curious circuit; and this gentleman had the additional honour of communicating to the public the most rational intelligence as yet received, and information, which have given birth to this trade by a direct course¹. A. 1582, Captain *Stephens* went to the *East Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and sent a full account from *Goa*, of what occurred in his voyage; but the route was still precarious, till the famous *Cavendish*, in the year 1587, opened a certain passage into the *East*, in his voyage round the world (F). This gentleman, after consuming a pretty fortune in a life of gallantry and dissoluteness, resolved to recover it by a voyage to the *South Sea*. He sailed with three small ships, equipped at his own expence, arriving on the 25th of *August*, 1586, at *Sierra Leona*. From thence he made the *Cape de Verd Islands*, and entered

Expedition of Cavendish round the world.

¹ Collect. of voyages from the Oxford library, vol. viii.

serve, that the famous *John Cabot* preceded *Forbisher* in this enterprize, which he undertook towards the end of the 15th century; but was prevented from finishing his voyage by a mutiny on board. About fifty years after, Sir *Martin Forbisher*, attempted the passage with two small vessels. He discovered, in the height of 62° on the coast of *Greenland*, a large inlet, to which he gave his own name. He failed thro' this streight, for 60 leagues, with main land on both sides, and saw some of the inhabitants. In the year 1583, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* made the same attempt, and was succeeded by other voyagers after the same plan in 1585; by *John Davis*, who made three different voyages on this pursuit; by Mr. *Henry Hudson*, 1610; by *James Hall* and *Baffin*, in 1612; by Sir *Henry Button*,

in 1611, and by many other succeeding persons. In short, the passages to the *East Indies*, by the north-east and north-west, were for a great series of years assiduously pursued, both by the *English* and *Hollanders*. The attempt is now in a manner abandoned; though the arguments in favour of it still subsist.

(F) Previous to this voyage by *Cavendish*, we find a journal of *Ralph Fitch*, a merchant of *London*, of a voyage performed A. 1583, to the *East Indies* by a different route. This gentleman went by the way of *Tripoli* in *Syria*, to *Ormus*, and so to *Goa*. From thence sailing to *Bengal*, *Pegu*, *Siam*, and *Molucca*, visiting the islands of *Ceylon*, and the cities of *Cochin* and *Calicut*, he returned to *Ormus*; and so through *Turkey* to *Tripoli*, where embarking, he arrived in *England*, A. 1591(1).

(1) Vid. Col. voy. from the Harleian Library, vol. 7.

the *Streights of Magellan* by the 7th of *January* 1587. Coasting directly north, he made *Conception Island* in *March*. Thence he steered to *Maco Nureno*; thence to *Paita*, and at last to *Puna*, in three degrees S. L. Getting sight soon after of *New Spain*, he came to an anchor in the river *Copa-*

litu, in 6° N. L. By the third of *January* 1588, he got and Sir F. sight of the *Ladrones*; and by the 6th of *March*, passed Drake's, the *Streights of Java Major* and *Minor*. In *May*, he came to the *Cape of Good Hope*; and in *June*, arrived at *St. Helena*, and from thence, arrived at *Plymouth*, in *September* ^k.

His voyage
and Sir F.
Drake's,
the *Streights*
of *Java*
Major and
Minor. In
May, he
came to the
Cape of
Good Hope;
and in
June, arrived
at *St. Helena*,
and from
thence, arrived
at *Plymouth*,
in *September*
^k.

As this voyage was highly instrumental in forwarding the design of her majesty to open a direct trade to the *East Indies*, we thought that tracing *Cavendish* in a few lines, would not be disagreeable to the reader. In consequence of the lights afforded by *Drake*, *Cavendish*, and others, who had been in the *East Indies*, application was made to the queen by many rich merchants, for a charter, empowering them to undertake this trade. In *December* 1600, their request was granted, and an *East India Company* erected under the title, "Of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." A charter was granted, and they

A charter
granted to
the mer-
chants of
London,
to trade to
the East
Indies.

were formed into a body corporate, with a common seal, which they were permitted to alter at pleasure^l. The first governor (*Thomas Smythe*, Esq; alderman of *London*) and twenty-four directors, were nominated in the charter; a power vested in the company to elect a deputy governor; and also to elect for the future a governor, and all other members. The freedom was granted to them and their successors; their sons, when arrived at the age of twenty-one; to their apprentices, factors, and servants, employed by them for the space of fifteen years, in the following terms, viz. "Freely to traffic and use the trade of merchandize by sea, in and by such ways and passages already discovered, or hereafter to be found out or discovered, as they should esteem and take to be fittest, into, and from the *East Indies*, into the countries and ports of *Asia* and *Africa*; and into and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, rivers, and places of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, or any of them beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the *Straight of Magellan*, where any trade or traffic may be used to and from every of them; in such order, manner, form, liberty and condition as they themselves should from time to time agree upon." They were also empowered to make by-laws; to

The terms
of it.

^l LED. N. Hist. ibid.
HARRIS's Col. p. 56.

^k Vid. CAMB. BRITT. p. 102, 4to.

inflict punishments, either corporal or pecuniary, provided such punishments accorded with the laws of *England*; to export goods free of duty for four years; and afterwards the duty of all exports which should miscarry, to be deducted from future goods when shipped. For the customs of im-*Privi-*ported goods, they were allowed six months credit for half, *leges.* and twelve months for the payment of the remainder, with a free exportation for thirteen months. They were also permitted to export to the amount of 30,000 *l.* in foreign coin or bullion, provided that 6000 *l.* were received in her majesty's mint. All other her majesty's subjects were, by this charter, excluded, under severe penalties, from this traffic, without the assent and leave of the company. The charter was not to extend to any place in the actual possession of any of her majesty's allies. The company were obliged to return, six months after the completion of a voyage, the same quantity of silver, gold, or foreign coin, as they had exported, the first voyage excepted. This proviso was likewise added, *Restrictions.* that if within the space limited by the charter, this monopoly should appear in any respect detrimental to the public, it should then, upon two years warning under the privy seal, become null and void. But if experience proved this new corporation was for the weal and benefit of the nation, in this case her majesty passed her royal word, not only to renew their charter, but to add such other clauses and graces as should appear most conducive to the interest of the commerce, the undertakers, and the kingdom in general; the true end of all public enterprizes ^m (G).

In consequence of this charter, the merchants of *London* *A stock* began to raise a joint stock for the execution of the design; *raised of* which became so popular, that in a short time 72,000 *l.* were 72,000 *l.* paid into the treasurer's hands. A fleet of five stout ships, consisting of the *Dragon*, 600 tons; the *Heftor*, 300 tons; the *Ascension*, 200; the *Swan* of 200, and the *Gueft*, 2

^m RAPIN, ubi sup. HARRIS's Col. p. 57, vol. i. LEDIARD, N. H. 377.

(G) The subscriptions, or shares in this company, were only 50 *l.* originally. The directors having a considerable dividend to make in the year 1676, it was judged eligible to add to the profits of the stock, instead of withdrawing them. By this the shares were doubled,

and became advanced from 50 to an 100 *l.* Thus the original capital of 369,891 *l.* 5s. amounted to 739,782 *l.* 10s. to which, if the profits of the company to the year 1685, that is, 963,639 *l.* be added, the whole stock will be 1,703,422 *l.*

storeship

A. 1601.
A fleet
equipped.

Treaty
with the
king of
Achen.

storeship of 130 tons; was equipped and manned at the expence of 45,000 *l.*; the remainder of the capital being sent in money and goods as a trading stock. This Squadron manned with 480 stout seamen, under the direction and conduct of captain *James Lancaster* (*), put to sea the 13th of February 1601; and after a sickly voyage came to anchor in the road of *Achen*, on the 5th of June 1602. Here captain *Lancaster* (†) sent the queen's letter and present by an ambassay of seven of his officers and merchants to the king, which was received with great satisfaction and marks of favour and distinction. In short, so happily did this expedition succeed, that a treaty was concluded with the king of *Achen*, and the following privileges granted to the company; viz. Free entry and trade, duty-free, without regard to the goods imported or exported: the power of making wills, and disposing of their estates, when, and to whom they thought fit: ample security as to all contracts and bargains; in which respect the natives were bound to a punctual observation of the measures of justice and fair dealing: authority to inflict punishments on their own delinquents, without appealing to the civil magistrates of the country: an assurance of steady justice in all cases of injuries received from the natives, upon complaint made: an exemption from arrests upon goods or prizes: and lastly, liberty of conscience was granted, and the undisturbed exercise of their own religion^a. Having thus happily settled

^a HARRIS, ubi sup. LEDIARD, N. H. p. 378.

(*) In the journal of his voyage, we find that captain *Lancaster* stopped to take in fresh water at *Comora*, where the king came on board him, and the *English* were civilly treated for some time by the natives. But at length they took an opportunity, when the boat was on shore for water, to fall upon the men, and cut 32 of them to pieces in sight of the ship, the captain being unable to relieve them, having no other boat. From hence he steered his course to *Zanzibar*, a *Portuguese* factory, where he built a new boat, and continued for some days, but without having the

smallest connection with the *Portuguese*, who refused to have any commerce with *Englishmen*; and withal, informed the natives that they were cannibals, which effectually deterred them from dealing with them (1).

(†) This was the same *Lancaster*, who in 1594 performed a voyage with *Vener*, to *Brazil*; the first *Englishman* who undertook a trading voyage to those parts. Here it was, that by his intrepidity and conduct, he took the castle and town of *Fernambuc*; got a great booty; and with a slender force resisted all the attempts of the enemy (2).

(1) *Histoire generale des voyages par l'Abbé Prevost*, Tom. ii. *Nouv. Hist.* p. 307. B. ii. C. 47.

(2) *Lediard*

this

this important point, captain *Lancaster* finding the price of pepper high, on account of the barrenness of the preceding year, he dispatched one of his ships to the *Moluccas*, and erected a factory in the island of *Java*. His reception at *Bantam* was no less gracious than it had been at *Achen*; and so successful in every respect was this fleet, that it excited the jealousy of the *Portuguese*, who soon began to do the *English* all the ill offices in their power. After completing *Success* and his business, *Lancaster* set sail for *England*; and arrived, after a prosperous voyage, in the *Downs*, in *September* 1603, to the great joy and emolument of the company^o (G).

JAMES I. succeeding in the following year to the crown, his majesty gave this new establishment all the countenance shewn it by his predecessor. This, and the profits of their late adventure, determined the company to make a fresh attempt (H).

Sir

• LEO. N. H. p. 378.

(G) In *Ant. Fran. Prevost's Histoire Generale des Voyages*, we find a journal of capt. *John Lancaster's* voyage to *Zinzibar*, and round *Cape Comorin*, in A. 1591. His fleet consisted of three ships of no great burthen. It is uncertain, whether this Squadron was equipped at the expence of the crown, or at that of a society of merchants; but certain it is, that the discoveries he made were considerable, though the voyage in general ended unfortunately, the admiral having lost his whole fleet, and been saved by a *French* ship. This expedition reflected great light upon the navigation of seas entirely unknown to *English* mariners. *Lancaster* having not only doubled *Cape Comorin*, but coasted along *Malacca* to *Tanfaleon*, a kingdom situated between *Malacca* and *Pegu*. It is even imagined, that coasting the *Nicobar* land, he passed through the *Streights of Malacca*,

and proceeded to the *Moluccas*; but this is no more than the conjecture of the journalist, unsupported by any other authority (1).

(H) *Purchas* takes notice of an unfortunate voyage; begun in 1596, by captain *Wood*. Three ships were fitted out at the charge of Sir *Robert Dudley*, previous to the company's charter. They sailed from *England*, and were designed for *China*, having queen *Elizabeth's* letter to that emperor; but not one of the company ever returned to give an account of the fate of the rest. Some intelligence of them was afterwards received, from an intercepted letter of the auditor's of the royal audience of *St. Domingo*, and judge of of *Porto Rico*, written to the king of *Spain*, and his council of the *Indies*. It imported, that *Wood* had taken three *Portuguese* ships, subjects to his majesty (for the crowns of *Spain*

(1) Vid. *Antoine Francois Prevost's Histoire des Voyages*, vol. i. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 368 to 374.

A. 1604. *A second expedition under Sir H. Middleton.* Sir Henry Middleton was appointed to conduct this expedition, at the head of three ships with all necessaries and assortments. Arriving at *Bantam* in *December*, he delivered his letters and presents to the king; which being well received, he left two of his ships to take in a cargo of pepper, and sailed with the third to the *Moluccas*, the natives shewing him all manner of respect and civility, both here and at *Bantam*; a conduct not observed by the *Dutch*, the old allies of *England*. Already they began to view with jealousy, the success of a nation, whose advantages and talents for trade were at least equal to their own. They therefore put in practice every base and mean art to prejudice them with the natives, representing them as cruel, perfidious and ambitious; of having intentions very different from those specious ones of commerce they pretended.. However, in defiance of all their calumnies and aspersions, Sir H. Middleton found means of making himself acceptable to the kings of *Bantam*, *Ternate* and *Tydore* *. The *Dutch* and *Portuguese* were at this time at war, not indeed in their own names, but as allies to the kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*, the former siding with the king of *Ternate*, and the latter taking the part of his majesty of *Tydore*.

The conduct of the Dutch.

The poor defence of the Dutch writers, who pretend to vindicate them.

The *Dutch* writers accuse *Middleton* of a partiality against the *Hollanders* on this occasion, though indeed they acknowledge, that it arose from his ignorance of certain forms with which an entire stranger could not be supposed to be acquainted; therefore, their own countrymen cannot be acquitted of the mean jealousy and insidious arts laid to their charge, as their only plea is a trespass arising from ignorance

* LED. N. H. vol. ii.

and *Portugal* were at this time united upon one head, and at war with *England*.) That soon after a contagious disorder prevailed in the *English* fleet, which swept off the whole crews, except four men, who took to the long boat, and arrived with some rich effects at an island three leagues from *St. Domingo*. Three of these were surprized and murdered by the *Spaniards*; the third escaping on a piece of timber to *St. Domingo*. He dis-

covering himself to the governor, revealed the whole affair; upon which, don *Rodrigo de Fuentes*, who commanded the party that assailed the *Englishmen*, was seized, and the treasure taken from him. During the prosecution against him, don *Rodrigo* procured the surviving *Englishman*, the only evidence against him, to be poisoned; and thus perished the attempt to open a passage into *India* (1).

(1) Harris's Coll. vol. i. p. 97.

is the *English* admiral¹. This conduct of the *Dutch* towards our countrymen in the very infancy of the *Indian* commerce, gave occasion to those disputes which ensued between both nations, and ended in the fatal catastrophe at *Ambouyna* (1).

It would be unnecessary to pursue *Middleton* in his voyage to the *Moluccas*, and through every step of his conduct there, and at *Bantam*; sufficient it is to observe, that two of his ships having compleated their cargoes, set sail for *Europe* before his return. One of these was lost in her passage; the other he overtook in a distressed condition, at the *Cape of Good Hope*. Returning from thence to *England*, after discovering great proofs of magnanimity in a storm which happened in the voyage, he arrived in the *Downs*, on the 6th of *May* 1606, with letters and presents from the kings of *Bantam* and *Tydore* to king *James*, and a rich and valuable cargo, such as had never been seen from *India* in *English* bottoms². His return and success.

DURING Sir *Henry Middleton*'s absence, another fleet was sent under *John Davis*, an expert pilot, to the *Indies*. Before his arrival at *Bantam*, *Middleton* was sailed about three weeks for *England*. Sir *Edward Michelbourn*, who commanded in chief, but in some respects under the direction of *Davis*, coming into the roads of *Bantam*, was informed by the *English* factors, of the arts the *Dutch* had used to prejudice them, and the danger which they stood in of being oppressed by force, if fraud would not prevail. Upon this notice, Sir *Edward* weighed anchor, and steered Sir Ed. Michelbourn's voyage to the Indies.

¹ Voyage generale des voyages par *PREVOST*, t. ii. p. 162.

² *Læd. N. H.* p. 390.

(1) The abbé *Prevost*'s relation is this: *Middleton* sailing along *Tydore*, observed two gallees with white flags rowing towards him, and pursued by seven other gallees. The first two gallees made signals of distress, pulling with all their might, till the one came to his ship, the crew of which he immediately received on board. In it was the king of *Ternate*, with several of his nobility, and some *Dutchmen*; but the other was boarded by the enemy before she came within reach of the ship's guns, and every soul

on board put to the sword, excepting three, who jumped into the sea, and were saved by the *English*. After this, *Middleton* sailed to *Ternate*, where the king and people, in gratitude for the services done them, were not only inclined to traffic, but to enter into the warmest friendship with the *English*. This disposition induced the *Dutch* to insinuate reports, equally to the prejudice of the *English*, and inconsistent with truth; the very fact here related confuting their surmises, that *Middleton* favoured the king of *Tydore*.

*His spirit-
ed conduct,
and arri-
val in
England.* directly to the *Dutch* fleet, sending their admiral a message that, if either direct or indirect methods were taken to disturb the *English* factories, he would immediately use his power to avenge them, and sink the *Dutch* fleet. This declaration occasioned the *Dutch* to keep quiet, during the stay of the *English* admiral, which was but short; for he returned with his fleet to *Portsmouth* in *June 1606**, soon after the arrival of Sir *H. Middleton*.

* PREVOST, i. V. 2. 174.

S E C T. II.

Containing an Account of Keeling's Voyage; the Conduct of the Dutch, Turks, and Portuguese to him, and other Officers of the Company, with the Success of several different Expeditions.

*Keeling's
expedition
to Banda.* THE former voyages had been so prosperous, that the company resolving to pursue their good fortune, equipped a fourth fleet, under the conduct of captain *William Keeling*. In this expedition three ships were employed, and about three hundred and ten seamen, besides the servants of the company. Upon his arrival at *Banda*, *Keeling* found he had to combat not only the difficulties which naturally occur in a new established commerce, but likewise to surmount numberless obstructions laid in his way by the *Dutch*. Among other practices of the *Hollanders*, one deserves particular mention (K). The *English* had contracted with the natives of *Pooloway*, for the settling a factory in that island, which was opposed by all the intrigue, chicane, and tricks of the *Dutch*. The *English*, in the mean time having intelligence, that the *Hollanders* proposed erecting a fort at *Banda*, and knowing the consequences of it to their trade, proposed to some of the chief natives, that a formal delivery of it should be made to them, in the name, and for the use, of the king of *England*, for a valuable consideration; and this before the *Dutch* had entered upon the

*Intrigues
of the
Dutch.*

(K) On his arrival at the island of *Nero*, he delivered his majesty's letter and presents to the *Oran Cayas*, or states of the island, which were well received. The same he did at *Lantore*, or *Proper Banda*, and with equal success. Afterwards he agreed with the *Oran Cayas* of *Pooloway* to settle a trade with them, and erect a factory there, receiving of them 225 catees of mace, and 1307 lb. of nutmegs.

execution of their project. This proposal was relished in appearance, though in fact, it was a secret connivance between the *Dutch* and the natives, to deceive the *English*. Purchas says¹, that the natives actually signed a surrender, in the strongest terms to the *English*; but be that as it will, it is certain they designed nothing less than performing it (L). In fact, both the *English* and *Bandanese* were deceived by the cunning of the *Hollanders*, who treated them both with the utmost contempt and insolence, after their fort was completed, and they could bid them defiance. The resentment of the *Bandanese* soon after confirmed the suspicion of the artful conduct of the *Dutch*; for they put the resident and several of the *Dutch* council to death; having first, with great boldness, drawn them out of the fort. A Banda-general massacre would have followed, had not the *English* interposed, and taken the *Dutch* into their protection; though they were requited by unreasonable restraints upon their commerce; and at last, by a peremptory order to depart before they had fully completed their cargoes. However, in spite of ingratitude, intrigue, and unjust opposition, this voyage proved remarkably successful, especially at the *Moluccas*, notwithstanding all the attempts of the insidious *Hollanders* ^{Resentment of the}.

KEELING returned to the *Downs* with a rich lading, in Keeling's May 1610; and what is very extraordinary, without the loss of a man. Among other things, he brought home 3481 bags of pepper. Captain David Middleton had been sent by Keeling to the *Moluccas*, where he received part of his loading; with which setting sail, he entered the straits of *Bangaya*, receiving great marks of civility from the king of *Botun*, who came on board his ship. After completing his cargo from some *Java* vessels, he returned to *Bantam*; but the admiral being sailed, he steered his course for Eng- ^{success.}

¹ V. 4. See KEELING'S voyage.
HARRIS Coll. P. P. 79.

² LED. N. H. 404.

(L) Certain it is, that the islands of *Pooloway* and *Pole-roon* engaged by a written contract with Keeling, to deal with the *English* only for all their mace and nutmegs. On this occasion, they declared the *Dutch* should not have a hand; for they had rather it should rot on the ground, than be of any use to these boors. And soon after this it was, that the *Oran Caya's* of *Nero* drew the *Dutch* into an ambuscade, from which they escaped, through the humanity of the *English* (1).

(1) Purchas v. 4.—*Proleg.* i. 3.

Captain
Hawkins
sent am-
bassador to
the Great
Mogul.

land, where he arrived after a prosperous and very profitable voyage. Captain *William Hawkins* had been sent out with this fleet in quality of an ambassador, to settle a treaty of friendship and commerce with the *Great Mogul*; which commission he executed with address, prudence, and success w.

Inconveni-
ency under
which the
English
India
company
lay.

WITH this special privilege of exporting their goods to the extremities of the *Indies*, the *English East India Company* wanted one advantage, which other nations enjoyed for a long time, and what they were daily improving. The *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* had harbours of which they were absolute masters; forts which they had built and secured by garrisons and regular fortifications; whole provinces, of which they acquired possession, either by treachery or the right of war, and over which they exerted an absolute and despotic sway. The *Dutch*, after their example, had begun to fortify themselves in different places, by which means they kept the inhabitants in subjection, and assumed a kind of exclusive property in those places, preventing the natives from carrying on any sort of traffic with strangers*. Whatever may be said against the justice of such a proceeding, the advantages of it cannot be denied, as it not only secured them against any change in the sentiments of the natives, formed a barrier both against them and interlopers in the trade, but likewise served the purpose of a magazine, to prevent their ships returning empty, and also to embrace the opportunities of plentiful seasons and low markets. Instead of this, the voyages of the *English Company* were hitherto necessarily precarious, depending not only on the uncertainty of seasons and markets, which were frequently engrossed or anticipated by others, but also on the will of the *Dutch* and other powers, who, in consequence of their forts, could either deny or admit them into the harbours. Thus were they subservient both to the caprice of other *Europeans* settled in *India*, and of the natives, who frequently had a distaste to *Europeans* of all nations. Their success depended entirely on chance, the civility of the natives and the established *Europeans*, or upon the address and courage of their officers and factors; But daily experience, and the practice of other nations, soon convinced them of the necessity of supporting the simple title of merchants by power. Thus reflection, experience, example, honour, and interest, all coincided to make the company depart from their first

* PURCHASE, *ibid*.

* RECUEIL des voyages. t. viii.

principles, and establish a different conduct, however they might have exclaimed against the usurpations of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Dutch*. The late treatment which *Middleton* of *forts* met with at *Banda*, confirmed them in their resolution to follow the maxims of other states, and oppose force by force: *and gar- risons*.

But to succeed effectually in this, the authority and power of a new-formed company was insufficient, and the court was too much engaged otherways, to lend the necessary assistance. The success of their voyages and the money saved to the nation, which foreigners were wont to drain from it by supplying us with their commodities; the great acquisition of wealth and other profits to *England*, by the exportation of her manufactures and produce, and of *India* goods and manufactures sold to other *European* states; were indeed strong arguments with the king and ministry, to countenance a company that appeared so beneficial to the public. Accordingly their charter was enlarged to what extent they required, but no national force sent out for their assistance. However, they resolved by perseverance to overcome all difficulties, and reap the fruits of so many advances. They now began to build their own ships, which they had formerly purchased of the *Hanse* towns; a considerable advantage to them, and to the nation in general. Two ships had been sent out in the year 1607, to the coasts of *Arabia* and the *Red Sea*, with indifferent success. In 1608 captain *Middleton* was a second time dispatched, with a single ship to the *Moluccas*, where the *Dutch* formed a design of seizing his ship; notwithstanding which, he had the address to escape (M), and sailed for *England* with a prodigious rich cargo, having brought home, 'tis said, one hun-

A. 1609.

The company builds its own ships.

Captain Middleton's voyage.

(M) While captain *Middleton* was at *Banda*, he received advice that the *Dutch* governor of *Nassau* fort had laid a scheme either to burn him by means of a fireship, prepared for that purpose; or if that failed, to send two ships of a thousand tons each, with some frigates to sink him. Upon this, he went on shore to expostulate with the governor, and shew him his commission; but was told that the islands of *Lantora* and *Nere* belonged to the *Dutch*,

and that no native should be permitted to trade there. Not chusing to enter upon hostilities with a power greatly superior to him, he sailed to *Pooloway*, and took in his cargo, steering from thence to *Bantam*, where the *Dutch* followed him with two large ships and frigates above mentioned, with a resolution to sink him, but were prevented by the calms and contrary winds which happened in the voyage (1).

(1) *Proceeds*, H. G. des voyages, tom. ii.

dred and thirty-nine tons of nutmegs, the same quantity of mace besides pepper, and other valuable commodities 7.

The company builds a ship of 1200 tons.

THIS success inspired the company to higher attempts; accordingly they built a ship of 1200 tons burthen, their first essay in naval architecture, and the finest and largest ship which had ever been built in *England*, at the same time a proof of the company's wealth, and of their spirit for commerce. A pinnacle of 250 tons was likewise built, to accompany her as a tender. This was then esteemed a matter of so much moment and utility to the public, that the king and prince of *Wales*, with a great number of the first nobility, were present at their launching. So great was the magnificence of the company, and the public joy on this occasion, that all the rich utensils used at the entertainment given his majesty on board, were left to be taken away by the by-standers and populace. The greater vessel was named by his majesty *The Trade's Increase*, and the pinnacle called *The Pepper Corn*, by the prince of *Wales* 2.

A. 1610

Voyage by Sir H. Middleton.

DURING these preparations, two ships, under the conduct of captain *Sharpey*, were sent to *Achen* in *Sumatra*, from whence they returned with good success, before the other fleet was ready to sail. Now *The Trade's Increase* and *Pepper Corn* were equipped for sea, with two other ships, under Sir *Henry Middleton*, in the spring of the year. In *Purchas* and *Harris*, especially in the former, we have a minute and circumstantial detail of his voyage, and particularly of the ill usage the admiral received from the *Turks* at *Mocha*; his imprisonment and escape; the insolence of the *Portuguese* at *Surat*, and the defeat of their fleet by the *English*; the taking of several *Portuguese* and *Indian* ships, and the farther success of the voyage. Not to pass over all these circumstances in silence, at *Mocha*, Sir *Henry*, after delivering his majesty's letters and presents to the *Bashaw* and *Aga*, was received with all possible marks of distinction and friendship; a sun-shine that was soon followed by a tempest of misfortunes. The civilities of the *Turks* were intended to insnare the admiral, and to allure him and his officers on shore, as well as to entice their ships into their harbours; but disappointed in the latter part of the scheme, they fell upon the admiral, killed eight of his attendants, wounded himself and fourteen men, and after stripping them, threw them chained into a dungeon. They next made an assault upon one of the ships, but were repulsed with great loss. Finding that open force could

His usage from the Turks at Mocha.

7 DODSLEY'S Hist. vol. ii.

2 LEDIARD'S N. H. p. 417.

not reduce the ships into their power, they threatened the admiral with death and the torture, if he did not order them to surrender; but Sir *Henry* preferring the most excruciating tortures and death to an ignominious life, and the loss of honour, bravely defied them, and triumphed over their menaces and cruelty. After six months imprisonment, he found means, with most of his attendants, to make his escape, and arrive at the ships, which had lain in harbour on the *Abyssinian* shore. He had now an opportunity of shewing his resentment, which he did accordingly in a message to the Aga; "That if he did not instantly release the remaining prisoners, and render ample satisfaction for the damages he received, he would sink all the ships in the road, and afterwards batter the town about his ears." This menace had its effect; his men and pinnace were set at liberty, and 18,000 rials of eight paid him for damages *.

FROM hence he steered his course to *Surat*; where he was informed, that the *Portuguese*, with a fleet of twenty ships, well provided, lay at the bar of *Surat* to intercept him; at least to prevent his carrying on any commerce there. Having no alternative, but either losing his voyage, or fighting his way with a greatly inferior force, he chose the latter as most honourable; and success crowned his resolution (N). He not only,

*Conduct of
the Portu-
guese at
Surat.*

* PURCHAS, vol. i. Hist. of his Voyage.

(N) Captain *Hamilton* relates a battle, which he says was fought about this time with the *Portuguese*. He does not specify the year; but from the circumstances, it can be none of those we find mentioned by other authors. We shall venture therefore to insert it upon the captain's authority, and that of the old *Persee*, from whom he had the account. His words are, "when the *English* first settled a commerce in this country, (*Surat*) they were held in great esteem; but the *Portuguese* pretending a right to that trade solely, disturbed the *English* in theirs, murdering their people, and making prize of all ships and vessels they could overcome. One

"season the *English* had eight
"good large ships riding at
"*Swallay*, which is about ten
"miles from *Ranier*, where the
"president and his council then
"resided; and *Swallay* was the
"place where all the goods
"were unloaded from the ship-
"ping, and all goods for ex-
"portation were then shipped
"off. The *Portuguese* think-
"ing it a fit time to give a
"deadly blow to the *English*
"commerce, came with a fleet
"of six men of war, ten or
"twelve half-gallies, and ten
"small ships, and anchored to
"the northward of the *English*,
"in a narrow channel, not
"musket-shot wide, and a tide
"generally of six or seven miles
"an hour. The *Portuguese*
"landed

Sir Henry's revenge.

only, after a sharp engagement, broke through the enemy, but intirely dispersed them, with the loss of their ships which he took. Notwithstanding this prosperity, he still met with unfurmoutable obstructions from the insinuations and influence of the Jesuits; and after a series of noble but unsuccessful conduct, was at last compelled to leave *Surat*, without effecting any thing material to his design. Captains *Hawkins*, *Sharpey*, and the whole factory, were likewise forced to abandon it, without having time allowed them to call in their debts. From *Surat* the fleet steered to *Dabul*, where it had better fortune; and as an addition to it, Sir Henry had an opportunity of being farther revenged on the *Portuguese*. Here he took two of their ships, richly laden; after which he returned to the *Red Sea*, and procured farther satisfaction for the damages sustained at *Mocha*, by seizing

“ landed near 3000 men, and
 “ seized some carts laden with
 “ the company's goods. The
 “ *English*, not able to bear the
 “ insults they daily received,
 “ held a council, wherein it
 “ was resolved to land 800 men
 “ out of the ships, and attack
 “ the *Portuguese*, while they
 “ were lulled in security of
 “ their own strength and num-
 “ bers; and if they were over-
 “ powered, that those left on
 “ board the *English* fleet, should
 “ try if they could cut a *Portu-
 guese* ship's cables that lay
 “ near them; and her driving
 “ on board of another might,
 “ with the force of the tide,
 “ put them all a-ground on the
 “ shore, or a sand-bank that
 “ they lay very near to. Ac-
 “ cordingly, by break of day,
 “ the *English* were all landed,
 “ and every ship's crew led by
 “ their own commander. As
 “ they had conjectured, so it
 “ fell out; the *English* were
 “ among the *Portuguese* before
 “ they could get in a posture of
 “ defence, and put them in

“ confusion. Those on board
 “ had done as they were or-
 “ dered; one being cut loose,
 “ soon made all the rest run
 “ a-ground, and most of them
 “ lost, especially the great ships.
 “ The little *English* army pur-
 “ sued the *Portuguese*, and kill-
 “ ed many in their flight; but
 “ at a point of land, about three
 “ miles from the ships, the *Por-
 tuguese* made a stand, and
 “ rallied; but the little victo-
 “ rious army soon made them
 “ a second time take to their
 “ heels, and so the *English* got
 “ an intire victory, with a small
 “ loss; for there were not
 “ twenty killed on the *English*
 “ side, but about 1500 of the
 “ *Portuguese*.” The captain in-
 “ forms us, that A. 1690, he was
 “ on the field, where he saw
 “ heaps of human skulls; a proof
 “ there had been a battle on the
 “ spot. For the rest he trusted to
 “ the authority of the *Persee*, who
 “ remembered the action; and to
 “ the tradition of the country,
 “ which scarce varied a tittle in
 “ the circumstances of the fact (1).

(1) *Hamilton's History of the East Indies*, v. i. p. 166.

seventeen *Indian* ships, from 1500 to 200 tons burthen, all rich cargoes. As the inhabitants of *Mocha* were deeply concerned in this fleet, it was ransomed for a large sum, after it had been pillaged by the *English* seamen. From *Mocha*, Sir *Henry* went to *Bantam*, where he died; but the fleet returned to *England* ^b. *His death*.

WHILE Sir *Henry* was absent, the *Globe*, captain *Hippon*, was sent upon a trading voyage to *Bantam*, &c. in which he met with numberless difficulties from the base conduct of the *Dutch*; one instance of which it may not be amiss to specify. The king of *Narasinga*, who had given the *English* an invitation to establish a factory in his dominions, dying while *Hippon* was there, the governor of the *Dutch* fort took the advantage of the confusion that event occasioned, to put off the payment of a just debt to the *English*, though they were ready to depart. *Hippon* tried all in his power to settle the affair by fair means; but finding this ineffectual, he determined upon force, and to seize either the governor or his son's person. The last he accomplished in presence of 4000 spectators, who made not the smallest resistance; and the governor was compelled to pay a just debt as a ransom for his son ^c. *A. C. 1611. Hippon's voyage.*

THIS year three more ships were sent out, under the command of captain *John Saris*; the expence of which equipment amounted to 60,000 pounds; so that in all, the company had a prodigious venture at sea, in the bottoms of eight ships. *Saris* intended a trading voyage to the *Red Sea*, *Java*, the *Moluccas*, and *Japan*; in the last of which he was, if possible, to establish a commerce, which had not hitherto been attempted by the *English*. *Saris*, after visiting the kings of *Firando* and *Goto*, by whom he was favourably received, went by land to *Suranga*, the emperor's residence. Here he had the honour of an audience of his imperial majesty; and delivering king *James's* letter and present, was not only graciously received, and kindly treated, but successful in obtaining a grant for the company of certain very important privileges, together with letters and presents from the emperor and king of *Firando*, to the king of *England*, and assurances of a constant and warm friendship for his majesty (O). This fleet returned to *England* in September 1614, after *Captain Saris's voyage and success.*

^a LED. Nav. Hist. p. 427.

^c PURCHAS's Pilgrim. ubi sup.

(O) The following privileges were granted by *Ogsofama*, emperor of *Japan*, to the *East India* company,

I. We give free licence to the subjects of the king of *Great Britain*; viz. Sir *T. Smythe*, governor, &c. for ever, safely

after having performed a very successful voyage; but *Hippon* did not return till the year 1616; he having spent four years in

ly to come to any port of our empire of *Japan*, with their ships and merchandizes, without any hindrance to them or their goods; and to reside, buy, sell, and barter after their own manner, with all nations; to stay here, or go at their pleasure.

II. We grant them freedom of custom for all such merchandize as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring into our Kingdoms, or shall from hence transport to any foreign port. And we do authorize those ships that hereafter shall arrive from *England*, to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without the expence or trouble of sending up to court.

III. If any of their ships should happen to be in danger of shipwreck, we do straitly enjoin our subjects not only to assist them, but to return such part of the ship and goods as shall be saved to the captain, merchants, or their assignees. And we do decree, that they may build one or more houses for their own use in any part of our empire, and at their departure, to make sale thereof.

IV. If any of the *English* merchants, or others, shall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remain at the disposal of the *British* factors. We ordain likewise, that all delinquents be punished by their own magistrates, and according to their own laws, without appeal to the civil

power of the nation, which have no power over their persons or goods.

V. We will that our subjects trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same according to agreement, without delay, or return of the commodity so bought.

VI. For such commodities they now have brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for our service, and proper use, we will, that no arrest be made thereof, but that the price be settled with the company's factor, according as they sell to others, and immediate payment, upon delivery of the goods.

VII. If in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their ships, they shall need men or victuals, it is our pleasure that our subjects furnish them for their money, as their occasions shall require.

VIII. And that without other passport, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of *Yeadzo*, or any other part in or about our empire.—From our castle in *Saranga*, &c.

A council of merchants and officers being called, it was determined, for the following reasons, to settle a factory in *Firando* in *Japan*; viz. The encouragement which by private intelligence there was reason to expect in the *Moluccas*; the large privileges obtained of the emperor of *Japan*; the certain advice of the *English* factories at *Siam* and

in his voyage, chiefly owing to the intrigues of the *Dutch*, who omitted no opportunity of raising obstacles in his way^a.

BUT besides the obstructions and impediments thrown out by the *Dutch*, to prevent the progress of the *English* commerce in the east, their late prosperity was attended by a new inconvenience. The *Portuguese* did all that lay in them to hinder their trafficking upon the *Mogul's* coasts, which obliged the company to be at a great expence in equipping the next fleet that put to sea, A. 1612. This armament consisted of four stout ships, well manned and mounted, under the command of captain *Thomas Best*, a resolute officer. *Best* arriving at *Surat* in *September*, applied himself diligently to the establishment of a factory, in which he was countenanced by the governor, and all the *Mogul's* officers in the city. But intelligence of his activity and success coming to *Goa*, the *Portuguese* governor fitted out a squadron of four large galleons, and twenty-six frigates, having on board 5000 men, with 130 pieces of great ordnance^c. The little *English* squadron was at anchor at the bar of *Surat*, when they first discovered a fleet of 240 *Portuguese* merchantmen, steering for *Cambaya*. This alarmed the *English* commodore; however, he soon perceived they had no intention to molest him. As he was comforting himself with this agreeable hope, he received advice of the armament equipped at *Goa* against him, which was in full sail to drive him from the *Mogul's* ports, notwithstanding the emperor's grant for establishing factories at *Surat*, *Cambaya*, *Amadavar*, or where-ever else the *English* thought proper. *Best* was not discouraged; but determined to stand his ground, or perish in defence of his right, and the trust committed to him. He no sooner descried the *Portuguese* admiral, than weighing anchor, he went to meet, and got in the midst of the fleet, before he fired a shot. Here he poured his broadsides and small shot so thick upon the enemy, that they chose not to engage him that day; nor till the admiral had deliberated upon the

Best's
voyage;

defeats the
Portu-
guese.

^a HARRIS'S Collect. vol. i. p. 227. ^c LEP. Hist. p. 430.

and *Patane*; the commodities left unsold intended for those parts, and the hoped-for profit upon them, from what experience had shewn. Eight *English*, three *Japan Jambasses*, or interpreters, and two servants, were accordingly constituted, and left with the name of a factory, and with orders to make all possible discoveries of the coasts, ports, manners of the natives, and productions of the countries (1).

(1) Purchas, v. i. p. 379.

company receive very accurate and distinct lights into the nature of the trade &c.

Settlements
of the India com-
pany.

THE *East India* company began now to extend her power, and the sovereignty of her mother country, over different parts of *India*. In the year 1616, they had settlements and factories in *Bantam*, *Jacatra*, *Surat*, *Amadavas*, *Agra*, *Azmiro*, *Brampore*, (R) *Calecut*, *Masulipatan*, *Patapoli*, *Patana*, *Siam*, *Bencarmasse*, *Socodonia*, *Macassar*, *Achen*, *Jambe*, *Tewo*, *Ferando* in *Japan*, *Japar*, *Banda*, &c. ^b. The island of *Banda* was, by their industry, procured to the crown of *England*; the inhabitants surrendering it by a formal instrument, after their quarrel with the *Dutch*. Notwithstanding this, the *Hollanders* still attempted to reduce those places under their own power, pretending they founded their claim upon a more antient surrender. The *English* soon after procured *Lantore*, by a like solemn instrument of surrender.

PRE-

* PURCHAS, v. i. PREVOST'S *Hist. des Voy.* t. ii. ^b Collect. Harleian. *Voy.* t. viii. p. 249.

On the other hand, the ambassador agreed, not only to drive the *Portuguese* from *Ormuz*, but to keep constantly two ships in the gulph for the protection of the trade. In consequence of this treaty, the company immediately sent out a fleet of five ships, amounting to forty guns each, taken all together. *Shah Abbas* likewise sent an army of 50,000 men, with trankies for transports to land them on the island of *Ormuz*. The *English* soon destroyed the *Portuguese* fleet; but had one of their ships sunk by the fire from the castle. In the space of two months, the *Portuguese* were forced to capitulate, upon no other terms, than liberty to depart without baggage, or any thing else belonging to them. The plunder, which was equally divided between the king's forces and the *English*, was very great. And

tradition affirms, that so immense was the quantity of bullion, that it was measured by long-boats. *Shah Abbas* was punctual in the observance of his engagements, which were sacredly kept by his successor, till the year 1680; at which time the *India* company failed in their part of the contract; viz. keeping the gulph clear. It ought to be observed, that the *English* had a small settlement on the coast, previous to this, about seven leagues from the mouth of the gulph to the eastward, called *Jasques*; but it was continually harassed by the *Portuguese* (1).

(R) *Calecut* is the capital of *Samoria*, a country stretching along the sea-coast from *Ticori* to *Cbitwa*. The *English* had formerly a settlement there; which was afterwards removed to *Tellichery*.

(1) *Hamilton's Hist. of the East Indies*, v. i. p. 102.

PREVIOUS, however, to this, many successful voyages had been made to various parts of the continent, and islands of A. 1615. *Asia and Africa*. Among others, in the year 1614, a ship Sir T. was sent, with Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Thomas Powell, Shirley ambassadors from the crown for the East India company, to ^{sent envoy} Persia. Nothing memorable in the voyage occurred, besides ^{to Persia,} a plot formed by the *Baluches*, a people tributary to the ^{on account} crown of Persia, for seizing the persons of the *English* ministers; but their design was defeated, and the commission of ^{of the com-} the ambassadors executed to its full extent. Next year another fleet, besides that with Sir Thomas Roe, consisting of four ships, was dispatched to *Surat*, and other parts of the *East Indies*. In *October*, they arrived at *Surat*, and found the natives and *Portuguese* at open war. In *January*, the *Portuguese* admiral, with a fleet of six galleons, three men of war, and about sixty frigates, bore down on the *English*, said to be commanded by *Downton*. The *Hope*, a ship of 300 tons burthen, bravely began the fight, by attacking the *Portuguese*, before the other three *English* ships were come up. She fought desperately with four galleons, and was often boarded by the frigates, but as often repulsed the enemy, strewing her decks with the bodies of the slain. At last, *Portuguese* as he was ready to sink under numbers, the *English* com- ^{guese de-} modore came up, who soon turned the scale, obliging the ^{seated by} *Portuguese* on board the *Hope* to save themselves by leap- ^{the Eng-} ing over-board into the sea. The viceroy of *Goa*, who was ^{lish with} on board the *Portuguese* admiral, perceiving that force could ^{great loss.} not prevail against an enemy, determined not to be conquered, sent numbers of fire-ships among them, which the *English* had the address and good fortune to escape. Defeated in every attempt, he retreated with equal dishonour and precipitation, leaving to *Downton* the glory of having triumphed over a fleet of ten times his number and strength (S). The

(S) *Domingo Francisco*, a *Portuguese* gentleman, afterwards taken in *Savally Road*, gave the following account of this armament; *viz.* that it consisted of galleons of 350 men, and 40 guns each; 60 frigates of 30 men, 18 oars each, with swivels and small arms; 9 large ships, mounting from 10 to 28 guns, with their full complement of *kamen*, besides marines. He

likewise related, that of *Portuguese* were slain, on board the *Hope* only; above 300 men, besides 150 drowned by leaping into the sea; that before she was boarded, her great and small arms did incredible mischief in all the galleons and ships that surrounded her; and that the loss of the whole fleet amounted to about 850 slain (1).

(1) *Lediard's Naval History*, p. 437.

English having finished their commerce, set sail for *Bantam*; but were scarce got from the bar, when they descried another *Portuguese* fleet, superior in strength to the former. After offering battle, *Downton* proceeded on his voyage, and arrived safe at the island of *Java*, where this brave officer died. Here they found it matter of the utmost difficulty to complete their cargoes of mace, &c. without involving themselves in quarrels with the *Dutch*; who, they had certain advice, had exerted the most despotic tyranny and arbitrary measures over the *English* settlement at *Macassar*. At last, after completing their loadings, they arrived in *England*, A. 1616, after a prosperous voyage.

Portu-
guese
sarrack
burnt.

WE find in *Purchas*, a journal of a voyage performed this year to *Surat*, and from thence to *Jasque* in *Persia*, by captain *Child*. At the former place he had an engagement with the *Portuguese* carracks, which lasted three days, and concluded in his favour; he having burnt one of the largest ships of the enemy. *Purchas*, *Harris*, and a number of other collectors of voyages, recite several letters from the *East Indies*, in this and the ensuing year; with particular relations of the injuries sustained by our factories and trade from the *Dutch*. To mention them minutely, would be to write a volume, they were so many and various. 'Tis sufficient that we have it, upon uncontestable authority, that no treachery which malice, envy, and jealousy could suggest, was left unpractised. The great strides the company had made towards procuring a competent share in the spice trade, their insinuating manner with the *Indians*, and their great success, served only to hasten the destruction of their most valuable traffic (T).

Repeated,

¹ PURCHAS, *ibid.* LEDIARD, *Nav. Hist.* p. 432.

(T) Mr. *Thomas Spurzway*, on account of some late outrages their countrymen had committed. While they were delivering this intelligence, the natives assembled about them; and the king, with a body of 2000 men, came down to the sea-side, with intention to destroy the *Hollanders*, had not the intreaties of the *English* prevailed and saved them. Next day the *Dutch* captain was imprudent enough to send another boat, with sixteen men armed, which so provoked the king, that

Repeated accounts arriving in *Europe* of the divisions between the *English* and the *Dutch* settlements, negotiations were set on foot for adjusting these mercantile affairs^k. For *Treaties* this purpose, king *James* had issued out two several commissions for treaties on this head; the one in 1613, when the conferences were held in *London*; the other in 1615, when this affair was canvassed at the *Hague*; both times to no manner of effect. The *Dutch* even boasted, that their money could determine the *English* court which way they pleased; and said, that every thing there was viewed through the medium of corruption; and a certain price affixed to each of the virtues^l.

^k Harleian Collection of Voyages, tom. viii. ^l PREVOST, p. 229. tom. ii.

that he ordered his *curra curroes*, or shallops, to board her, which they did, and put every soul to death, hewing them in pieces. This *Dutch* crew, upon their arrival at *Ambogna*, were ungrateful enough to report, that the *English* had stirred up the *Maccassars* to commit this massacre. *Spurway* farther relates, that on the 24th of *October*, the *Oran Cayas*, or states of *Pooloway* and *Poleeroon*, came on board *Courtboep*, to treat about a formal surrender of their islands to the *English*, in consideration of their being protected against *Dutch* usurpation, and annually supplied with rice, cloathing, and other necessaries by the *English*. Captain *Courtboep* demanding, whether they ever had made any contract with the *Hollanders*, or entered upon any articles of a surrender? They all replied, they never had, nor would, upon any terms, with men they esteemed their mortal enemies. In *December* 1616, articles of cession, or surrender of those islands to the king of *England*, were executed by the *Oran Cayas* of the islands, and delivered into the hands of captain *Courtboep*, Mr. *Thomas Spurway*, and Mr. *Sophon Cusake*, to his majesty's use. They also delivered a nutmeg-tree with fruit upon it, and a live goat, by way of seisin; desiring to have the *English* colours planted on the islands, and thirty-six guns fired, in memory of this contract, cession, and resignation of their right; which were accordingly done.—We find the contract at large in the eighth volume of *Osborn's* collection of voyages; but it would be tedious and unnecessary to insert it, as the above is sufficient to evince the falsity of a fact which the *Dutch* constantly insisted upon. By an instrument of the same nature, the countries of *Wayre* and *Rosingen* were formally surrendered and ceded to the king of *England*, A. 1616. And the preceding year captain *Custleton* was at *Banda*, when the *Oran Cayas* of that country gave up their rights, by articles and instruments equally full and valid (1).

(1) *Osborn's Collection*, tom. viii.

*A strong
fleet sent
out by the
English
company.*

*The Dra-
gon India-
man taken
by the
Dutch.*

BUT before we enter upon the particulars of a treaty, set on foot A. 1619, we shall touch upon two voyages performed two years immediately preceding. A. 1617, the company fitted out five ships, one of 1000 tons, one of 900, one of 800, one of 400, and another of 150 tons burthen, well armed and manned, being the most complete squadron they had ever equipped, all under the conduct of commodore *Pring*. After the fleet had reached a certain latitude, it divided, and branched itself into a variety of separate coasting voyages; hardly a settlement in the *Indies* that was not visited by some or other of the ships. The chief occurrences there were, as usual, a series of squabbles with the *Dutch*, in which, however, the latter generally paid for their insolence; though after the departure of the ships, they seldom failed of taking their revenge upon the factories. Before the return of this fleet, two ships more were sent out in 1618, to *Surat*, *Achen*, *Bantam*, and other parts of the *East Indies*.

The *Dragon*, one of the ships, was set upon by a fleet of six *Dutchmen*, just as she had got out of the harbour of *Tecoo*; and, after an obstinate defence, taken and condemned with her cargo; the men being treated with the utmost barbarity ^m (U).

THESE

^m LED. Nav. Hist. p. 427.

(U) When captain *Courtboep* was at *Poleroon*, after its surrender, he descried three large *Dutch* ships coming towards him with bloody flags. Knowing that it would be impossible for him to withstand their superior force, he landed some ordnance, and erected batteries on each side of the road, to protect his ships, and prevent the *Dutch* from entering it. Finding themselves disappointed, they went to sea again, and met with the *Swan*, an *English* ship, which they took. *Courtboep*, in the mean time, built a little fort, where he resolved to maintain himself against all the force the *Dutch* could bring; but he was deserted by a number of his men, who, dreading the

fatigues and hardships of a siege, fled to the enemy. Thus his ship being left defenceless, she fell a prey to the *Dutch*, who returned to *Poleroon*, after the capture of the *Swan*. *Courtboep* finding it would be impossible, after the desertion of his men, to stand long out against so superior an enemy, dispatched Mr. *Spurway* with a *Sabandar*, and several *Oran Cayas*, to the *English* factory at *Bantam*, to acquaint them with his situation. The *Dutch* gave chase to the little vessel that carried them, and would infallibly have taken her, had not Mr. *Spurway* put into *Bouton*, and been protected by the king, who sent him and his company to the farther part of the island, where

he

THESE perpetual contentions, and the fruitless issue of the former conferences, rendered a third negotiation absolutely necessary. This treaty was managed by commissioners, appointed by the *India* companies of both nations, under the direction of the plenipotentiaries of *Great Britain* and the

he provided a vessel to carry them to *Bantam*. Here they arrived in *June* 1617; but *Courtboep*'s first expectation of relief was, *A.* 1618, by an express from *Sir Thomas Dale*, informing him, that he was arrived with a stout fleet at *Bantam*, after defeating the *Dutch* fleet on the coast of *Java*; and that he would speedily come to him to call the *Dutch* to a fresh account. The president and factory of *Bantam* sent letters and stores by the same ship, assuring him of immediate relief. The brave *Courtboep*, however, bravely defended himself another whole year, in daily expectation of reinforcements, or *Sir Thomas Dale*'s squadron. In *January* 1619, he dispatched *Mr. Robert Hayes* to treat with the *Oran Cayas* of *Lantore*; about surrendering their country to the *English*; a proposal to which they unanimously acceded. What a cruel stroke was it to this brave and diligent officer, that, after defending his little fort, upon which depended the whole *Bandanese* trade, for above two years; after procuring the surrender of all those important islands to the crown of *England*; after promises of speedy reinforcements; and after so many gallant but fruitless efforts to drive the enemy from the coasts, at last to receive advice, that the *English* admiral was dead, the other officers upon bad terms

with each other, the fleet dispersed upon different voyages, and four of them fallen into the hands of the *Dutch*! But determined, tho' deserted, never to abandon the trust reposed in him, he went with a vessel to *Macassar*, to procure stores for his fort. In his voyage, he was met by a large *Dutch* ship, which he fought for some hours, till he was shot in the breast mortally. Finding that his vessel must strike, he plunged himself into the sea, to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy, whose cruelty he was no stranger to; and thus ended the life of one of the bravest officers, and faithfullest servants the company, ever employed. *Mr. Hayes*, after obtaining an instrument of the cession of *Lantore* to the king of *England*, was returned to the fort, just as advice of the brave *Courtboep*'s death arrived. Upon this, he was appointed to the chief command; and soon after, by means of an intercepted *Dutch* letter, came to know that a treaty was concluded between the *Dutch* and *English*. The packet he immediately sent to the *Dutch*, to take away every pretence from them of continuing their hostilities (1). Notwithstanding this, as soon as their power was superior to *Mr. Hayes*'s, they proceeded to such acts as we shall relate in the text.

(1) *Vid. Collect. of Voyages, tom. vii. from the Harleian Miscellany. — See also the journals of captain Courtboep, and Mr. Hayes in Harris's Collect. vol. i.*

1619.

Treaty be-
tween the
English
and Dutch
companies.

Conditions
of it.

States General. On the 7th of *July* this year, an agreement was signed, by which it was stipulated, that all former injuries should be forgotten on both sides; that the companies of either nation might enjoy full and perfect liberty to trade, but without neglecting the respect due to the trading companies of two nations, joined in amity and alliances: That the prices of pepper and other commodities should be adjusted: That the islands of the *Molucca's*, also *Amboyna* and *Banda*, should belong to both nations conjointly, the *English* possessing one third of the traffic of all those places, and the *Dutch* the remaining two thirds: That the charge of the fortifications in those islands should be levied by an imposition on the spices of their growth; and that what related to the equipping ships of war, or others, for the protection and defence of their trade and settlements, should be committed to a council of Defence, composed of persons in the service of the different companies: That the fortresses, as above, should remain in the hands of those at present in possession of them; and that such forts as had been acquired by the combined force and at the joint expence, should remain the property of both, and be garrisoned by the troops of both nations, in such manner, as the council of Defence should think fit to determine: That henceforward, and in all time to come, the intire trade to *India* should remain free, equally to both nations; neither of them pretending to undermine or injure the other, by separate fortifications, or clandestine treaties with the natives: That to corroborate and confirm this contract, both companies should respectively solicit and move their several governments not to erect any separate companies during the period fixed for this solemn agreement: That if, through death, or any other accident, it should so happen, as that no person should remain to take care of the factories of either nation; that then, and in that case, those of the other nation, on the place, should take into their protection, and account for all the effects so left: And finally, that this treaty should remain in force for twenty consecutive years; and that all disputes arising during its continuance, which should not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, should be settled and determined by the King of *Great Britain*, and the States General of the *United Provinces*. The treaty was ratified by king *James*, in *July* 1619; in which instrument his majesty promised not to grant another charter to any other persons whatsoever, during the term mentioned in the above agreement.

It was now imagined, that all disputes with the *Dutch* were at an end, at least for twenty years; which was very far from being the case. During this negotiation, hostilities were carrying on at *Jacatra*, where the *Dutch* seized Java upon, and blew up, an *English* magazine, under pretence of *The Dutch* their siding with the *Javaneſe*, with whom they were then *ſally* at war. It muſt be acknowledged, there ſeems to be truth *blamed* and juſtice on their ſide on this occaſion; for even our own journaliſts own, that the *English* fired upon the *Dutch* fort, and took every opportunity, under the protection of Sir *Thomas Deal*, who commanded a ſquadron of eleven ſail, of retorting former injuries received from the *Dutch*. Certain it is, our traders have had great reaſon to be incenſed againſt a people, who loſt no opportunity of hurting them; but whether, in the preſent caſe, where they acted as indiſcreet auxiliaries to the *Javaneſe*, they complain with juſtice, is a queſtion which the moſt prejudiced perſon muſt determine againſt them, and in favour of the *Dutch*.

WHAT they tranſacted after the treaty was concluded and proclaimed in thoſe parts, is a caſe of a very different nature, wherein the *Dutch* ſhewed themſelves equally perfidious and inhuman. Their treacherous attempts to reduce thoſe perſons with whom they had juſt engaged in the moſt ſolemn alliance and obligation to defend, can admit of no palliation or apology. That their general in *India* ſhould, immediately upon the back of a treaty, which aſſured the *English* of all manner of ſecurity, get together a great fleet, under ſpecious pretences, to attack *Lantore*, the undoubted property of the *Treacher* crown of *Great Britain*, and commit the moſt ſavage cruelties of the upon the inhabitants, is an unheard of perfidy. That he *Dutch*, ſhould next fire the town, ſpoil and pillage the *English* ware-houſes, carry off their ſtuffs, money, bullion, 23,000 lb. weight of mace, 150,000 tons of nutmegs, making prize of every thing, is an act of ſo black a complexion, as would diſgrace a nation of *Hottentots*. But perhaps the moſt vile *Cruel maſſ* and horrible action of all is, that after having thoroughly *ſacre* of ranſacked, pillaged, and plundered every thing, he ſhould *the Eng* then proceed to the laſt inſtances of inhuman barbarity, by *liſh at* ſeizing, ſtripping naked, binding with cords, whipping, and *Lantore* loading with irons, the *English* factors. And that, after theſe *and Pole* wanton marks of a ſavage cruelty, he ſhould have them *room* hurled headlong from the walls; and conclude the laſt ſcene of the ſhocking tragedy by inſolently dragging the miſerable remains in chains through the ſtreets. All theſe are facts, proved upon the moſt undeniable evidence, not denied, and but very lamely excuſed by themſelves; yet never puniſhed.

with that vengeance becoming the character of this nation, and the freedom of this constitution. The factory at *Po-leroon* shared the same unhappy fate; and thus the affairs of the company were suddenly plunged into greater confusion, distress, and misery, than they ever had undergone, and just at a period which they had all the reason in the world to expect the happiest effects from the late treaty.

*Dutch de-
fence of
their con-
duct.*

As it is really inconsistent with our natural disposition, to recite at large scenes which equally disgrace and shock humanity, we must beg leave to refer the reader to the original papers, to be found in the 8th volume of a collection of travels, compiled from the manuscripts in lord *Oxford's* possession *. There he will find ample satisfaction, and matter enough to satiate the most sanguine and bloody nature, temper, and disposition (W). All that the *Dutch* pretended to allege in vindication of these outrageous proceedings was, that they having a more ancient right to these islands, no subsequent act of the natives, who had before given up all their privileges, was of force to invalidate it: and further, that the war being carried on against the natives, as principals, those who had thus, contrary to their engagements, assisted them, had no manner of right to complain of the event of a war of their own seeking. But the fallacy of this argument was irrefragably proved by assured evidence, that the natives had never ceded their right to the *Dutch* †; that in the former disputes, the *Hollanders* pretended to no more than a promise from the natives, that on certain conditions they were disposed to surrender their rights to them. That upon the

* P. 246.

† DONSLEY'S Hist. vol. ii.

(W) The reader cannot but observe, how flagrantly the treaty was broken by the *Dutch*, as soon as concluded. It was expressly stipulated, in the 23d article, that all places in *India* should remain in the hands of the then possessors; notwithstanding which, they invaded the islands of *Lantore* and *Po-leroon*, which were in possession of the *English*; treating the natives and *English* factors in the manner we have mentioned above. In another article it was stipulated, that no enterprize was to be undertaken,

but by joint consent and joint forces; and yet the *Dutch*, against the repeated remonstrances and protests of the *English*, attacked and subdued the *Ban'anesse*, with *Dutch* ships only. Whence it appears, that their resolution, at the very time they executed the treaty, was, that the *English* should enjoy the benefit of it no longer than till they were in a condition to expel them from the *Indies*; a conduct that would disgrace the most piratical and uncivilized government.

quarrel

quarrel between the *Bandanese* and them, arising from their tricks and double dealing, a cession, by a formal instrument, was actually made to the *English*; besides, all this was farther confirmed by the express terms of the late treaty¹. The truth is, the sweets of profit flowing from the spice trade, and their signal successes from the first institution of the company, induced the *Dutch* to extend their power and influence by every possible method, and at all events. They were far from being delicate in their choice, means, and expedients; a scruple seldom found to obstruct projects, where gain is the motive, and remarkably wanting in this penurious and indefatigable people; who make no difference between fraud, force, or persuasion, when the same ends were attained by either of these means. Their attacks upon the *Portuguese* at *Malacca* justify this assertion, as well as their late conduct to their allies the *English*. *Answer of the English.*

THE strong fortress at *Batavia*, which soon grew the head of that vast empire which they established in *India*, was a kind of protection for all their practices; their power screening them from punishment. This was an advantage which the *English* at that time wanted, and stood greatly in need of. Whether this proceeded from the nature of our government, so much inclined to monarchy, and the less important concerns of a court, ignorant of the advantages of this trade, and requisites to secure it; or whether it was owing to the want of power at that time to afford the merchants the protection they required in so momentous a conjuncture, we shall leave the reader to determine. *Advantages of the Dutch settlements*

¹ See Note (T) p. 34.

S E C T. III.

Of the farther Disputes between the English and Dutch Companies; of the Negotiations, Conferences, and Treaties, to put an End to them; of the fatal Catastrophe at Amboyna, with other Particulars.

WE will shew, in our account of the *Dutch East India* company, how they date a sort of sovereign power in the *Indies*, from the first foundation of their great settlement at *Batavia*, and to what an astonishing power and influence they in a short time arrived. Certain it is, that from the embarrassments, corruption, and ignorance of king *James's* court, from the differences then subsisting between him and his parliament, from the artful and bold conduct of the *Dutch*, *The remission of the English administration.*

as well as the pusillanimity, avarice, and timidity of certain leading men in *England*, no satisfaction was obtained by the government, no remonstrances made in behalf of the ruined subjects and wounded commerce, nor indeed any other steps taken which the credit of the administration, justice to the publick, and the nation's honour absolutely required.

A. 1620. *The Company fits out a new fleet for the Pe. nan trade.* BUT before we enter upon the particulars of the conduct of our allies the *Dutch*, we shall stop to recite briefly a voyage in which the *English* bravery once more triumphed over *Portuguese* force. In the year 1620, the company built four new ships, from 800 to 300 tons burthen. This fleet set sail in *February*, under the conduct of captain *Shilling*; and fell in with a *Portuguese* squadron, off the east end of *Jasques Road*, where it waited to intercept the *English* and ruin their *Persian* trade. The *Portuguese* fleet consisted of four galleons of 40 guns, and 350 men each, two galliots, and ten frigates. These being engaged by *Shilling*, the battle continued for nine hours without intermission, night separating the combatants. Next morning the enemy finding the *English* a match for them, declined renewing the fight, and had the mortification to see *Shilling* land the company's money and goods (the very prize they fought for), without preparing to molest him. A few days after, receiving a supply of men and ammunition from *Goa*, they ventured a second time to attack the company's fleet; but with less success than before, two of their ships being sunk, the rest greatly damaged, and a number of their men killed and wounded. The *English* sustained hardly any other loss besides that of the brave *Shilling*, their commodore, who was mortally wounded by a musket bullet. After this engagement, the fleet took two rich *Portuguese* carracks, and then separated upon different voyages.

Portuguese defeated.

Designs of the Dutch. BUT to return to the affairs of the company towards *Java*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*; the remissness and want of vigour in the *English* administration, encouraged the *Dutch*, who had long formed the project of wresting the spice trade wholly out of the hands of the *English* company. They proceeded in the year 1623, to commit, if possible, greater barbarities at *Amboyna*, than two years before they had done at *Lantore* and *Palerqon*; their actions in each being just matter of reproach to human nature. The island of *Amboyna*, which is forty leagues in circuit, is situated near *Seron*, giving name to some other little island in its vicinity. Its chief production is cloves, the principal subject of its traffic; and

in order to collect and buy up this commodity, the *English* company had planted in it no less than five several factories, the chief of which was at the city of *Amboyna*. Here the agents of the company resided, and from hence directed the subordinate factories of *Hitto* and *Larica*, on the same island, and of *Lobo* and *Camballo*, situated on a promontory of the adjacent island of *Seron*^b. The *Hollanders* had four different forts, well provided with men, stores, and ammunition. The chief strength was at *Amboyna*, where the fortifications were strong and regular, well mounted with a great number of brass ordnance. One side of the fort was defended towards the land by a broad and deep trench, filled by the sea, together with a number of batteries and redoubts at proper distances; the other side was washed by the ocean. It was garrisoned with 200 *Dutch* soldiers, a company of free burghers, and 400 mardykens, who had been taught the use of arms, and were obedient to the *Dutch* governor. The ships which constantly lay in the road, either for traffic or the defence of the fort, added to its security; this being the rendezvous for the trade of *Banda*, as well as that of the rest of *Amboyna*^c. As hostilities had ceased from the time of the massacre at *Lantore*, the *English* lived in the town, under protection, however, of the citadel, in perfect ease and security, both from the late treaty, and from the antient amity between both nations. The conduct of the *Dutch* at *Lantore* was attributed to the rashness of some of the *English* factors, as well as to the brutal ferocity of the *Dutch* governor, but from hence no deduction was made to the prejudice of the *Hollanders* in general, especially as many of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* exclaimed with great warmth against that action. In short, every thing contributed to lull the *English* into a security which soon terminated in their ruin.

NEAR three years were elapsed since the conclusion of that treaty between the two companies, when fresh cause of discord arose. The *English* factors complained of the unreasonable and unnecessary charge which the *Dutch* pretended to have incurred in repairing and maintaining the fortifications and garrison. They alleged that the *Hollanders* answered their own proportion of the expence in provisions and cloth of *Coromandel*, at three or four times the prime cost; whilst ready specie was insisted upon from the *English*. By such proceedings, it was affirmed, the latter were made to pay two thirds of the charge, which ought to have been equal and

^b SALMON'S Mod. Hist. vol. i. p. 124. fol. MON, *ibid*.

^c SAL-
Europe.

common to both. Perpetual disputes resulting from this grievance, the affair was at last carried before the council of defence at *Jacatra*, in the island of *Java* : But the council not being able to bring it to a final determination, to the satisfaction of all parties, the state of the case was remitted to *Europe*, to be laid before the companies, or in the dernier resort, to be adjudged by the king of *England* and the *States General*, in terms of agreement for that effect ^d.

DURING the deliberations in *Java* and *Europe*, the breach at *Amboyna* grew still wider ; the *English* more loudly complaining of the oppression of the *Dutch* ; while they, on the other side, exclaimed against the *English*, for their unwillingness to support the expence of a fortress, of which they equally shared the advantages with them. But though those mutual accusations were warm, no danger was apprehended of an open rupture, nor indeed of any secret practices against each other. The following incident, however, shews the deceitfulness of those appearances of tranquillity, which, as it terminated in the final destruction of the *English* settlements in those parts, in the breach of that amity between both nations, which had long subsisted, and has ever since been matter of animosity between the *English* and *Dutch* ; we shall recite more at large, than we have done any preceding transaction.

A SOLDIER of the *Dutch* troops, by nation a *Japanese*, came one night to a centinel, posted on the wall of the citadel ; and amidst other discourse with him, happened to ask some questions concerning the strength of the fortifications, the number of cannon, and of the garrison ; questions extremely natural for a stranger, who had no farther intention, than the bare gratification of his curiosity. This fellow had been occasionally, amongst others, introduced into the citadel, to relieve the garrison in the day ; the *Japanese* troops not being permitted to remain in the fort at night, as not being confided in, equally with the *Dutch*. An officer, who had seen the centinel in conversation with the *Japanese*, interrogated him concerning the subject of their discourse ; and being informed, he laid the whole before the governor, who had the *Japanese* seized, upon a suspicion of a treasonable design against the citadel. Being put to the torture, he was compelled, by the insupportable torments he underwent, to acknowledge himself, and some others of his countrymen, guilty of the crime laid to his charge ; upon which, the supposed accomplices were seized and put to the same trial, to-

*A recital
of the hor-
rid messa-
ge of the
English at
Amboyna*

^d See Journals of HAYES and COURTHOR in Harris, vol. i.

gether with a *Portuguese*, who superintended the *Dutch* slaves. This examination lasted four days, during which, the *English* went, as usual, to the citadel. As they were not conscious of guilt, they apprehended no danger, though they saw the prisoners, and heard the cause of their torture. They were in fact intire strangers to the *Japanese* and *Portuguese*, who were then under punishment. At this time *Abel Price*, formerly a surgeon to the *English* factory, was prisoner in the citadel, for having threatened, in a drunken frolic, to set fire to the house of a *Dutchman*, against whom he had some pique. *Price* being dragged from the dungeon where he lay, saw the *Japanese*, groaning under the agonies of the torture he recently underwent, and was peremptorily told, that the *English* were accused, by those two wretches, of being confederates in the conspiracy; and that unless he confessed the guilt, he should sustain equal, if not more exquisite, tortures than those he had before his eyes. Such menaces, suddenly followed by their execution to the utmost rigour, soon overcame the constancy and conscience of the miserable wretch; who, in hopes of being relieved from the rack, answered every question in the manner the judges required. Immediately upon this confession, captain *Towerson*, and the rest of the *English*, were sent for; who having no notice of what passed concerning *Price*, or suspicion of what was intended, immediately obeyed the summons, all excepting two who remained in the factory upon some business. As soon as *All the* they arrived, they were informed of the charge against them, *English* and closely confined in irons. *Towerson*, with one more, *seized and* was kept prisoner in the citadel; and the rest were put in irons *put to the* on board the ships in the harbour. These proceedings were *torture.* followed by seizing those who remained in the factory, together with the goods, money, chests, boxes, books, writings, and other things. On the same day, the *English* at *Hitto* and *Larica*, and a few days after, the factories of *Lobo* and *Camballo*, were treated in the same manner, the company's servants being brought in irons to *Amboyna*.

THEY were all no sooner in custody, than the governor and fiscal proceeded to their examination, when *John Beaumont* and *Timothy Johnson* were first called upon. Those wretches were brought from the ships to the citadel, and immediately separated; *Johnson* being brought to the rack, while *Beaumont* was placed in an adjoining apartment, from whence he could hear the screams and dismal groans of his companion, at every application of the torture. When he

had fully experienced the torments they could inflict, *Price* was brought in to confront him; but *Johnson* persisted in denying every thing laid to his charge; upon which *Price* was ordered out, and he applied again to the rack. For above an hour he obstinately continued to assert his own innocence and ignorance of the whole affair, in defiance of all the anguish of the torture; when at last, drenched over with water, he was most cruelly scorched and burnt all over his body; and in this condition, thrown into a corner, where a guard was set over him^c. Well might the lines of *Virgil* be repeated, *Auri sacra fames quid non mortalia pectora cogit!* Nothing could exceed the inhumanity, cruelty, and barbarity of the judges, but the constancy of some of the accused. *Emanuel Thomson* succeeded *Johnson*, and his punishment was equal in degree, but not in duration, to the former, he being tortured for no more than half an hour, and then flung aside to make room for *Beaumont*, who had all this time been within hearing of his piteous shrieks. While they were equipping *Beaumont* for the torture, he began denying, with horrid imprecations and oaths, the whole charge; upon which he was for this time dismissed, the governor pretending to be moved with

Method of questioning by the torture. compassion at his extreme old age. Next day, nine more were brought from the ships; when *Edward Collins*, denying with deep execrations the whole allegation, was tied hand and

foot to the rack, a cloth bound round his neck, whilst two men, with earthen jars of a prodigious capacity, stood ready to pour the water into it. The sight of this torture made him pray for a respite, and promise an intire confession; but no sooner was the cruel apparatus removed, than he again asserted his innocence with redoubled vehemence. The fiscal enrag'd at his perseverance, ordered the torture to be again applied, on which he repeated his request and promise; but, said he, as I know the torments you can inflict, I am ready to confess whatever you are pleased to desire, if you will first oblige me, by telling me what I am to say. Then pausing for some time, he proceeded to relate, that some months before, himself, together with some others of the prisoners, had conspired to surprize the citadel with the assistance of the *Japanese*. He was interrupted by the fiscal, who asked if *Towerfon* was not a confederate in the plot; to which he answered no. The fiscal then told him he lied, and insisted upon his acknowledging, that this *Towerfon* had called all the *English* together, and told them, that the abuses and insolence of the *Dutch* had obliged them to think of that plot, which wanted nothing

^c DODSLEY'S Hist. of the East Indies, vol. ii.

to render it successful, besides their consent and secrecy. A *Dutchman* who was present, interrogated him, whether they had not sworn secrecy on the Bible? This *Collins* denied with vehement oaths, declaring that he was utterly ignorant of any such matter; but upon their ordering him to be tucked up, he recanted, and spoke as they prompted. He was then asked, whether the rest of the *English* factories were not consenting to this plot? whether the *English* president at *Jacatra*, or *Welden*, their agent in *Banda*, were not privy to the conspiracy? to all which interrogatories he answered in the negative. Being still interrogated by what means the *Japanese* were to have executed their purpose? and hesitating, unable to give an answer, the fiscal helped him out, by asking, whether two of the *Japanese* were not to have gone to each point of the citadel, and to the door of the governor's house, ready to murder him, when he should come out to enquire into the cause of the tumult, which was to have been raised without? A by-stander, irritated by this method of proceeding, called out to the fiscal, that he should cease to tell the criminal what he was to say, and let him speak for himself; upon which, that equitable judge dropped the question in hand, by enquiring, what reward the *Japanese* were to have for their service? *Collins* answered, a thousand rials: but unable to say any thing concerning the time of executing the plot, or any other particular that could give it an air of credibility, he was dismissed &c.

THE person next questioned by this hellish apparatus was *Colson*; who was so terrified with the sight of the rack, and the torments inflicted on his companions, that he answered in the way he thought would be most agreeable to his judges; tho' after coming out, he fell down upon his knees, asking forgiveness of heaven for the untruths he had alleged, and deeply protesting his innocence and intire ignorance of the suspected conspiracy^a. *John Clark*, who succeeded *Colson*, was not so easily terrified and brought to submission; this man for two full hours withstanding the most excruciating tortures applied by fire and water, to compel him, through agony of pain, to confess what he was ignorant of. To give the reader a faint idea of *Dutch* barbarity, we will briefly relate the method in which his judges proceeded in the examination of this miserable man. His arms were fastened at as great a distance as they could extend them upon a large door, by means of iron staples drove into the extremities of it.

^a In Collect. cited, *ibid.*^b SALMON, *ibid.*

The English tortured by fire and water.

His legs being bound and stretched out in the same manner, a cloth was bound round his face and neck, so close, as to contain the water poured into it. Then did the executioners pour jars filled with water into the cloth, which rising above his nostrils and mouth, obliged the unhappy sufferer to draw it in, with every attempt to breathe, in large quantities, till, by repeated draughts, he was so glutted, that (what is shocking to imagine) his bowels seemed to burst out at his mouth and nostrils, his body to be swelled to twice its dimensions, his cheeks inflated like bladders, while his eye-balls were ready to start from their orbs. Thus was this miserable creature handled, and then taken down to prepare him for a second trial, by making him disgorge what had cost him so many nauseous and painful draughts. After he had sustained his second trial with equally astonishing constancy, the fiscal and his tormentors cried out, that this must be an enchanted person, a witch, or devil, to support such insufferable torments. Imagining the incantation might reside in his hair, he ordered it to be cut off, and a third exertion of inhumanity was made. He was hoisted up as before, when those more than savage wretches, caused burning torches to be held to the soles of his feet, till they were extinguished by the fat that dropped from him. Then fresh lights were applied; but this repetition failing also, they began to extend their diabolical barbarity to the other parts of his body, by scorching the palms of his hands, his arm-pits, and elbows. Exhausted at length, and overcome by torture, he seemed willing to yield; but not being able to frame a relation, in such manner as to make it at all probable, his judges were reduced to the necessity of leading him, by questions so devised, as to render it impossible for him to mistake their meaning¹. However, with all their cruelty and cunning, all they could draw from him consisted in bare negatives and affirmatives, he just assenting with a *yes* or *no*, to whatever they signified to be agreeable to them. Thus treated, he was carried out by four blacks, and thrown into a horrid dungeon; where he lay without the assistance of a surgeon to dress his sores, till his flesh putrifying, he was filled with maggots, in a manner most loathsome and barbarous. Thus ended the christian work of funday, it being dark before his examination was finished. The prisoners brought from *Hitto*, who had all this time waited their own turn of suffering, were remanded to prison, and thrown, loaded,

¹ DODSLEY, vol. ii.

with

C. 6. English East India Company.

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with irons, into the same dungeon with *Clark* and his fellow sufferers *.

NEXT morning, *William Griggs*, *John Fardo*, and some *Japanese*, were brought to the place of torture. The *Japanese* were constrained by numberless acts of barbarity to accuse the two *Englishmen*; and *Griggs*, to avoid the same torments, acknowledged their allegations. The same conduct was observed with regard to the other *Japanese* and *Fardo*, though this latter continued obstinate in his denial of the charge, till he had suffered the torture by water. Upon their confession, they were remitted back to prison, and *Beaumont* brought a second time to the torture. *Griggs* was produced to confront and charge him with having been present when the conspiracy was formed; an allegation, which he denied with deep execrations and tremendous oaths, till, plied with repeated draughts of water, he was compelled to submit. Yet the moment he was brought down from the rack, he not only declared in the most positive terms, that all he had confessed was false, but also impossible, as he made appear, from a variety of circumstances. However, the terror of a repetition of the torture, made him sign his confession; which done, an iron bolt of intolerable weight, and two shackles, were rivetted to his legs, and he remanded to the loathsome dungeon from whence he had come¹.

THE next person brought to judgment, was Mr. *George Sharrock*, some time an assistant at *Hitto*. This unfortunate gentleman was no sooner brought to the place of torture, than he sent up a prayer to God, that in order to shun the grievous torments his countrymen had sustained, he would enable him to frame such probable falsehoods against his own conviction, and the innocence of his companions, as might serve at once to persuade his judges, and deliver him from the torture. When he was brought to the rack, where the tormentors stood ready with pitchers of water and lighted tapers, the governor and fiscal proceeded to examine him. But *Sharrock's* conscience overcoming his fear, he fell down upon his knees, protesting before God and man his innocence, with an earnestness that would have staggered persons who were not proof against conviction, conscience, and the feelings of humanity. He was therefore questioned by the torture, and told, that if his confession was not ample and complete, he should first be tormented with all the power of

* DODS. Hist. of the East Indies, vol. ii. Harl. Collect. Voyag. vol. viii. p. 246.

¹ SALM. Mod. Hist. vol. j. fol. p. 136.

The remarkable conduct of Sharrock, one of the English prisoners.

fire and water, and then dragged by the heels to end his life on the gallows. Still, however, persevering in his innocence, the fiscal ordered the horrid operation to be performed; upon which he requested a moment's respite, alleging in his vindication, that he was at *Hitta* on new-year's day (the day on which the pretended conspiracy was supposed to have been planned); from which time to the present, he offered to prove, by witnesses of good credit and faith, both *Dutch* and *English*, he had never been at *Ambogna*. But upon a renewal of their menaces, he told them, that he had often heard *Clark* say, that he would be revenged on the *Dutch*, for the insufferable wrongs they had done the *English*; for the execution of which, *Clark* said, he had proposed an excellent plot to captain *Towerfon*. All this while the governor and fiscal expressed their satisfaction in his plausible tale, by significant gestures and joy in their countenances. *Sharrock* added, that *Clark* said, he had intreated permission of *Towerfon* to go to *Macassar*, to consult with the *Spaniards*, proper measures for seizing upon the lesser factories in the island of *Seran* and *Ambogna*, when no ships were there. Being asked, what answer *Towerfon* gave to *Clark*'s proposal? he replied, that *Towerfon* was to the highest degree incensed against him for harbouring such a villainy, and never afterwards could endure the sight of *Clark*. The fiscal, displeased with this latter part of the confession, told him, in an enraged tone, that he lied, and threatened him afresh with the torture^m. *Sharrock* then once more begged a respite, and began a tale quite different from the former; viz. that upon a certain day *Clark* told him of a conspiracy to seize the citadel, and asked him to be of the plot. To which he replied, by enquiring if captain *Towerfon* was privy to it; to which *Clark* answering in the affirmative, he, *Sharrock*, consented to do as others did. Thus he proceeded varying in other particulars from the confession they wanted him to make; so that despairing to gain their ends with him, he was remanded back to his dungeon, whence he was brought the day following, and compelled by menaces to sign his confession, though he told the fiscal to his face, that what he signed to avoid torture, was absolutely false, and without the least foundation. The fiscal reproaching him with lying, he broke out into bitter invectives, accusing him of shedding innocent blood; which, said he, you must answer to your God at the day of judgmentⁿ.

^m DODSL. *ibid*.
of Voyages, p. 222.

ⁿ Vid. vol. ii. of the Harl. Collect.

JUST in the same manner they proceeded with the other prisoners, forcing them by unsufferable barbarities to a confession; and when the extremity of torture deprived them of their senses, leading them to the confession they would extort. Yet what is remarkable, and sets their innocence beyond all suspicion, is, the conduct of the judges on this occasion, the manner of their examination, but above all their disavowal of all they confessed on the rack, before it was applied, at the time it was applied, and after it was removed, which is corroborated by their final renunciation, the moment before they were put to death, of their signed confessions. Their solemn protestations and appeals to the tremendous tribunal of the Almighty at this awful period, could not possibly leave a doubt in the mind of the most partial *Dutchman*; yet did they, contrary to evidence, to conscience, and the dictates of reason, feeling, and humanity, persevere in their damnable and detestable barbarity.

On the 25th of February all the prisoners, *English, Portuguese, and Japanese*, were solemnly condemned to death, some only excepted, who incontestibly proved their being at *Hitto* at the time of the pretended conspiracy. The day following they were brought into the great hall, to be prepared by the *Dutch* ministers for the awful transition; *Mr. Towerison* and *Thompson* being excepted in the number. Here the unhappy *English* accused the *Japanese* of having brought to misery and death men they had hardly ever seen, nor ever conversed with, which the others excused, by shewing the wounds received by the torture; adding, that flesh and blood could not withstand a trial, which would even change the nature of stones, and make inanimate things feel. *Collins* and *Beaumont* were respited and pardoned; the first having drawn lots with four others; and the latter owing his life to the intreaties of two *Dutch* merchants. The remaining ten, with one *Portuguese* and *The* *English* *eleven Japanese*, were led next day to condign punishment, all of them protesting their innocence with their last breath. Thus fell the *English* factors victims to the avarice, jealousy, resentment, and barbarity of the *Dutch* company, with circumstances of cruelty which leave an indelible stain on the reputation of that people, and will ever be just matter of reproach, disgrace, and infamy to human nature, as

* Ibid. etiam. DODS. Hist. East. Ind. tom. ii.

Rejoicings
of the
Dutch.

well as of eternal repentment and animosity in the *English* nation (X).

THE day following was spent by order of the governor in public rejoicings, and thanksgivings for so signal an escape and deliverance from a pretended conspiracy, and for the iniquitous extirpation of their rival traders. On the succeeding day, *Beaumont, Sharrock, Collins, and Webber*, were brought before the governor, who informed *Sharrock*, that he was to go to *Jacatra*, and rely upon the general's mercy; and the rest, that they were pardoned by his own grace and compassion. He then entertained them with wine, and other in-

(X) The following declaration of *William Griggs*, and some others, was wrote in his table-book, which he delivered to *Powl*, and the others who were pardoned, and by them transmitted to Mr. *Welden*. "We, whose names are here specified, *John Beaumont, William Griggs, Abel Price, &c.* lying prisoners in the ship *Rotterdam*, being apprehended for a conspiracy to blow-up the citadel of *Amboyna*, and condemned to death for the same, after we were constrained, by the force of cruel tortures, to speak and confess what we knew not, and were innocent of, the which we take upon our deaths and salvation; and that we now die guiltless of the charge, as we hope to receive mercy. This we desire that our employers may know, and resent the injuries we have received; and that you too (meaning Mr. *Welden*) may be on your guard, for they intended to bring you too in guilty. Written in the dock, *March 5th, 1662.*"

The difference of the old and new style makes the variation in the dates.

Samuel Colson wrote on the margin of a common prayer

book the following solemn declaration:

"*March 5th.* Understand that I *Samuel Colson*, late factor of *Hitto*, was apprehended for suspicion of conspiracy, and for any thing I know must die for it. Wherefore having no better means to make my innocence known, have wrote this in this book, hoping some good *Englishmen* will see it. I do here upon my salvation, as I hope by his death and passion to have redemption for my sins, declare that I am clear of all such conspiracy; neither do I know any *Englishman* guilty thereof, nor other creature in the world. As this is true, God bless me.

Sam. Colson."

On the opposite page he writes, "In another leaf you shall understand more, which I have written in this book." Here follows a relation of the abominable tortures he and his companions underwent, a retraction of every syllable spoke in the confession, extorted from him by means the most inhuman; a solemn avowal of his innocence, and a hearty desire that these his last sentiments may be transmitted to *England*, in defence of his character (1).

(1) *Obs. voy. vol. ii. p. 237.*

stances of a false and treacherous regard, verifying, by his conduct, the truth of the poet's remark, that

A man may smile and smile, and be a villain.

BUSINESS being thus ended at *Amboyna*, the governor *The Dutch* and fiscal proceeded for *Banda*, where, after the severest *governor* scrutiny into the conduct of Mr. *Welden*, the *English* agent, and fiscal nothing was found that could in the least justify a suspicion, or answer their purpose. They therefore returned, *Banda*.

happily disappointed of their cruel intention of repeating the late horrid tragedy. *Welden*, perceiving the disorder of the company's officers at *Amboyna*, hired a vessel, and directly sailed thither. Having arrived, he sent for the company's *The English* servants, remanded by the *Dutch* governor to the upper *factories*, and minutely examining them, and comparing *with-* their report with the dying declarations of those who were *drawn* executed, he could not doubt of its being a premeditated *from Am-* scheme of the governor's to ruin the *English* trade there. *boyna*.

Finding it neither consistent with the honour or interest of the company, or safety of the factors, longer to reside there, he withdrew the poor remnant of *English*, and embarked them along with him for *Jacatra*. As for the company's effects which had been seized, we do not find that he ever could prevail upon the *Dutch* governor to restore them; a circumstance which, without farther proof, would condemn the *Dutch*, and leave no doubt of their intentions, in the mind of any unprejudiced or impartial judge. The fatal *The English* news no sooner reached the *English* at *Jacatra*, than the president and council, moved with horror at the barbarity of the proceedings of the governor and fiscal at *Amboyna*, sent to demand of the *Dutch* general, by what authority the governor and fiscal carried their savage usage to such an extreme against the *English*, and whether he approved of their conduct? The general's answer was, that the governor of *Amboyna* acted in consequence of a power vested in him by *the Dutch* the Lords *the States General*; by virtue of which he was supreme in all cases, civil and military, within the jurisdiction of his government. Further, that his proceedings against the *English* traitors were not only just, but indispensably necessary; as might be seen by the copy of their confession, which he, the general, transmitted to the *English* president and council.

Thus it appears, that the massacre at *Amboyna* was not the wanton act of the governor and fiscal; though their natural dispositions might add to the cruelty of the circum-

1 Ibid.

2 LED. Nav. Hist. sub an. 1622.

Dutch de-
jected.

stances ; but the cool, deliberate, and concerted measure of the *Dutch* company, afterwards countenanced and supported by the States General, by a thousand arts and subterfuges, by false glosses, and spurious copies of extorted confessions. The first *true declaration*, as it is called, *of the conspiracy*, transmitted to *Europe* June 1624, by the *Hare* pinnace, is a notorious and base forgery, wherein the confessions of the unhappy *English* are interpolated, mangled, and castrated, in such a manner, as to set the governor's conduct in the best view ; but unhappily, as murder will ever discover itself by some unforeseen circumstances, this copy of their confession differs widely, in the most important particulars, from that sent to *Jacatra*, and from the original, which was, by order, transmitted the following year * (Y).

WITHOUT entering upon the particulars of what has been advanced by both parties, we shall beg leave to recapitulate in our text a few circumstances, which render the innocence of those unfortunate persons in the highest degree credible, and the conduct of the *Dutch*, as well as their motives, not only suspicious, but even, beyond contradiction, base, insidious, and barbarous (Z). And, in the first place, does not their conduct

* Collect of Voy. Harl. lib. tom. ii.

(Y) In the collection of voyages compiled from the manuscripts in the *Harleian* library, the reader will find a full account of this shocking catastrophe. There he may see the lame defences of the *Dutch* company and of the States General, their artful evasions and specious glosses of a fact detestable beyond the power of casuistry to palliate. There likewise he may peruse at large the remonstrances of the *English* company to the ministry, and theirs in consequence to the States. Vid. tom. viii.

(Z) Notwithstanding we have, in the preceding pages, given the reader a summary of some of the most important articles of the treaty subsisting between *Great Britain* and *Holland*, it

may, possibly, not be disagreeable to him to see it here at large ; at it will help him to a clearer view of the situation of the commerce of both nations, at the time when this fatal stroke to the trade of the *English* company was given, and naturally account for the security in which the factors lived at *Amboyna*, notwithstanding some differences with the *Dutch*. The following is a confirmation of the treaty between the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, under the direction of the representatives of each nation.

This instrument sets forth, that a treaty had been concluded at *London*, in the then year of our Lord 1619, between several commissioners, members of his majesty's privy council thereto appointed,

conduct at *Pokeroon* and *Bantam* sufficiently declare their *Recapitulation of* views, and evince that they were determined to stick at no means *facts*.

appointed, and others, members of the *English East India* company, on the one part, and the commissioners of the High and Mighty Lords the State General, our good friends and allies (being of the body of the said lords and states), and others, members of the *Dutch East India* company, of the other part.—

“Whereas for several years past there have been differences and misunderstandings between the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, to accommodate which, conferences have been held between commissioners of the said respective companies, as well at *London*, an. 1613, as at the *Hague*, an. 1615, without coming to any conclusion: his majesty and the said lords of the states, desiring that their subjects might live in friendship and a good correspondence, and being solicitous to remove all obstructions to a perfect accommodation, have found it expedient and necessary to resume the said affair again in a third conference, by commissioners of the said companies, assisted by such persons of his majesty's privy council, and of the body of the States General, as his majesty and the states shall appoint; *viz.*—Here the members of the privy council and of the States General, appointed to assist at this treaty, are specified—Whom his majesty and the said lords the States have, to that purpose, authorized with powers and commissions, to the end that, by their interposition and joint direction, the conclusion of an affair of so

much importance may be facilitated, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, and according to the orders, and in the presence, of the abovesaid lords, the commissioners of both the said companies shall begin and manage their conferences; *viz.* on the part of the *English East India* company, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knt. &c. &c. and on the part of the *Dutch East India* company Sir *Henry Bass*, Knt. burgomaster of *Amsterdam*, &c. &c. who, by virtue of their powers, after much communication and long debates, have, by the interposition, counsel, and direction of the abovesaid lords, finally concluded and agreed upon the following articles; *viz.*

I. It was agreed, That there should be a perpetual amnesty of old offences and injuries before that time committed in the *East Indies*, either by the subjects of his majesty, or by the subjects of the said lords the States; and accordingly all prisoners on either part should be set at liberty, and all ships, goods, or merchandizes, taken before the publication of this treaty in the *East Indies*, should be reciprocally restored.

II. The officers, agents, and servants, as well on the part of the one company as the other, shall entertain a friendly correspondence, and afford each other mutual aid, whenever they meet, as becomes neighbours and friends engaged in so strict an alliance.

means to enjoy the whole property of the spice islands? What could induce the *English* at *Amboyna*, if they were conscious of

And if either party shall find the other in distress at sea, they shall afford them all friendly assistance, to the utmost of their power, and faithfully deliver any letters or accounts that shall be sent by them.

III. The trade and commerce of the *East Indies* shall be free, as well for the *English* company as for that of the *United Provinces*; and each of the said companies shall be at liberty to raise and employ such capital stock and funds as they respectively shall think fit.

IV. And for the general good and advantage of trade, they shall mutually endeavour to regulate and lessen the excessive duties and impositions lately exacted in the *Indies*, and leave off the practice of giving gratuities and presents over and above.

V. They shall, by common consent, agree to fix a reasonable price in the *Indies* on all merchandizes; and at public or private sales, made either in *England* or *Holland*, of *India* goods, they shall agree upon a stated price for a certain time, during which it shall not be lawful for either party to sell under that rate.

VI. And, for avoiding all manner of jealousies and differences for the future, the agents or factors on both sides shall consult and agree together upon a moderate price for purchasing pepper at *Bantam*, and other places, in *Java Major* (nevertheless,

there shall remain a freedom of commerce in other parts of the *Indies*, and also in *Java Major*, as to other merchandizes, agreeable to the third article); and to this end skilful agents or factors shall be appointed to buy pepper, which, when bought, shall be divided and shared equally.

VII. The *English* company shall enjoy a free trade at *Policate*, and bear half the charge of maintaining the fort and garrison there, to commence from the time of publishing this treaty in those parts.

VIII. In the isles of the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, the trade shall be so regulated by common consent, that the *English* company shall enjoy a third part of the trade, as well for the importing and selling of goods in those islands, as of the fruits and merchandizes of those islands, which shall be exported from thence; and the *Dutch* company shall enjoy the other two thirds.

IX. And as to buying and sharing the said merchandizes, the principal factors of the two nations shall buy them at the current price, and divide them by lot, to each their respective share: and, for that end, it shall be lawful for either party to have access to, and abide in, the forts and magazines of the other.

X. And considering that a trade so remote and important cannot be secured but by a considerable

of guilt, not to escape the punishment they saw inflicted upon their pretended confederates the *Japanese*, for four days before

siderable force, this shall be done by furnishing out and maintaining twenty ships of war; viz. ten by each company; the said number to be increased or lessened, by common consent, as occasion shall require: and every one of the said ships shall be of the burthen of six or eight hundred tons, and carry 150 men, with 30 pieces of cannon, which will carry bullets from eight to eighteen pounds weight, with ammunition and all other necessaries suitable thereto.

XI. And the council of defence shall order what number of frigates, galleys, and other small vessels shall be farther necessary for the said defence.

XII. The forts and garrisons in the islands of the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, shall be maintained out of the duties and impositions to be levied on the fruits and merchandizes exported from the said islands; which duties and impositions shall be assessed by order of the council of defence, and received by the agents of both parties, and by them be transmitted from time to time, as it shall be necessary, to the treasures of both companies, for the payment of the soldiers.

XIII. For the better ordering and establishing the said defence, a council of defence shall be erected, consisting of eight persons of the principal officers there, and an equal number to be elected out of

each company, and they to have the precedency by turns.

XIV. This council shall order all things which concern the common defence by sea, and distribute the ships of war to such stations as they shall judge most convenient.

XV. They shall also regulate the duties and impositions which shall be necessary for maintaining the said forts and garrisons; and shall have power to call the collectors of the said duties to account.

XVI. The ships of war shall continue in the stations appointed them, and pursue the orders of the council of defence, and not be employed in importing merchandizes into those kingdoms or provinces.

XVII. Provided, That the ships of war may be some times employed in transporting merchandizes from place to place in the *Indies*, for the service of their respective companies, if the council approve it, and it be not prejudicial to the defence.

XVIII. And, in case of necessity, the said council are empowered to employ such numbers of merchant ships as they shall judge proper in the said defence.

XIX. The losses and damage that shall happen in any engagement for the common defence, or in going to, or returning from, the said defence, shall be borne equally, and defrayed at the common charge: and the gain and prizes

fore they were called in question ? They could not rely on the fidelity and constancy of those wretches against the excruciating

prizes which shall be made shall redound to the common profit.

XX. The same rule shall be observed as to merchant ships employed on the like occasion ; and, during such service, the soldiers and provisions for the seamen shall be made at the common charge of both companies : and, in consideration of the interruption their commerce may sustain by such service, they shall receive such recompence as shall be adjudged them by the council of defence.

XXI. But if any ship of war being in its own road, or port, or in going or returning thither, shall receive any damage by tempest, or other misfortune, such loss shall not fall on the community, but be borne by the company such ship shall belong to.

XXII. And, for avoiding all disputes which may arise concerning the value of ships lost or damaged, the council of defence shall make an estimate of all ships of war and others, before they shall be employed in the common service.

XXIII. The forts as well on the one part as the other, shall remain in the hands of those who possess them at present.

XXIV. And whereas a question has been moved, concerning the building certain new forts, which the *English* company have judged necessary for the security of their men and goods ; it is agreed,

that the said question shall remain undecided for the term of two or three years ; to the end that, having duly viewed and considered how many forts, of what nature, and in what places, the same will hereafter be necessary, the said question may be resumed and determined in such manner as may tend to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

XXV. As to such forts as shall be taken in the *Moluccas*, or any other parts of *India*, by the interest and joint forces of both companies, they shall be equally possessed, garrisoned, and maintained by each company, who shall have there equal numbers ; or they shall be divided equally between the two companies, according to the directions of the said council of defence.

XXVI. They shall jointly endeavour to open and establish a free trade in *China*, and other places in the *Indies*, by such ways and means as the common council shall judge expedient.

XXVII. The said companies shall not prevent or exclude each other from trading, either by force or any separate contracts which they shall make in the *Indies*, but the trade shall be free and open as well for the one as the other, in every place, as well within the forts and towns either party shall be possessed of, as elsewhere.

XXVIII.

ciating torments of the rack. Nor could they imagine, when the end of the torture was to extort a false confession, that the

XXVIII. And it is agreed, That, without the consent of both companies, no other persons, not being of their respective bodies, shall partake of the benefit of the present treaty. And if any subject of either nation, not being of the same body, shall undertake any thing in prejudice of the said companies, they shall jointly and severally oppose the same, and maintain their respective privileges. And his said majesty and the said Lords and States shall be addressed not to authorise any other companies to intermeddle in the traffick or navigation of the *Indies*, while the present agreement shall remain in force.

XXIX. If in any part of the *Indies* the one or the other company shall have a factory, trade, or effects, and it happen, by the death of the factors, or some other misfortune, that the goods or estates of either remain without any person legally intitled to administer to them, the surviving factors and officers of the other company shall take the said goods and estate into their possession, and honestly keep them for the owners, to whom they shall restore them in convenient time.

XXX. This treaty shall be in force twenty years; and if, during that time, there shall happen any disputes which cannot be terminated by the said council abroad, nor on this side by the said two companies, such differences shall

be referred to the king of *Great Britain*, and the said lords of the States General, who will graciously be pleased to determine such differences to the satisfaction of both parties.—All which articles shall be faithfully and inviolably observed by both parties, according to the true intent and meaning of this treaty. And the above-mentioned lords do engage that, as well his said majesty of *Great Britain* as the said lords of the States, and both the said companies, shall approve, confirm, and ratify the said treaty, and reciprocally deliver instruments of ratification in due form.

Done at London, the 7th
July, 1619, O. S.

Signed, By the above-said lords, and the commissioners of the respective companies."

Then follows the ratification :

" We have perused and fully understood this present treaty, have approved, confirmed, and ratified, and do approve, confirm, and ratify the same by these presents; promising to observe, and cause it to be observed, in all points, so far as it shall concern us, or the said company of *English* merchants, without suffering it to be infringed, directly or indirectly, in any manner whatever. And we do acquiesce in the contents of the 28th article ;

*Innocence
of the
English.*

the *Dutch* governor would pay no regard to the evidence against them, especially after the late quarrels with him. It might also be asked, in what manner, or with what prospect of success, a fortress strong by nature, and garrisoned by a body of two or three hundred foot soldiers, besides an equal number of free burghers, always ready and undoubted friends upon every danger, could be reduced by twelve or fourteen *English*, and an equal number of *Japanese*, without one military person among them? Or, if they had the good fortune to succeed in their scheme of seizing upon the citadel, in spite of the endeavours of a vigilant, crafty, suspicious governor and regular troops, with what prospect could they hope to maintain their conquest? *Towerfon*, *Colson*, and some others of the *English*, appear to have been men of understanding, who could not possibly adopt such a plan, if it had been proposed to them by some of the more warm but unthinking servants of the company. Only two evidences appeared against *Towerfon* in particular; one of which alleged, that such a proposal had been made to him, but that he rejected it with indignation. The other declared, previously and subsequent to the torture, that what he was going and had confessed was in consequence of the cruel torments inflicted upon him, from which he would readily rid himself at any rate. Admitting, therefore, the authority of the governor to take cognizance of the offence, and that some were criminal, upon what pretext or evidence was *Towerfon*, the principal *Englishman* in the island, executed? But the feigned conspiracy is rendered still more improbable, when it is considered, that

title: and engage that, during such time as this treaty shall be in force, we will not erect any other company than that which is already erected, which shall intermeddle in the trade or navigation of the *East Indies*. In witness whereof we have signed these presents, and caused them to be sealed with our great seal.

*Done at Westminster, the
16th of July, 1619,
and of our reign the
seventeenth.*

JACQUES, Rex,
per Carew.

*Per ipsum regem propria manu
signatum."*

We have given our reader this treaty at full length, to shew him how little the *Dutch* regarded the most solemn leagues, alliances, and treaties, where a point of interest was concerned. The reader will, without our help, be able to draw many inferences from this treaty, and what we have related of the conduct of those excellent allies, not much to the credit of either nation.

all the materials in possession of the *English* for so hazardous *The situa-*
 and difficult an attempt, were three old swords, two useless *tion of the*
 musquets, and half a pound of powder, with some small *English*
 shot¹. It is urged, the intention might be to blow up and *factory at*
 destroy, not to seize, the citadel; a fact acknowledged by the *the time of*
 extorted confession of one of the criminals. But was half a *the pre-*
 pound of powder sufficient for the execution of this desperate *tended con-*
 attempt? Supposing the plan to succeed, did the *English* *spiracy.*
 propose to bury themselves in the ruins? or did they resolve
 to defend themselves against the garrisons of three other forts
 in the island, and all the crews of several *Dutch* ships lying
 in the road? It cannot be imagined but a man of *Towerfon's*
 understanding would have considered this circumstance. But *Credit due*
 to pass over a thousand absurdities in the defence the *Dutch* *to the testi-*
 have made, is there no credit due to the testimony of men as *mony of dy-*
 unanimous in their denial as they were dissonant in their con- *ing men.*
 fession? a confession extorted by the most excruciating tortures,
 drawn from them by the cunning and cruelty of their judges,
 as well as the utmost power of torture by the elements of fire
 and water. Is there, it may be asked, no credit to be given
 to a firm, steady, and uniform denial of a confession thus ex-
 tortured, inconsistent with itself, at a time, too, the most solemn
 and awful, upon the brink of eternity, all the powers of their
 consciences awake, all temporal considerations vanished, and
 nothing before their eyes but death, judgment, and the ac-
 count they were to render before the tremendous tribunal?
 Surely! the unfeeling and callous hearts, even of the gover-
 nor and fiscal, whatever their avarice, their fears, or their
 inhumanity might formerly suggest, could not but admit
 such an evidence!

ON the other hand, the *Dutch* had many motives to tempt *Arguments*
 them to a piece of cruelty from which they apprehended no *why the*
 consequences which their power, their cunning, and their *Dutch*
 wealth could not obviate. Their unbounded avarice; their *conduct is*
 eager desire to possess the whole trade of the *Moluccas, Ban-* *suspicious.*
da, and Amboyna; their constant jealousy of the progress the
English made in the *East India* trade, together with many
 other circumstances, induce us to believe, that a nation, the
 very basis and foundation of whose power, and the first and
 vital principle of their constitution, is the quest of money,
 would not be scrupulous or delicate in an affair which so
 cheaply procured to them so great an advantage². The

¹ The cited Collect of Voyages, *ibid.* Also HARRIS's Col-
 lect. and DODSLEY's Hist. *ibid.* ² Sir W. TEMPLE's Hist.
 of the Netherland^s, p. 36.

Character of the nation. phlegmatic, cold, and determined disposition of the people of that country, renders actions perfectly consistent with their character, which would be hardly credible of other nations.

Character of king James and his ministers. Perhaps the lenity, indolence, corruption, and timidity of our court at that time, might be a collateral inducement with them to venture upon an expedient equally important to their interest, and shameful to this nation. The king, whose weakness could be exceeded by nothing but his conceit, could at any time be diverted from the pursuit of glory and national interest, by a theological disputation, where he was admitted to the princely honour of sitting as arbiter; while his ministry, as covetous as indigent, would sacrifice the good of the state, the honour of the kingdom, and their own reputation, to the sordid purposes of gratifying an insatiable lust of money, fraught with arguments equally solid and weighty, not only to a *Dutchman*, but to a *Hottentot*. But besides the unanimous denial of all the prisoners, *English* and *Japanese*, at their last moments, not one paper, letter, or token, was found by the *Dutch*, to countenance their suspicions, after they had seized, ransacked, and plundered, all the chests, boxes, and cabinets of the factors. From these, and an infinite number of other presumptions, the *English* company, the nation, and indeed all *Europe*, naturally concluded the plot to be on the side of the *Dutch*; and indeed if the above circumstances were insufficient to prove it, their seizing upon all the *English* factories in the spice islands soon after, falls little short of a demonstration of their intentions.

Reasons why the company received no recompence or satisfaction for the injuries and losses they sustained. IN this manner, and by these methods, were the *English* company driven out of the spice islands; which the *Dutch* engrossing to themselves, have remained sole possessors of to this day. The death of king *James* soon after, put an end to any prospects there might be to remedy this disaster. The early embarrassments and disturbances which were transmitted with the crown to his successor, disabled that prince from paying all the regard to the commercial interest which his good sense suggested, or to humanity and justice, the debt his heart acknowledged, and his revenge dictated. That he attended to it, cannot be doubted, since it is evident he granted letters of request, which were presented to the States General, for obtaining suitable satisfaction to the *English East India* company, for their injuries and losses by the governor of *Amboyna*. This measure had not the desired effect; nor did the king pursue it, in hopes of finding a favour-

able opportunity of being revenged by giving some signal blow to the *Dutch* maritime force, and for ever putting it out of their power to interrupt the *English* commerce, or to execute their favourite scheme of dividing the *Spanish Netherlands* with *France*; a scheme by which they hoped, in confederacy with that court, to dispute the *English* title to the sovereignty of the narrow seas *.

WE are told by *Salmon*, an historian of no great credit, and but of weak judgment, that what alone prevented king *James* from procuring satisfaction, was the misunderstanding with his parliament, in consequence of his profuse bounty to the *Scots* †. It is certain that this contributed; but we have before assigned the most powerful causes. Some time after, the *Dutch* understanding that the *English* treasury was very low, and that the parliament would not supply the king till their grievances were redressed, to distress him still more, they refused to pay the garrisons in the cautionary towns, according to a treaty with queen *Elizabeth*. This occasioned grievous complaints from the troops, and had nearly produced a mutiny in the garrisons. Hence the king was in danger of losing these towns without any consideration, as well as a sum of money the *Dutch* were indebted to the crown by way of loan. These circumstances the republic craftily improved to their own advantage, by making tender of about one-tenth of the value, at a time when they knew the king would accept money upon any terms. In this manner did they acquire an independency of *England*; the consequences of which to our maritime power, our commerce, and more particularly to the redress of the late loss the *India* company had sustained, was neither sufficiently reflected upon at that time, nor retrieved ever since ‡.

BUT the cruelty and usurpations of the *Dutch* were not K. James passed over entirely unobserved by our princes. *James* the first, insensible of national honour as he was, is said to have belowed several hearty execrations upon them; but his spirit would seem to have evaporated there. *Charles* the first, *Charles* finding remonstrances, letters of request, and memorials, ineffectual, was on the point of increasing his shipping, and calling the *Dutch* to an account; but that unhappy prince was first prevented by the heats about ship-money, and afterwards by the civil-war which ensued *. As the nation and

* Vid. two fine Treatises, called *Mare liberum*, and *Mare clausum*, by the famous *GROTIUS* and *SELDEN*. / *SALMON'S* Mod. Hist. vol. i. p. 140.

† *DODSLEY'S* Hist. of the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 147.

‡ *DODSLEY* Hist. vol. ii.

*The rump
parliament
resolved to
call them
to an ac-
count.*

government were reduced to the utmost confusion, nothing farther could be expected under this reign, during which the *Dutch* company was left in the quiet possession of this valuable branch of commerce. After the king's death, the rump parliament demanded satisfaction, and the *Dutch* were sensible it was not to be trifled with; inasmuch that they promised speedy justice. The short duration of the parliamentary authority prevented the effects, and *Cromwell*, for some secret purposes, was stopped in his career of compelling them to a full compensation and ample redress. *Charles* the second entered into two wars with *Holland*, for this among other reasons; and nothing but the national apprehension of the growing power of the house of *Bourbon*, has prevented their being long ago forced to make restitution of *Banda* and other valuable islands ^b.

*Decline of
the Eng-
lish East
India
trade.*

FROM the time of the massacre at *Amboyna*, the *English* *East* *India* trade wore another face from what it had done, and began to decline apace; the severities of the *Dutch* terrifying the company from engaging in disputes they were unable to maintain, and their servants refusing to settle in colonies where their property and lives were in continual danger. But before we proceed farther in the affairs of the company in the islands, it may be proper to mention some circumstances wherein the *Dutch* and they acted as allies in the gulph of *Persia*, at *Ormuz*, and at *Surat*. In *January*, an. 1625, four *English* ships, under the command of captain *Weiddel*, lying in the road of *Gombroon*, with an equal number of *Dutch* vessels, were attacked by a strong *Portuguese* squadron. Such was the situation of affairs at that time, that while the *Dutch* and *English* were embroiled and at perpetual war in the *Moluccas*, the *Portuguese* were using their utmost endeavours to dispossess both of their trade on the continent, both in *Persia* and the mogul's country. Here the *English* and *Dutch* acted as faithful allies against a common enemy; there as open enemies, yet under the mask of friends, and while a treaty subsisted between the nations. In this engagement both the *English* and *Dutch* admirals eminently distinguished themselves against a greatly superior force of the enemy. The battle continued for four successive days, without terminating in a victory on either side, though the *English* company sustained a considerable loss in having one of their finest ships burnt; but with this satisfaction, that the loss of the enemy was superior, and their settlements at *Surat* and other places in the gulphs of *Cambaya*, *Ormuz*, &c.

*English
and Dutch
engage the
Portu-
guese, as
a common
enemy, in
the gulph
of Persia.
Victory
doubtful.*

^b RAPIN'S & GUTHRIE'S Hist. of England.

left unmolested. Several other engagements happened, in which the *Portuguese* generally had the advantage of a superior fleet, but no other. As these were not attended with any decisive or important consequences to the company, we shall omit them, leaving the reader to the perusal of *Harris's* Collection of voyages, wherein he will find a full account of them (A).

WHILE

* LEDIARD's Nav. Hist. sub an. 1623.

(A) The dispossessing the *Portuguese* of this settlement was, indeed, a point of the utmost consequence to the company, and would have been attended with great advantages, had not the civil war which ensued entirely put a stop to the *Indian* commerce. It may be worth the reader's while to peruse a short account of the settlement at *Gombroon* by the *Portuguese*, and of the manner in which the *English* enlarged their privileges. *Shah Abbas* having rendered himself master of the provinces bordering upon the *Persian* gulph, in the 10th century, passed over into this island and built the city of *Ormuz*. It was conquered by the *Portuguese* in 1608, in the time of *Saffadin*, a prince tributary to the monarch of *Persia*. *Albuquerque* coasting along *Arabia*, had intelligence that the city of *Ormuz* was in disgrace with the *Shah*, by reason of some misdemeanors of the viceroy, or governor, and came before the city with his fleet. Here he defeated the *Persian* squadron and forces; then attacked the city with such fury, that the viceroy was forced to capitulate on ignominious terms. He acknowledged the king of *Portugal* his sovereign, paid a tribute to the *Portuguese*, and permitted *Albuquerque* to

build and garrison a citadel, which had the entire command of the city.

The *Moors*, oppressed by the *Portuguese*, made several attempts to rid themselves of those tyrannical superiors; but the vigilance of the *Portuguese* not only frustrated all their endeavours, but likewise engrossed the whole commerce of these parts. It was accounted a favour that they permitted *Saffadin* to live within some miles of the city, of which formerly he was sovereign. *Shah Abbas*, having received some provocation from the insolence of these new masters, particularly by their having given protection to an *Italian*, one *Gabrieli*, who fled out of *Persia*, engaged the *English* to join him in reducing the city, and expelling the *Portuguese*. This great prince, equally celebrated for his valour and justice, as he had no fleet at sea, was forced long to submit to the insults of the light *Portuguese* galleys upon his coasts. This they had practised before his reign, and continued during the first years of his government. At last tired out with the complaints of his subjects, robbed, spoiled, and plundered by those imperious conquerors, he sought his remedy first in encouraging the

Proposals
of London
mer-
chants.

WHILE the *English* were attacked on all hands, either by force or fraud, by open enmity or treacherous professions of friendship, the company's affairs began to have a very untoward aspect, and to be in a situation little better than ruinous. In order to remedy this growing evil, *Charles* thought proper to accept the proposals of certain merchants of *London*, to send a Squadron into the *Indies*, to revive the commerce,

English to settle a factory at a place called *Jasques*. Sir *Thomas Moore* being then ambassador at the court of *Persia*, the Shah communicated his intentions to this minister, of driving the *Portuguese* out of the gulph. It was at length concerted, that the *English* should assist his majesty with a fleet, upon certain immunities granted to the company; upon his majesty's sending a sufficient land force, and on his defraying the whole expence of the enterprize. Accordingly the Shah sent an army of 40,000 men, with *trankies*, or transports, to convey them to the island; at the same time the *English* fleet, consisting of five ships, amounting collectively to 40 guns each, well manned, invested the town by sea, after defeating the *Portuguese* frigates. The brisk fire from the citadel sunk one of the *English* ships, whose guns were landed, to erect a battery to annoy the castle. This was done with such spirit, both from the batteries and shipping, that in less than two months the *Portuguese* capitulated to leave *Ormuz*, with all the fortifications intire, carrying nothing besides their liberty away with them. The plunder, which was immense, was equally divided among the *English* and *Persians*; and the former

were recompensed, not only with an exemption of all duties, but likewise with a moiety of all the customs received in the gulph. Captain *Hamilton* informs us, the treasure was so great which they had taken in *Ormuz*, that tradition affirms it was measured by long-boats full: that one boat being pretty deep, an officer still throwing in more, put the boatswain of the ship, at that time in the boat, into a passion, who swore, that for every handful more they put into her, he would throw two in the sea; for he could not tell what would satisfy them, if a long-boat full of money would not. This story, though not literally to be depended on, yet shews the greatness of the treasure taken here. In this manner did the *English* acquire a firm establishment in the gulph. The articles with the Shah were punctually observed till the year 1680, when the *English* company failed, on their part, of keeping the gulph clear of insults, according to contract. The *Persians*, perceiving the company's forces too small to repel the injuries of the *Arabs*, their neighbours, took away half the customs, and allowed the *English* 1100 Tomans, about 3300 *l.* per Cent. (1),

(1) *Vid. Harris*, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. vol. ii.

Hamilton, vol. i. p. 104. *Dodley*,

but

but without prejudice to the rights or interest of the company. Although this was an infringement of the company's charter, yet it was not only not opposed, but even forwarded by them; they well knowing their own inability to support themselves alone against the power of the *Dutch*, and that upon the success of this squadron depended their future prospects of advantage. A commission therefore was issued to certain persons therein specified, to send a determined number of ships to the *East*; in consequence of which six large ships were fitted out^d. We are not informed in what particular year this expedition was undertaken; but from circumstances it seems to appear to be that so strongly patronized by prince *Rupert*, when a settlement in *Madagascar* was intended. Sir *William Courton*, one of the great promoters of this scheme, advanced, on his own part, a prodigious sum, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, towards the equipment of the fleet and purchase of the cargo. Their success in the *Indies* was answerable to the greatness of the preparations, and the most sanguine expectations; but the *Dutch*, who dreaded above all things the revival of the *English* commerce directly with the *Indians*, wanting to engross the first purchase to themselves, fell upon them in their return with a success almost ruinous to the enterprize. In this action two of the largest *English* ships, with their whole crews and cargoes, were sunk; the latter amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds^e.

Commission issued for reviving the commerce to the East Indies, to those adventurers, but without prejudice to the rights of the company.

Sir W. Courton's public spirit.

Success and misfortune of his new fleet.

THIS disaster, however, did not dispirit the adventurers. The richness of the cargoes excited their appetite for gain in a greater proportion, than the fear of danger and hazard of losses, pallied it. Accordingly seven ships were sent out the following year by the same proprietors, and with just the same fate as the former. They were every-where well received in *India*; disposed of their cargoes, and laid out their money to the utmost satisfaction: but returning with merchandize of immense value, they were a second time attacked and defeated by the *Dutch*. This misfortune was entirely attributed to the necessity they were under of separating, and making different voyages to the different parts of *India*. One ship running on shore, on the island *Mauritius*, became a prey to the *Dutch*, and was a real loss to the owners of ten thousand pounds, notwithstanding all the pretended humanity of the *Hollanders*, and their proffers of friendship and assistance. Another was met by two ships of war belonging to the *Dutch*

^d DODSLEY'S Hist. of the East Indies, vol. ii. Collect. vol. ii.

^e HARRIS'S company,

The Dutch company, who openly attacked, took, and made prize of her, with a cargo amounting to seventy-five thousand pounds, after they had killed the captain and half the crew in the engagement. The remainder were carried to *Batavia*, where, together with the *English* ensign, they were dragged in triumph through the streets of the city, and exposed to the brutal insults of the populace, and jests of the mob ^f. By these outrages most of the proprietors were utterly ruined, and the rest deterred from prosecuting a scheme from which nothing but misfortunes ensued. Thus failed the attempt of those public-spirited citizens, to restore the commerce of *England* to the *East Indies*; an attempt as glorious in the design, as unfortunate in the issue. King *Charles*, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to struggle with, and the variety of the embarrassments which frustrated his laudable intentions, did not neglect the care of the company's affairs.

The endeavours of Charles the 1st. to obtain redress. Repeated remonstrances, letters of request and menaces were used, all of which terminated in procuring the trifling equivalent, and restitution of eighty-five thousand florins; a sum by no means proportioned to one hundredth part of the immediate loss and its consequences ^g.

Now did the *Dutch* triumph unrivalled in the east; while the *English* company were compelled, not only to abandon their just rights, but the traffic in general for several successive years; the civil distractions banishing all care of so distant concerns. The sequel of this unhappy reign we must pass over in intire silence; no monuments of the company's transactions appearing for a series of years, if they really did subsist as a company, during that period. Such were the melancholy effects of the confusion at home on foreign trade, at a critical juncture too, when it might have been carried to so high a degree, and made a source of perpetual wealth and glory to the nation. It is indeed a dismal and sad scene, the prospect of which was never clearly exhibited to the view of an *English* reader; and to trace it now through its labyrinth of unfortunate effects, would be to write a tragedy rather than a history. The immense wealth, and maritime strength, acquired by the *Hollanders*, induced them to endeavour still to aggrandize themselves, by the total depression of our naval power. They were led to this design by an opinion, that the parliament, which stood upon a precarious and narrow basis, would hardly venture upon a war abroad, at a time when they were breathing after the fatigues and oppression of civil broils. In this the *Dutch* found them-

The endeavours of the Dutch totally to extinguish the English commerce.

^f DODSLEY'S Hist. vol. ii.

^g HARRIS, vol. ii.

selves deceived; for however unjustly the parliament had acquired the might it possessed, it must be allowed they here exerted it for the national honour. War between the two *They sig-*
 commonwealths was declared; and the *Dutch* suffered the *for due*
 due punishment of their insolence, and had reason afforded *chastise-*
 them of repenting their being the aggressors. After repeated *ment.*
 losses at sea, they were compelled to ask peace, which was
 granted to them, and signed at *Westminster*, on the 5th of *1654.*
April, A. 1654. By this treaty, they rendered *Cromwel* that
 satisfaction which they had denied both *James* and *Charles I.*
 This new revolution, which consigned the government of the
 kingdom into the hands of a tyrant, promoted to that high
 rank by the intrigues and interest of *Holland*, operated no-
 thing in favour of the *Dutch* on this occasion. *Cromwel*, it
 must be admitted, discharged his duty in this particular, with
 the true dignity of a monarch. Forgetting his personal ob-
 ligations to that nation, where the honour and interest of
England were concerned, the protector insisted upon giving
 the law and his own terms. In the 27th article of the treaty
 it was stipulated, "That the Lords the States General of *Treaty*
 "the *United Provinces* shall take care that justice be done upon *be-ween*
 "those who were partakers or accomplices in the massacre of *Oliver and*
 "the *English* at *Amboyna*, as the republic of *England* is *the Dutch.*
 "pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be liv-
 "ing ^b". By this treaty, there was settled a commission
 which sat at *Goldsmiths-Hall*, whose determination was to be
 decisive and final of all complaints laid before them, re-
 specting either of the companies. The *English* gave in an
 estimate of damages, amounting, besides the loss of their
 settlements, to 2,695,999 *l.* 19 *s.* sterling; which sum was
 specified in fifteen different articles, clearly proved and stated.
 On the other hand, the *Dutch* commissioners ballanced this *Commis-*
 demand by a charge, which, however, was neither specified *oners ap-*
 nor proved, amounting to 850,000 *l.* After weighing the *pointed by*
 evidence in support of either claim, the following conclusion, *each com-*
 called a Regulation, was agreed upon, and signed the 30th *pany, to*
 of *August 1654.* Here, after reciting all the above demands *settle the*
 at large, they proceed thus; "all which complaints, de- *disputes.*
 mands, and charges, exhibited to us the said commissioners, by
 the deputy of both the *English* and *Dutch* companies, ex-
 pressly chose to this purpose, have been laid before us, with
 a great number of documents, instruments, and proofs ex-
 hibited, as well for forming and corroborating their own de-

^b Parliament. Hist. sub An. 1654. etiam HARRIS, vol. ii.
 DODSLEY's Hist. vol. ii.

mands, as for destroying and refuting those of the opposite party; and at length the arbitration of all those conferences is submitted to us the aforesaid commissioners, by the said deputies of both companies. Whereupon, we the aforesaid *John Exton, William Turner, William Thompson, Thomas Kendal, Adrian Van Almonde, Christian Van Rodenburgh, Lewis Howens, and James Oysal*, after having seen, read, examined, and accurately considered all the documents, instruments, and proofs exhibited to us on both sides, together with all other things which seemed necessary to us for the discovery of the truth; and being desirous to reconcile and to establish a perpetual agreement between both the companies aforesaid, by virtue of the power and authority to us given by the most High the Lord Protector of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the *United Netherlands*, have decided, defined, and determined, and by this our present award, do decide, define, and determine as follows:—

“ WE make void, extinguish, obliterate, and altogether wipe out, and commit to oblivion (so as never to be revived at any time, and upon any pretence, by any person whatsoever) all complaints, pretextures, and controversies mentioned here at large above, and all others whatsoever, which the *English* company trading to the *East Indies* doth or may form against the *Dutch* company, without excepting any, of whatsoever kind, nature, or condition they may be. And particularly we appoint and ordain, that the said *English* company shall not for the future sue or demand any thing of the said *Dutch* company in *Persia*, or elsewhere, under the denomination of the customs at *Ormuz*, or *Gombroon*; so that the *Dutch* shall never be molested or disturbed by the *English* for this cause, under any pretext. Provided, nevertheless, that this does not prejudice any action or plaint, which the *English* company may enter against the king of *Persia*, or any other person whatsoever, the *Dutch* excepted. In like manner we make void, extinguish, obliterate, and wholly blot out, and commit to oblivion, so as never to be revived at any time, and on any pretence, by any person whatsoever, all complaints, pretensions, and controversies mentioned above more at large, and all others whatsoever they may be, which the aforesaid *Dutch East India* company doth or may form against the said *English* company trading to the *East Indies*, except none, of whatsoever kind, nature, or condition they may be. Moreover, we appoint and decree, that the said *Dutch* shall yield and restore the island of *Poleroon* to the said *English* company, in the same state and condition as it now is;

is ; provided nevertheless, that it shall be lawful for the said *Dutch* company to take away, and remove out of the said island, all military furniture, merchandize, household stuff, and all moveables, if they happen to have any in the island."

" AND in the last place, we declare and ordain, that the said *Dutch* company shall pay the said *English* company 85,000 *l.* sterling; to be paid here at *London*, one moiety before the last day of *January* next ensuing, according to the *English* style, and the other before the last day of *March* following, according to the same style; and all controversies between the said companies being by this means composed, decided, and determined, to the end that a stop may also be put to the quarrels of private persons."

" WE have seen, perused, and examined, all the complaints, and demands exhibited to us in due time, in the name of some private *Englishmen*, who complain of having received injury and damage at *Amboyna*, in the year 1623; and on the other hand, we have heard and considered the matters which have been alleged and exhibited by the above-mentioned deputies of the *Dutch* company, in their own defence; and we the commissioners aforesaid, considering that no one person besides these under-written, to us, on this account, entered any actions or demands before us within the due time, after which, it is not lawful to enter any more; and being therefore desirous that no reliicks of complaint should remain, and that all cause of wrangling may be removed, after having duly considered and weighed all things, do, by virtue of the full power and authority given us by the most High Protector, and the High and Mighty States of the *United Netherlands*, appoint and ordain, that all complaint, action, and demand of the *English* whomsoever, whether public or private, on the score of any damage or injury which they pretend to have suffered at *Amboyna*, in the year 1622 the *English* style, and 1623 the N. S. may be made void, terminated and committed to oblivion; and that no person whomsoever he be, shall enter any action on that account, or disturb, molest, or vex the *Dutch* company on that account, or any *Dutchman* on that pretext. And on the other hand, we also decree and ordain, that the said *Dutch* company shall pay here at *London*, before the first day of *January* next ensuing, 700 *l.* sterling, to *William Towerfon*, nephew and administrator of *Gabriel Towerfon*, late of *Amboyna*, deceased. To *William Colson*, brother of *Samuel Colson*, &c. administrator in like manner of his effects, 450 *l.* To *James Bayles*, administrator of the effects of *John Powell*, 350 *l.* To *Anthony Ellingham*, administrator of the effects of

William Grigg, 200*l.* To the administrators of the effects of *John Wallerel*, 200*l.* To *Jane Webber*, administratrix of the effects of *George Sharrock*, 150*l.* To *John* and *Elizabeth Collins*, children and heirs of *Edward Collins*, 465*l.* To the administrators of *John Beaumont*, 300*l.* To *Jane Webber*, widow and administratrix of *William Webber*, 200*l.* To *James Baile*, administrator of the effects of *Ephraim Ramsey*, 350*l.* To the executors of the will of *Babrosec*, 50*l.* And to the administrator of the effects of *Emanuel Thompson*, 200*l.* all which sums added together, make the sum of 3615*l.* sterling, to be paid here at *London*, before *January* next ensuing. And on this condition, we insist that their actions or suits be altogether set aside and cancelled, so as never to be revived hereafter by any person whatsoever¹."

*Concessions made by the Dutch commissi-
oners.*

As this award, judgment, or determination, was strictly executed as soon as made, it ought to be considered as decisive against the *Dutch*. By these trifling and inconsiderable concessions and satisfactions to the representatives of the unfortunate *English* murdered at *Amboyna*, they tacitly acknowledge the guilt of their proceedings; unless it be said, that this acknowledgment was extorted by a high hand with the same exaction they used over the sufferers. This treaty set the affairs of the company again on foot; it gave life and spirit to commerce, and encouraged individuals to that independence and freedom of action and sentiment, which they perceived was asserted by the public. So much did the *East India* affairs recover themselves, that there was actually a subscription entered into, under the protection of *Cromwel*, of 800,000*l.* sterling².

1661.
Charter granted by Charles the II. with additional privileges.

IN this train were affairs when *Charles II.* was restored, by the address and intrigues of *Monk*; and the constitution reinstated in its antient form. It was one of the earliest acts of *Charles's* government, to give that countenance and protection to the company, which was necessary to revive and establish its commerce. He granted them a new charter, dated *April 3*, 1661; and leave to export bullion, to the amount of 150,000*l.* every voyage, provided that foreign goods to that amount were re-exported. He confirmed their exclusive right, and permitted them to licence private merchants, to trade from one port to another in *India*, by the name of country traders. An authority, civil and military, was vested in the company, with power given them of making war or peace with the infidels in the *Indies*: But should this

¹ HARRIS, vol. ii. p. 455.
vol. ii.

² Ibid. ETIAM DODSLEY,

charter prove detrimental to the nation, the provisional clause was still reserved, of its being in that case void and of no effect, after three years notice given.

No sooner had his majesty set on foot a treaty with *Portugal*, for his marriage with the infanta, than it was determined to embrace this opportunity of procuring the cession of some convenient port and mart for the *India* company, as part of the infanta's portion. Thus the important island of *Bombay*, *Bombay* came into the hands of the *English*, where it has *the dowry* ever since continued, and proved one of the most advantageous settlements in the *Indies*. The soil, it must be acknowledged, is but barren, and the climate unhealthy; yet its *Portugal*, situation renders the place important, and the ensuing success *queen of* of the company demonstrates it to be one of the greatest *England*. acquisitions they ever made. After the king's marriage, *Squadron* a squadron, conducted by the lord *Marleburgh*, was sent *sent* to receive the possession and investiture of the island from *thither*. the hands of the viceroy, who had received his *Portuguese* majesty's commands to that effect. His lordship set sail with a fleet of five men of war, having Sir *Abraham Shipman*, appointed governor, on board, and arrived at *Bombay* in *September* 1633, after a prosperous voyage. The viceroy was *The inha-* disposed to comply with his majesty's instructions; but the *bitants re-* strong opposition of the clergy, who refused to cede the island *fuse sub-* to hereticks, terrified the viceroy into their measures, and *mission to* determined him to keep to his new acquired dignity¹. It is *the king of* probable, that ambition as well as religion might have *England*. influence upon the viceroy; certain it is, that his obstinate refusal to surrender the island, obliged the lord *Marleburgh* with the fleet to retire to *Swally Road* for refreshments. The governor of *Surat*, under whose jurisdiction *Bombay* was, threatened the *English* factory at *Surat*, unless the *English* troops reembarked, who were too formidable neighbours for him to endure without apprehensions. After laying in store of the necessary provisions, his lordship, in *January* 1664, set sail with two ships for *England*, leaving the rest of the squadron under Sir *Abraham Shipman*, to spend the remainder of the western monsoons in some of the nearest ports. During this time, he buried above 200 of his men on a desolate island, *Anjadiva*, where he wintered and stayed from *April* to *October*. The monsoons being over, the fleet put to sea, and sailed for *Bombay*. On his arrival, Sir *Abraham* threatened the viceroy and clergy, who opposed his preten-

¹ HAMILTON's Hist. East Ind, vol. i.

They at
last pay
obedience.

sions, with the vengeance of the kings of *England* and *Portugal*, if they longer continued obstinate, or denied obedience to their majesties instructions and contracts. Some of those who had not forgot *Cromwel's* exploits, who reflected on the miseries the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* fleet endured from the *English* republicans, advised the church to abate of her zeal. At length, their religion giving way to the suggestions of fear, they consented to a treaty, by which the inhabitants were to be continued in the free exercise of their faith, and possession of their estates under the crown of *England*^m. Sir *Abraham* dying, Mr. *Cook*, next in commission, signed the treaty, and in quality of governor, took possession of the island, in the name of the king his master. Here he immediately set about building a fortress; but a capital mistake he made in concluding the treaty, by not including the appendages to *Bombay*, extending to *Verfica* on *Salet*, has been a bone of contention ever since. The fort was laid out in a regular manner; an old square house fitted up for himself as governor; but Mr. *Hamilton* observes, that both Mr. *Cook*, and some of his successors, never once thought of a church.

Bombay
ceded in
fee-tail to
the com-
pany.

A fort
built but
injudi-
ciously.

THUS the trade of *Bombay* flourished exceedingly; but the revenues of the place not being equal to the expence of keeping it, and other political and commercial reasons superadded, obliged the crown to make it over in fee-tail to the company; in which manner they continued to hold it to this present timeⁿ. After the fort was traced, and the foundation laid, Sir *George Lucas* arrived from *England* with two ships; but affairs being accommodated before he came, he continued here no longer than *January* 1666, when he returned to *England*, leaving the government as he found it, in the hands of Mr. *Cook* and the council, under the presidency of the settlement at *Surat*. Mr. *Cook* shewed his ignorance of architecture, in building the fort upon the ground it now stands, which is to a high degree inconvenient. As an engineer too, he has failed; the fort being commanded by a hill, called *Dangeree*, at about 800 paces distance. The consequences of this unfortunate choice were apparent in the year 1689, when the *Mogul* invested the city with an army. He is the more blameable, as common sense, with the greatest ignorance of architecture and engineering, might have pointed out a much more commodious situation, at the distance of 500 paces south-

^m HAMILTON, *ibid.* HARRIS, vol. ii.
this reign.

ⁿ RAPIN, under

ward (B). Several other little forts and fences were likewise built in commodious places for the security of the island against invasions.

In the mean time time, the *Dutch* had for a considerable time pursued the long-concerted scheme of engrossing the entire *India* trade. The former reign had afforded them an opportunity of executing in a great measure that design; the interregnum began to revive commerce; and now that the court struck into the plan advantageous to traffic, the *English* company once more began to make some figure in *India*. This the *Dutch* resolved to put a stop to, by a method no less effectual than an immediate attack upon the *English*; this was, to wage unintermitting war with the natives, till they compelled them to expel all foreigners, besides themselves, out of the country (C).

° HAMILTON, vol. i. p. 85.

THE

(B) As for the magnitude, figure, and materials of the fort, says captain *Hamilton*, there is nothing considerably faulty. It is a regular tetragon, whose outward polygon is about 500 paces, built of an excellent hard stone. It can mount an hundred pieces of cannon; and these particulars are all that can be alleged in its favour. It has not a single spring of fresh water; which very circumstance must in case of a siege, render all its fortifications of little or no value; since a little patience must make the enemies masters of it at discretion (1).

(C) We find in the first volume of the painful and elaborate *Ralph*, a catalogue of the damages for which the *English* demanded satisfaction, A. 1663. The following contain the articles exhibited by the *East India* company.

I. The ship *May Flower*, *W. Curtis* commander, was debarred by *Ralssaaxer*, the

Dutch commodore, A. 1658, from trading at *Acben*, notwithstanding leave obtained of the queen; 3878 pounds of pepper were seized by the said *Dutchman*, and *Curtis* compelled to depart empty.

II. The ship *Dragon*, *N. Baddiford* commander, was prohibited A. 1588, from trading at *Bantam*, by the governor of *Batavia*; and after a long delay, obliged to sail away without a lading. Hence she was necessitated to remain in the *Indies* till her provisions were consumed, and then to return at an unreasonable time of the year, by which she was lost. Of this nothing was known at *London*, upon the 10th of *January* 1588-9.

III. The ship *Advice*, *R. Mayne* commander, was in the same manner constrained to depart empty from *Bantam*, in 1558. Of this nothing was known at *London*, in 1659.

(1) *Hamil. v. i. p. 186.*

*The views
of the
Dutch.*

*The Eng-
lish com-
pany at-
tempt the
recovery of
Bantam.*

THE war no sooner broke out, than their resentment was immediately levelled against the *English*, in which, by their superior strength, they generally succeeded in that part of the world; but peace between *England* and *Holland* ensuing, they again began with the natives, supporting the prince of *Java* against his father, till, from a principle of self-preservation, the *Javanese* necessarily excluded our company. The loss of the *English* settlement at *Bantam* greatly affected the affairs of the company; they determined, therefore, at all events, to attempt the recovery of a place so important to their trade. Great and extraordinary preparations were set on foot for this purpose; and a fleet consisting of twenty-three ships, many of them carrying sixty and seventy guns, was equipped, with every thing ready to sail, A. 1685. A body of 8000 land forces was put on board; a force which no reasonable man doubted would reinstate the settlement, and humble the insolence of the *Hollanders* ^p. In another manner did the corrupted court determine things. Profusion begat avarice; and this insatiable passion blinded the administration to every view of honour, and silenced the clamorous dictates of honesty, conscience, and national spirit. An embargo for nine months was laid upon this armament, under various pretexes; but with a view to extort large sums of money from

^p HARRIS, vol. ii. Account of Commerce. HAMILTON, vol. i. *ibid*.

IV. The ship *Marygold*, J. Cornis commander, was used in the same manner, with this difference, that she was fired at by the *Dutch* ships in the harbour of *Bantam*.

V. In August 1659, Peter de Goyer, principal of the *Dutch* factory at *Jambes*, in *Sumatra*, assisted by 40 *Dutchmen*, and 150 slaves armed, entered the *English* factory in the said place, in a hostile manner, plundering it, to the great damage of the company.

VI. The *Merchant's Delight*, J. Bell commander, was hindered from trading or en-

tering the port of *Bantam*, by some *Dutch* ships, A. 1659.

VII. The *Merchant of Constantinople*, R. Brown commander, A. 1659, sailing betwixt *Vingola* and *Goa*, on the coast of *India*, was attacked by a *Dutch* fleet, and plundered of 1978 grenades, 59 iron guns, and 3 brass mortars.

VIII. Money disbursed for provisions, stores, &c. for the *Dutch*, A. 1661.

These were the articles exhibited by the company, which, with those of the *West India* merchants, &c. were the scaffold on which was built the future war (1).

(1) *Ralph*, vol. i. p. 100.

the company. At last the time elapsing, the Dutch ambassador ^{The corrup-} put an entire stop to the expedition, by a bribe to certain great ^{ruption of} personages, of 100,000*l.*; an action that has indelibly stained ^{the English} with infamy the mercenary reign of that weak and profligate ^{court frus-} prince. Thus was the interest and honour of the kingdom, ^{trates the} and the rights of a company established by law, and cherished ^{design.} by all the predecessors of this monarch, bartered for the mean gratification of an inconsiderable sum of money. Charles, it must be owned, understood, and would have encouraged commerce, had his irregular passions, and loose desires, left him an opportunity of paying any attention to the welfare of his people. His inclinations were evinced by the additional privileges he granted the company the year after his restoration. The company found in his brother James the 11d. a still more powerful protector and warm patron. Charles had granted them a new charter in the 28th year of his reign, and extended it in the 35th; but his successor not only extended the immunities of the company, but in a manner shared his sovereignty with them ^{James the}. He empowered them to build for- ^{the} tresses, to levy troops, to determine causes under the form II. ^{encro-} of courts martial, to coin money, &c. and this with intention ^{rages the} to enable them to dispute this commerce with the ^{company-} *Hollanders*, and to secure the encroachments resulting from the traffic to his kingdoms. Under so many advantages, and the patronage of a prince, who both knew and loved trade, it is not to be doubted, but the company flourished, grew powerful, and extended their dealings and authority with which the sovereign had invested them. 'Tis true, they did exert their power, by making their countrymen feel its full weight, without communicating any part of the benefit.

HAVING been at the expence of such an armament as we ^{The com-} have mentioned, they were obliged to employ them abroad; ^{pany bor-} but their capital being insufficient for purchasing a cargo, ^{row money} orders were issued to their governors and factors, to borrow ^{in India.} what sums they could on the company's credit in *India*. Still several of the ships remained unloaded; these, therefore, were employed in freights in the country. Thus far the policy of the company was justifiable and honest; what follows was treacherous, base, and unworthy the subjects of a christian and civilized state. Captain Hamilton, who ^{The shame-} seems a ^{ful acts of} plain honest man of sense, acquaints us, that he saw a letter ^{the gover-} from the governors of the company in *England*, to the factors ^{nor of the} abroad, intimating, that as soon as they had pushed their ^{company-} credit to the utmost extent, they would then contrive means

Sir Jos.
Child and
his brother
abuse the
power en-
trusted to
them.

of quarrelling with the creditors, and of putting a stop to their trade'. A short method of payment; which shews, that no ingratitude or villainy is too black for the human heart, possessed with avarice, to perpetrate (D). By many writers this whole transaction is charged upon the intrigues, pride, and ambition of Sir *Josiah Child*, and his brother Mr. *John Child*, then honoured with knighthood, and made governor of *Bombay*. The arbitrary administration of this gentleman was equally oppressive to the *Indian* merchants, as to the *English* traders and troops. The pay of the latter was reduced 30 per cent. which entirely alienated them from the governor,

• HAMILTON, vol. i. p. 187. HARRIS, vol. ii. *ibid*.

(D) Mr. *Hamilton* says (1), that the government of *Bombay* was conducted in a partial, confused, and impolitic manner, till the year 1674; when the good sense and moderation of the president *Aungier* reformed many abuses, which had crept in under former governors. This gentleman, leaving *Surat* to the management of deputies, came to *Bombay*, to put the island in a state of liberty, by unveiling the face of justice, which till then lay hid in the breast of a single person, who distributed her favours by the governor's direction. Mr. *Aungier* erected a formal court, where all causes were brought and debated; a method of justice that continued till Sir *John Child* came to the chair. Mr. *Aungier* was the first who started the proposal of inclosing the town from *Dungeree* to *Mendham's Point*, which, however, was not effected during his administration. It was, indeed, reserved to increase the honour acquired by Mr. *Boon*, a succeeding governor, who seems, with great reason, to be a favourite with our honest author, captain *Hamilton*. This

fortification was a very necessary defence against the insults of the troublesome and beggarly neighbours on the continent, as was apparent in the war with *Connahee Angree*. The year preceeding Mr. *Aungier's* arrival, the *Dutch* sent a squadron and body of troops to make an attempt on *Bombay*. On their landing, the reception they met with was so unexpectedly warm and vigorous, that they were glad to abandon the enterprize, with the loss of 300 men. The governors of *Bombay* proved in general tolerably good; at least by comparison with the gentleman who succeeded to the chair in 1682. We are told, that a kind of confederacy between Sir *John Child* in *India*, and his brother, who was at the head of the company's affairs in *England*, was set on foot to rob, spoil, and oppress the *English*, as well as natives, under their jurisdiction. To relate all that is well attested of them, would be to write a libel, and not a history; we shall therefore suppress it, and wish that the whole transaction could be buried in eternal oblivion.

(1) *Vol. i. p. 139.*

and prepared their minds to embrace any opportunity to bring about a revolution in the affairs of the island. The occasion soon offered; Mr. *Ward*, the governor's brother-in-law, by him appointed deputy, was detected in a secret correspondence with the *Swajee*, inviting him to land. This prevented *The Moors* not the *Swajee's* making an effort. He sent a fleet of eighty *make an* small vessels, to attempt a landing on the back bay; but they *attempt so* were so hotly received, that they *sheered off* with loss. *Ward invade* was then confronted with his intercepted letters, the govern- *Bombay.* ment taken out of his hands, and he, with the rest of the *The* faction, sent to Sir *John Child* at *Surat*, which at that time *islanders* was the head settlement and residence of the governor. *revolt.* The islanders taking upon themselves the administration, chose major *Kegwin*, an officer of experience, to superintend military affairs; and captain *Thorburne* was put at the head of the civil government*.

In this manner did affairs stand, till the arrival of the *Phoenix* frigate, A. 1685. She had been dispatched from *The na-* *England*, in consequence of remonstrances received there *tives re-* from Sir *John Child*, to demand restitution of the island, and *turn to* to have it again put under the company's authority. *their duty* The king's orders, and pardon to all who should yield obedience, were no sooner declared, than all the inhabitants submitted; but for their own security drew up certain articles to be signed by general *Child* (he now bore that rank), and *Tyrrel*, captain of the frigate. Among the rest they stipulated, that any one desirous of returning into *England*, should have liberty to do so, and a passage in some of the company's ships. *Kegwin* accordingly came over; but *Thorburne*, on account of his family and small fortune, remained behind, to experience farther proofs of the general's inhuman cruelty†. A villainous and dark scene of iniquity here presents itself, which, in honour to human nature, we must suppress. Indeed the ge- *General* neral was no sooner reinstated, than he exerted every act of a *Child's* wanton, insolent, and ambitious tyranny. Besides oppressing *barbarity* *Thorburne*, by acts the most insidious and base, two other *and inso-* gentlemen in particular, whose integrity was a check upon *lence.* his measures, felt the lash of his unjust resentment. These were Messrs. *Pit* and *Bourchier*, both of the council, and both of dispositions very opposite to that of the petty *bashtaw*. They had ever preferred their honesty and honour to his favour; constantly opposing his pernicious schemes, they at length sunk under the weight of his authority. What par-

* DODSLEY, vol. ii. HAMILTON, *ibid.* † DODSLEY, vol. ii.

*He erects
an inquisition in
Bombay.
Mess. Pit
and Bour-
chier fly
to the Mo-
gul's do-
minions.*

ticularly made Sir John's vengeance to break out with all its violence, was the firm opposition made by those gentlemen to a diabolical inquisition erected by him, under the presidency of a refugee Greek. Their attachment to liberty, and his cruel persecution, obliged them to seek shelter in the *Mogul's* dominions, where, for some time they traded with success. *Pit* was at last taken by pirates, and his ransom, by means of the humane governor, raised so high, that he died in slavery. He next, in arrogant and imperious terms, demanded *Bourchier*, his wife, children, and effects, to be delivered up to him by the *Mogul* governor of *Surat*. This, with the remonstrance to the *Mogul* governor of pretended grievances, laid the foundation of the war that ensued with the *Great Mogul*. It may be easily perceived how hard this *English* robber must have strained to make his charge plausible; a charge founded upon fraud, ambition, and tyranny, the whole intention of which was to clear accounts with the *Indian* merchants, his creditors; to raise his own power, and to give full scope to his private resentment and pique to Mr. *Bourchier* (E).

THESE

* HAMILTON, vol. i. *ibid.*

(E) The reader may not be displeased to see a copy of this charge, exhibited in thirty-five articles. We believe it is nowhere to be found, but in Mr. *Hamilton's* history of the *East Indies*.

A. 1687.

I. Last year a ship of *Molab Abdal Gassoar's* coming from *Juddab*, in her return met with two *Danish* pirates, who made a prize of her. The news coming to *Surat*, the said *Gassoar*, by persuasion of *Mechir Razim* and other merchants, made his complaint to *Salabaat Caun*, then governor, and other officers of *Surat*, saying the *English* belonging to *Surat* had taken his ship; at the same time sending his attorney to court, to complain to the king, who ordered the

governor, &c. to inquire into it, and do justice accordingly. In this affair, by bribery, I was represented in such a light to the king, his subjects, the *French*, *Dutch*, and other nations, that I am in a manner disgracefully prohibited from trading in these parts.

II. In consequence of *Gassoar's* complaints, I was unable to clear my money out of the custom-house, or ship my goods to *Europe*, which were seized and stopped. Hence was I obliged to abandon the port and trade, and retire to *Bombay*. I have by me 30 or 40 lack of rupees, in money and goods; the truth of which you may have certified, by sending a fit person to examine into it. Consider my loss,

THESE pretences were made the foundation of a war with *This and the Mogul; Child*, whether from the violence of his own dis- *other pre-*
position, *sences the*

lose, in keeping my money out of trade, and goods from market. I desire your answer.

III. *Malab Abdal Gassoar's* disgracing me by false reports has hurt my credit, making people afraid to trust me. I have now 12 ships loaded with merchandize to *Surat*, there to relade for *Europe*, which are now compelled to winter here, in consequence of his calumniation. This detention is a prejudice to his majesty's customs, to the company, my masters, for which I must be answerable.

IV. Mr. *Pit* (1) and Mr. *Bourchier* being indebted to the company for several sums of money, I should have called them to account; but absconding themselves, they sought protection with the governor, *Cortaleb Caim*. As for *Pit*, he is dead, and gone to the devil [*strange language*]. Mr. *Bourchier* still remains at *Surat*. I demand him, his wife, children, family, and all *Englishmen* belonging to him, with their effects.

V. Formerly all goods brought from the *Malabar* coast, *Mocha*, and other parts, intended for *Europe*, were licensed to be brought on shore at *Sually*, to cleanse and re-ship, without custom, duty, or impost; but the governor

Cortaleb Caim, during his administration, exacted customs. My demand is, that reparation be made, and the practice abolished.

VI. Of late years we bring more money than formerly, which has greatly enriched the port, of which the governor acquainted the king; and his majesty was pleased to exact no more than 2 *per cent*. Since then, the governor of *Surat* prevailed with his majesty to raise this tax 3½ *per cent*. both for money and goods, to the great prejudice of our trade. My desire is, that the customs may be reduced to their former state, and the overplus repaid. These exactions made the governor greatly over-rate our goods, to our great damage.

VII. Formerly we never paid custom for apparel or provisions: of late *Cortaleb Caim* exacts duty for both. My demand is, that we be reimbursed for both, and no more troubled on that account.

VIII. If our goods coming out of the country are robbed, stole, or designedly damaged, his majesty's order is, that his officers make good the damage. A few years since, our goods coming from *Amnadabaul* and *Durringum*, were robbed in the way to *Surat*. We have petitioned the governor for satisfaction, but

(1) This gentleman is sometimes called *Petit*, and sometimes *Pit*, by Captain *Remith*. In *Harris's voyages*, *Dodley's history of the East Indies*, &c. we always find him mentioned by the name of *Pit*.

general
makes the
foundation

position, or whether by collusion with his constituents, or both, seized on all the ships of the *Mogul's* subjects, where-ever they

never obtained any. My desire is, that the king order satisfaction to be made for the very considerable loss we have sustained.

IX. Many of the natives are indebted to us, of whom we can procure nothing, having made repeated remonstrances to the governors where they reside, to no effect. Our desire is, that all governors and their officers may be assisting to us, in the recovery of our debts.

X. We bring more treasure than any other nation into the country, which is carried to the custom-house. Cleared from thence, it is sent to be coined in the mint. But, from private interest, the officers delay the coinage, to the great impediment of business; the want of cash preventing getting our investments, and loading our ships in the proper seasons of the year. Our request is, that henceforward no delay be permitted in the mint; but that our treasure be separately coined, for the greater dispatch.

XI. At the arrival of our ships, unloading them, we carry our goods to the custom-house, where they are often damaged, broken, and stolen. Our request is, that we may have a warehouse apart and distinct from the *Dutch*; that as soon as we have either sold or sent our goods to the factory, the custom-house officer take account of the king's

duties, clearing them without further molestation.

XII. Formerly we use to clear the duties once a year: of late the officers of the revenue send daily, weekly, and monthly, to our broker; and to prevent his being affronted, he is forced to see the officers, to the great prejudice of our trade. Our request is, that the customs be put upon the antient footing.

XIII. When *Gessadean Cann* was governor of *Surat*, by order of the king the city was walled, at which time we had a garden, surrounded by 34 shops, at *Brampore Gate*; the garden, shops, stables, summer-house, &c. amounting to 25,000 rupees. When the wall approached our garden, it, with all the above conveniences, were destroyed. We petitioned the governor for satisfaction, which he promised out of the king's treasury, but never performed. We demand payment of the above charges.

XIV. Formerly, when our goods came to *Surat*, we paid no more than due custom, and shipped them for *Europe* or elsewhere, without further trouble: of late the officers of those places, where our goods come, demand the receipts of the governor and officers of *Surat*, and often detain our goods. By these proceedings our ships sometimes return empty, and frequently are forced to winter in

they were found. The *Surat* merchants in particular, who of a war carried on an immense traffick by sea to *Mocha*, *Perfia*, and with the *Bassora*, *Mogul*.

in the country, to the prejudice of the king's customs, and of our affairs. Our request is, that we be restored to the former liberty in this traffick.

XV. Formerly the officers used to examine one or two bales, permitting the rest of the goods to be shipped and cleared, without farther molestation, if they found these according to invoice. Of late the custom-house officers ransack all our goods, putting us to the expence of re-packing, and also damaging our goods. Our desire is, that they may be stopped, and shipped according to invoice, without further trouble.

XVI. Of late years the *Merbas* will not clear our sloops and boats, coming from *Swally*, to the custom-house, for the space of three or four days. Our request is, that they be cleared with the usual dispatch.

XVII. Sometimes merchants buy our goods, then break and plead poverty. Our desire is, that we may be redressed out of the king's customs, that we may no longer be sufferers by his subjects.

XVIII. When we send our brokers to the governor, officers, &c. no admittance is permitted them, till the servants are feed. We desire this grievance may be redressed.

XIX. Formerly we used, without molestation, to send to our stables the horses come from *Perfia*, *Bassora*, &c. Of late years they are carried to

the governor's, his seal put about their necks, and we deprived the use of them. We demand redress.

XX. The governor, officers, &c. send to us for broad-cloth, sword-blades, &c. which in civility we cannot deny them. When payment is asked, our servants are beaten, affronted, and maltreated. Our desire is, that nothing be sent for till payment is made.

XXI. Goods provided at *Agra*, *Amanadabant*, &c. coming to *Bornach*, the governor obliges us to pay custom for, at 18 *per* mile, which is contrary to the king's order. Of this we desire redress, by being on the foot of *Moor*s and *Banyans*.

XXII. Our request is, that all goods paying custom may be brought to *Surat*, kept there, and shipped in due season, without molestation.

XXIII. Our request is, that the governors of provinces or towns afford no protection to our servants, who have left us without leave, and clearing their accounts; but that we may proceed against them as we may see convenient and proper.

XXIV. On our first arrival in this country, the king granted us a piece of ground for a *Bander* to repair our ships and vessels. This the governor has, to our great prejudice, converted into a garden. Our request is, that we may have restitution, or

Bassora, westward; to *Bengal*, *Acheen*, *Molucca*, and *Siam*, eastward, obtained passes from the *English* general, notwithstanding

a spot equivalent, near the sea.

XXV. Formerly we paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per bale of indigo, without unpacking: of late the officers charge at pleasure, besides rummaging and spoiling the goods. Our request is, that we be restored to our former privilege.

XXVI. The governors, &c. take iron, guns, lead, &c. for the king's use. Perhaps they are turned out; and when the successor is asked for payment, we are told, the king wanted not our goods. Our desire is, that prompt payment be made.

XXVII. As to the island of *Bombay* it produces no corn. The *Mogul's* fleet often winters there, which raises the price of provisions. We are in want of supplies from *Surat*, and other the *Mogul's* ports, which are refused us, unless we pay $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Our request is, to be exempted from this tax.

XXVIII. A ship worth 25,000 rupees came out of *England*, contrary to the privileges of our company. By our king's order we seized ship and cargo in *Surat*, but had her forced from us by the governor of the city, who delivered her to Mr. *Bourchier*. Our demand is, that the said ship and cargo be delivered; that *Bourchier* give a faithful account; and that the governor take care nothing be squandered by him.

XXIX. Contrary to the king's grant, who exacts but one

duty for goods, the officers have, of late years, forced us to pay double customs, besides perquisites, to the great prejudice of trade. We desire that things may be restored to their original footing.

XXX. We formerly rented a piece of ground for stables, which *Meer Nossam* purchasing, deprived us of, after we had been at considerable expence in building. Our desire is, we may be indemnified.

XXXI. Some years since we left an anchor at the mouth of the river, which was taken up by *Mirza Mossam*. We have demanded it, offering to pay his charges, but never could obtain it. Our desire is, that his son make restitution on these terms.

XXXII. On their arrival, our ships send their boats up with stores. These are stopped for a day at the custom-house, to the impediment of business. Our request is, that they may be allowed to pass, without interruption.

XXXIII. As to *Bengal*, we hear several ships have been taken and burnt there. As we are no-ways concerned in that transaction, our request is, that his majesty issue out orders that no one question or make demands upon us on that account.

XXXIV. The *Sedes*, with the king's fleet, wintered some years ago at *Bombay*, in which time some of his people murdered two *Englishmen*, which determined

standing which they were violently seized, without regard paid to the protection he had afforded and engaged. Nor did he once trouble himself by sending to the king, or using the form of declaring war, as practised among all civilized states. No! his intention was to reap the fruits of a piracy before a proper force could be sent against him. Thus was the company involved in a quarrel, which cost them above 400,000 pounds, besides the ruin of their credit with the *Mogul* and his subjects; a piece of false policy, the effects of which they have not recovered to this day. By what measures of common sense could the general abroad, and his brother Sir *Josiah* at home, think to rob, plunder, and spoil the *Mogul's* subjects in one part of his dominions, and yet enjoy a free undisturbed traffick in other parts? They could not expect that the king would be an idle spectator of the misfortunes of his people, and arrogance of the *English*. During this period it is, that foreigners, and even the *Dutch* themselves, have reason to complain of the haughty insolence with which a company of merchants insulted a great and powerful monarch. The first exploit of this strange policy was performed by captain *Andrews*. This gentleman, in the ship called *Charles the Second*, sailing to *Mocha*, set up the *English* flag on the *English* factory, and seized upon two *English* country trading ships, commanded by the captains *Bear* and *Wren*. This last refusing to surrender his ship, was put to death in his own cabin^a. The governor and merchants of *Mocha*

The absurd conduct of Sir Josiah and General Child.

^a HARRIS, vol. ii. HAMILTON, vol. i.

determined our men to revenge their deaths, but they were persuaded to lay aside their design, by the strongest assurances that all possible satisfaction should be made. The governor, indeed, upon our complaint, imprisoned the murderers, but released them in three days. Our request is, that they may be delivered up to punishment.

XXXV. If we happen to stay on parties of pleasure till the city gates are shut, the porter denies us admittance, without he is paid. Our desire is, that orders be given

by the governor that we be no more affronted by those people (1).

Such was the bill of grievances exhibited by general *Child*, upon which he founded a war, without ever sending his complaint to court. The judicious reader will observe, how trifling, how frivolous, and absurd, the greater number of the articles are; others how unjust, and the whole dictated with an air of insolent authority, equally ridiculous and imprudent. No other alterations are made, but such as were necessary in the language, to render it intelligible.

(1) *Hamilton's Hist. of the East Indies*, v. i.

The company are forced to make satisfaction for the violence committed by General Child.

disliking those violent proceedings, were proposing to compel *Andrews* to deliver back the ships, of which he receiving notice, withdrew on board with great precipitation, leaving the colours flying on the factory. He soon after left *Mocha*, carrying his two prizes with him. The company suffered for those captures, they being forced to make ample restitution to the owners. Mr. *Clive*, supercargo of the *Streights Merchant*, one of the seizures, got bills, payable at *Grand Cairo*, for his stock, 60 bales of coffee excepted, which he carried into *England*, where it sold well: in proportion to this were the company obliged to indemnify the owners for the rest of the cargo, the whole amounting to 32,000 pounds. The *Bristol's* cargo was in like manner made good to the proprietors, as was that of the *Johanna*, amounting to 60,000 pounds. The *Little Betty*, a ship taken by the *Phoenix* in her way to *India*, and sold at *Bombay* for 600 pounds, cost the company 12,000 pounds in *England*. The owner of this vessel, one *Haflewell*, a city quaker, arrested captain *Tyrell* on change; who offered *James* the second for bail, which the plaintiff, it is said, refused, but accepted of a private gentleman, Sir *Joseph Herne* b.

The General seizes all the Mogul's shipping.

THE *Charles*, *Cesar*, *Royal James* and *Mary*, seized upon fourteen sail of the *Surat* trade, and brought them into *Bombay* in the year 1688, no war having yet broke out with the *Mogul*, only with the inhabitants of *Surat*, whom the general thought to humble. These captain *Hamilton* saw at *Bombay*, who likewise affirms, that *Child* sailed with the *Royal James* and *Mary*, in the month of *October*, attended by four other ships of force, in order to force the governor and inhabitants into a compliance with his arbitrary demands, in which, however, he was disappointed. Failing in his design, he left *Surat* in *January* 1689, highly incensed at his disappointment, carrying all the *English* ships, except the *Adventure*, with him. This ship had been forced by the *Phoenix* over the bar, where she lay till her bottom was eat up by worms, and the ship rendered useless, the cargo remaining for years in Mr. *Bourchier's* possession. On his return to *Bombay*, *Child* seized upon a fleet, laden with corn for the *Mogul's* army, though he was opposed by the council in general. One captain *Hide*, in particular, gave his opinion of the imprudence of this measure with great freedom, for which he was treated with scurrilous language by this haughty general. In short, neither the danger of incensing the *Mogul*, of bringing destruction upon *Bombay*, and ruin to the compa-

ny's affairs, could prevent this vain-glorious and rash man *He still* from pursuing a series of ill-judged unadvised measures. His *continuous* pride, insolence, avarice, and self-sufficiency, rendered him *his arbitrary proceedings* equally an object of contempt and hatred; prevented his council from giving him the necessary advice, and, in short, brought on the almost fatal catastrophe which ensued to the company, from a war with so potent a prince, opposed by so ignorant a general.

SEDEE YACOUF, the *Mogul's* general, receiving advice of Sedee Ya- this transaction, sent to Sir *John Child* in terms of the highest coup, *the* respect, to request restitution of the fleet, assuring him that *Mogul's* he had never hitherto interfered in his disputes with the in- *General,* habitants of *Surat*; that he was still determined to pursue *demands* the same conduct, unless his refusal of so just a demand *redress.* should compel him to alter his measures. To this Sir *John Child* returned an answer full of insolence, and ordered the captures to be unloaded at *Bombay*. Sedee Yacouf sent another message more peremptory than the former, threatening, that if the fleet was not discharged by the 11th of *February*, he would certainly demand it with an army at *Bombay* on the 14th. This demand being returned likewise with arrogance, the *Mogul* general performed his promise with great punctuality, landing with 20,000 men at *Somree*, a place four miles distant from the main fort^d. Insolence and boasting *It is* are seldom combined with true courage. *Child's* security had *haughtily* not only prevented his taking the proper precautions against *refused,* such an attempt; but his fears now deprived him of the ne- *and he* cessary presence of mind. Hitherto he had trusted to the re- *lands an* putation and power of the company, which was now higher *army in* than it had ever been in the *Indies*; this screen taken away, *Bombay,* he sunk into his natural pusillanimity and meanness. There was, indeed, a sufficient number of small boats to have opposed and defeated the enemy's landing; but the confusion which attended so unexpected a danger, rendered them useless. They were neglected, while the general's attention *The pusill-* was employed on things of little consequence, or on his own *lanimous* fears. Sedee Yacouf surprized the redoubt that stood at the *conduct of* place where he landed, the garrison abandoning it after hav- *General* ing fired a cannon as an alarm. At one in the morning *Child,* three guns were fired from the castle to give general notice of the approach of the enemy, which threw the inhabitants without the fortress into so much consternation, that the women, both white and black, ran with their children in their arms, half-naked, to the castle, where, being denied admit-

^c DOBBS, vol. ii. HARRIS, vol. ii. ^d HAMILTON, vol. i.

The Gene- ral besieged zan, though defended by fourteen pieces of cannon, as well *in the fort.* as an almost inaccessible situation, was abandoned on the enemy's approach, without the garrison having hardly exchanged a shot. The cowardly retreat of the commanding officer was so precipitate, that he left every thing behind a prey to the *Moors*. Ten chests of treasure, each containing a thousand pounds, and four chests of new arms, among other things, were taken by the enemy, although the sailors offered to carry them off safe. How these came to be deposited in *Magazan* could never be cleared up; nor were the officers reasons for making a present of them to the enemy more apparent. But perhaps the most wonderful circumstance of the whole was, that this officer was never called to give an account of his conduct. Mortars, bombs, ammunition, and provisions, fell likewise into the hands of *Sedee*. Profiting by the misconduct of the *English*, that chief sent a party to plunder the peasants of *Mahim*, and to see the fort, which he judged might, like the others, be evacuated; nor was he mistaken, the garrison having embarked in boats for *Bambay*, before they had sight of his detachment. Establishing his head quarters at *Magazan*, and planting his flag on the ramparts, he sent out parties to harass and insult the *English* general, who was stung with the consequences of his own imprudence. Accordingly captain *Pean* was ordered with a body of fifty men to dislodge the enemy from the hills of *Magazan*; *Monroe*, an experienced officer, being appointed his lieutenant. This small detachment marched in good order within shot of the enemy, who were drawn up behind a rising ground, which covered them from the fire of the *English*. Here the *Moors* determined to wait, which *Monroe* observing, advised captain *Pean* to separate the detachment into platoons, as the most effectual means to break the *Indian* infantry. The captain haughtily rejecting this seasonable counsel, told the lieutenant, that when he was appointed commander, he was to do what he thought proper; but as that trust was now committed to himself, he would act according to his own judgment. He then ordered his men to extend their ranks, making them as thin as possible, and to discharge a general fire upon the enemy as soon as they saw them open upon the plain. Such a conduct, he said, would strike terror into them. *Monroe* warmly opposed this disposition, reminding the captain of the danger he must be in, if the enemy should advance whilst his men were reloading. But *Pean* adhering tenaciously to his first opinion, ordered his men to fire as directed; the consequence of which was what had been fore- seen

Progress of the besiegers, and defeat of a detachment from the garrison.

The injudicious conduct of Captain Pean.

seen by *Monroe*. The enemy, being lighter armed than the *English*, perfectly well practised in close fight, with sword and target, and ten times their number, laying hold of the important moment, rushed upon *Pean* with all their force, and soon bore him down with their weight. So rapid and bold a movement struck the captain with a panic which carried him, with incredible swiftness, to a *Portuguese* church, where one hundred men lay to sustain him if required. *Monroe* still stood his ground with a part of the wing which he commanded, his whole force not exceeding fourteen men. After an obstinate dispute, which demonstrated that, had his advice been pursued, victory would have declared for the *English*, he, with all his brave fellows, were cut in pieces. *Pean*, who was the general's minion, returned to him, and met with a hearty welcome, instead of the halter which he deserved * (F).

He is cut off with the whole detachment.

Sedee

* HAMILTON'S Hist. of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 17. DODSL. vol. ii. HARRIS, vol. ii. B. i. c. 2.

(F) Mr. *Hamilton* acquaints us, that when *Cbild* left *Surat*, several persons, some of them the company's servants, were sent to prison, where they were hid in irons. Mr. *Bourchier*, and those protected by his phirmand, were alone exempted from that severity. Those wretches were made to pass through the streets with irons round their necks, as a mark of infamy. Sir *J. Weyburn* had been sent from *England*, A. 1686, with a commission from the king to execute the office of Judge-Admiral: and another commission from the company was also given him by their governor, which he was made to believe was signed by the king, to condemn and put to death thirteen of the inhabitants of *St. Helena*, where one *Johnson*, the second, had been killed in a tumult, caused by the oppression of the governor of the island. *Weyburn*, on his way to *India*,

put in at *St. Helena*, where the thirteen proscribed were put to death, without form or process; a proceeding which cost the company dear afterwards, and might cost *Weyburn* a violent death, had not a natural one prevented it. 'Tis thought that the many illegal proceedings of general *Cbild*, and personal affronts he put on *Weyburn*, so strongly affected him, as to cause his death, which happened at *Bombay*, about two months before the *Indian* invasion. *Weyburn*, notwithstanding the affair at *St. Helena*, which ought not to be attributed to him, died much regretted by every person of probity who knew him. In short, the conduct of the managers of the company's affairs at home seemed intirely of a piece with that of their governor abroad. As Captain *Hamilton* is the only relater of the transactions of this period, the reader must receive them *cum grano salis*.

Sæde Tacoup was now master of the whole island, the castle, with about half a mile of ground to the southward of it, excepted. To reduce the garrison, he planted a battery on *Dungeree Hill*, which commands the castle, from which he greatly annoyed the besieged. Then he put four great guns into the custom-house, called the *India House*, raised a battery at *Moody's* house, within two hundred paces of the fort, which made it dangerous stirring without the gate of the castle, till a sconce, in form of a crescent, was thrown up. General *Child*, on his part, took all the measures he then could for his defence. Every man, without distinction, was pressed into the service, and three thousand *Sauvagees* were taken as auxiliaries into pay. This rendered provisions scarce; to remedy which, a fleet of small ships was sent to cruise on the *Mogul's* coasts, which had the effect, this squadron returning after considerable success. In particular our author, captain *Hamilton*, from whom this relation is deduced, was pressed, and appointed to the command of a frigate of nine tons burthen, twenty fighting men, and sixteen rowers; with which small force he brought nine prizes into *Bombay*, most of them loaded with provisions and cloathing for the enemy. One piece of oppression he complains of, as greatly prejudicial to the service; viz. that the cruisers were admitted into no share of the captures; nay, that the very pay they had saved was wrested from them for the use of the company, under pretence of its being part of the prize. Thus they became negligent in their duty, and never looked out for the enemy's ships, but when necessity and pinching hunger rendered it absolutely necessary.

The garrison of Bombay straitened for provisions.

They are relieved by the success of their cruisers.

The general sends ambassadors to the Mogul's court, with submissive proposals.

In this train were affairs, when general *Child*, finding his success on shore not correspondent to his insolent hopes, and that the enemy were increased to 40,000 men, began to think of terminating the affair by submissive terms. With this view two persons, in character of *English* ambassadors, were dispatched to the *Mogul's* court. Mr. *George Welden*, *Abraham Naava*, a Jew, assisted by *Meer Mezamie*, a merchant of *Surat*, of some interest at court, and a friend to the company, constituted this embassy. They arrived in fifteen days at *Jehanabat*, where the court then resided. At first their reception was cold, but, by force of bribes and presents to the officers, they were admitted to an audience of *Aurengzeb*. Their attitude, when brought into the presence of this mo-

lis. The Captain seems to be in his affections and prejudices. an honest but warm man, strong. Vol. i. p. 224.

narch,

narch, was very mortifying, their hands being tied before, and they constrained to prostrate themselves on the ground, who, after a severe reprimand, demanded their business. To this they answered by a confession of their fault, and an humble request that his majesty would pardon them. They then petitioned that their phirmaund so justly forfeited, might, by his clemency, be renewed, and that the *Mogul's* forces might be withdrawn from *Bombay*. *Aurengzeb* told *Aureng-* them, that to have their submission accepted, and the injuries ^{zeb's gene-} sustained by his subjects pardoned, one thing was absolutely ^{vous con-} necessary, which was *general Child's* withdrawing from *India* ^{duct.} within nine months, never to return: that then their phirmaund should be renewed, and the army recalled, as soon as security was given for full satisfaction and indemnification of the losses sustained by his people.

THE death of *general Child*, which happened in *January* *Gen. Child* following, much facilitated a reconciliation with *Aurengzeb*, ^{dies, which} and promoted the company's affairs; yet was it kept secret, ^{facilitates} till it was known what his majesty's intentions were, in re- ^{a peace be-} spect to him. *Meer Mezamie* died likewise in *March*, it was supposed by poison, on account of his attachment to the *Englsh*. At the time that *Mezamie* was given over by his physicians, the *Englsh* ambassadors went to demand of him an account of 50,000 rupees he had received for secret services. His answer was, "That he was sorry he had ever meddled in their affairs; he had served them at the expence of his life, yet were they dissatisfied. As to the use to which the money was appropriated, that was a secret he was not at liberty to divulge."

DURING this situation of affairs, the *Dutch* failed not to endeavour profiting by the misconduct and misfortunes of the *Englsh* company. *Baroon* their ambassador at *Aurengzeb's* court, hearing of the revolution in *Great Britain*, thought to impose on the ignorance of the *Indian* monarch. He seized the opportunity of his first audience to magnify the power and influence of the *Dutch*, and vilify that of the *Englsh*, with which the *Mogul* seeming pleased, ordered him to proceed. *Baroon* then told him, that *Great Britain* was, in comparison to *Holland*, a poor, weak, and contemptible nation, fickle, unsteady, and ever embroiled in divisions and civil discord. That the *Dutch* were forced to send the *Englsh* a king to govern them; and that if they were excluded by his majesty from trading with his subjects, the *States General* would carry it on with more advantage to *In-*

Aureng-
zeb's an-
swer to the
Dutch en-
voy, and
the views
of the Hol-
landers
frustrated.

dia, fill his coffers with treasure, and make his people happy, while the *English* would be at a loss to procure daily bread. The *Mogul* gravely replied, that if the States possessed that superiority he alleged, it would be an easy matter for them to drive the *English* out of *India*, and engross the whole commerce to themselves, which, he desired, he would acquaint his masters he expected from them. *Baroon*, upon this, excused himself, pretending that he could do nothing in the affair without instructions from *Holland*. Then the prince reprimanded him, and discovered his sense of the falsehood the ambassador had advanced: "You very well know," says *Aurengzeb*, "that about seventeen years ago, the king of *France* over-run most of your country in a few days, and would have become master of the whole, had he not been repulsed by the *English*, and not the *Dutch* forces." He further told him, "That if *England* did not hold the balance of power, either the emperor or *France* would conquer *Holland* in one campaign." *Baroon* was confounded as well at his own detection, as at his trivial knowledge of the *Mogul*, made no answer, but returned dissatisfied that his effrontery could not procure the indulgence to the *Dutch* company which he had been sent to solicit. The *English* ambassadors had no sooner obtained pardon, than they began to perceive the features of the courtiers soften in their favour. They were indulged with the liberty of taking the diversions of the country, while the phirmaund was preparing, which, according to the custom of the *Easterns*, was a work of time. Orders were sent to the *Sedee* to forbear hostilities; the same orders were given to the garrison, so that frequent visits passed among the officers on both sides (G). The phirmaund being ready, and the necessary security given, *Sedee Yacoub* left *Bombay* on the 8th of *June* 1690, after a stay of near four months; all which time the castle was closely blocked up on the land side. The pestilence, which his army left behind, more prejudiced the company's affairs than either the loss of men they had sustained, or the last malicious act of *Sedee*

The *Mogul* recalls his army from *Bombay*, and grants a peace.

(G) In the course of this war about 60 *Europeans*, of various nations, deserted from the *English* fort to the enemy, and received their pay. Upon a tract of oblivion's being published,

they all returned, excusing their conduct, on account of the tyrannical usage of some *Irish* officers in the company's service (1).

(1) *Hamilton*, vol. i.

in setting on fire and destroying *Magazan* & (H). Although the *Mogul* was not ignorant of the injuries his subjects had received from the *English*, yet was he unwilling to use severity. That wise monarch thought it more advisable to wink at enormities which could not be remedied, than to persecute the authors with a rigour that might deprive his dominions of a beneficial commerce. When the ambassadors *The Mo-* had their audience of leave, he gently told them of their er- gul's
rors, prudently admonishing them to a different conduct *Speech to*
for the future, and, with the majesty of a prince, command- *the com-*
ed them to receive his favours and graces with that respect *pany's am-*
and deference which was due to the friendship of so great a *bassadors.*

* HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. DODGE. Hist. of the East In-
dies, vol. ii. HAMILTON, *ibid.*

(H) That the reader may have a specimen of the *Mogul* emperor's character, we shall present him with the following phirmaund, as we find it in Captain *Hamilton*, translated by the company's interpreters.

"The occasion of your writing to me was your being in fault of all these troubles; that you have repented of what you have done; that you made several complaints against former governors, all which I have here from several of my *Umbras*, and the several abuses received from them and their officers, all which you should have acquainted me with, before you proceeded so violently. Having acknowledged your error, and asked pardon, I not only grant your request, pardoning what is past, but granting you a phirmaund, according to your desire; and have ordered *Affs* *Cann* to forward it to the governor of *Serat*, with such particulars as he will acquaint you with. At the arrival of my phirmaund, receive it with great respect, acknowledging

"the glory you have got by the same, that you may trade as formerly, at your pleasure, and as accustomed: that you deliver the merchants who have complained of you their ships, with their effects: that, for the future, you do not commit the like error, in doing as you have done: and that you proceed according to my will and pleasure, and be not forgetful of the same. If you receive any affronts from my governors or their officers, or any of my subjects, be not negligent in acquainting me of the same. I have ordered *Affs Cann* to write accordingly.

"What you write concerning former governors protecting Mr. *Bourchier*, that you have several demands on him, that you cannot call him to account, desiring that he may be delivered to you, my order is, that you prove your demands according to law, that justice may be done accordingly."

Dated the 31st year of *Aurungzeb's* reign.

monarch.

monarch. He concluded with advising them to make law the measure of justice, to use moderation in all their actions, and justice in their dealings; after which he dismissed them filled with the highest notions of his wisdom, magnanimity, and virtue^b.

*Mr. Vaux
succeeds
Child in
the go-
vernment
of Bom-
bay.*

GENERAL Child was succeeded in the government of *Bombay* by Mr. *Vaux*. Mr. *Harris*, who had been prisoner in *Surat*, ought to have been the successor in course of seniority, but it was unusual to admit into this office any one who had been confined for capital crimes by the *Mogul*, till a particular amnesty was granted. And this was a kind of necessary compliment and respect paid to that monarch. Mr. *Vaux* was obliged to go to *Surat* to receive the phirmaund and the *Mogul's Serpaw*, or present usual on these occasions. This donation consisted of a fine horse richly caparisoned, which must never be sold on any account whatsoever, a complete suit of cloaths of *Atlasses*, or *Zeerhastas*, a kind of satin with wrought flowers of gold or silver; a fine turban, embroidered shoes, and a dagger of value, stuck into a fine sash. Equipped in this attire, the general, or governor, is presented with the phirmaund by the *Mogul's* messenger, the governor of the city or province enlarging, at the same time, upon the honour done him by the most powerful potentate under heaven; and admonishing him that his conduct may render him deserving of such a distinction. Mr. *Vaux* having received the phirmaund in a gilt box, put it upon his head, returning by the interpreter his acknowledgments of the honour and particular obligation he was under to the great monarch; after which he was conducted by the *Mogul's* governor from the garden where this ceremony was performed, into the city, amidst the acclamations of an infinite concourse of people, who welcomed his accession to that high rank with shouts of joy, as he passed to the *English* factory. After remaining about a week at *Surat*, Mr. *Vaux* sent to acquaint the *Mogul* governor of the necessity he was under of returning to his charge at *Bombay*. In answer, he was told, that as no other person could be intrusted by the *Mogul* to see the contract performed, it was hoped he would not think of leaving the city, lest the king should repent of the favours conferred upon the company whose commission he bore. Thus was Mr. *Vaux* detained a hostage for the security of the performance of the articles entered into by his masters.

*He is de-
tained at
Surat by a
gentle re-
straint.*

^a HARRIS'S Collect. vol. ii. b. i. c. 2.

^b HAMILTON, vol. i.

Mr. Harris then, as was usual, demanded the govern-^{Mr. Harris is governor of}ment of *Bombay* to be ceded to him, as senior, which *Vaux*, to avoid altercation, granted. Harris soon after made *Annesley*, a man of no character, his confident and director; so that, in short, the subtle *Annesley* held the reigns of government, and had art and address enough to embroil, during the administration of *Harris*, the company's affairs, as well as those of private traders, procuring himself to be afterwards made president or rather tyrant of *Bombay** (I). Nor was the conduct of Sir *Josiah Child* (K), who was president of the company's affairs

* HAMILTON, vol. i. DODSL. vol. i.

(I) Captain *Hamilton* mentions the following instance, which will sufficiently point out the character of this new governor. The *Mogul's* subjects have a number of large ships, which trade all over *India*. Their owners having a high opinion of the *English* skill in navigation, procure pilots and masters from the company, to whom they pay very considerable wages, with the privilege of trading to a certain extent in certain commodities, free of duty. These wages Mr. *Annesley* undertook to reduce to one half, appropriating to his own use the other moiety, in quality of his office. Awed by fear, or compelled by necessity, some complied; whilst others, despising his menaces, refused to accede to his measures, which they deemed insolent and unjust. He persecuted these with all the violence of malice, and weight of authority; bribing likewise the *Mogul's* officers to harass and tease them. Many were ruined by his oppression, whilst others bid defiance to his resentment with impunity. Those who suffered, and those who were out of his power, laboured

to render him odious to the *Indians*. Thus, between both, the company's credit was sunk in that country, and their affairs prejudiced by the numbers who were forced, by the governor's avarice, to look out for other professions.

(K) Captain *Hamilton*, in giving a short relation of the rise of Mr. *Vaux*, who, it seems, was patronized by Sir *Josiah Child*, has the following remarkable passage: "Sir *Josiah* continued "his esteem for Mr. *Vaux*, procuring him many profitable places; among the rest, that "of judge in civil affairs. After "he was installed in that office, "Sir *Josiah* wrote to him, full "of admonition and remembrance, wherein, after many postulates, he told him, "that now, having the power "of condemning the company's enemies, or such as should "be deemed so, particularly "those who should dare to question the company's power over all the *British* subjects in "India; and that he expected "his orders, from time to time, "should be obeyed and observed as statute laws. Mr. *Vaux* "returned a letter of grateful "acknow-

Sir John
Gayer
made com-
mander in
chief in
India.

His mal-
admini-
stration.

affairs in *England*, less culpable, as the reader will perceive by the instance we have quoted in our notes. At last the mal-administration of *Harris* and his prime minister, *Annesley*, produced so many complaints, that the company was forced to supersede them, sending Sir *John Gayer* to take upon him the management of affairs in *Harris's* room. *Gayer* arrived *an.* 1694, and was invested with the title of general of *India*. He continued *Annesley* in the company's service, though he deprived him of all power of doing mischief, and in the end dismissed him, *an.* 1700. The new governor was a man far from vicious principles, of good nature, and on the whole an agreeable character; yet did he commit actions greatly prejudicial to his reputation. Several instances of this we have given by captain *Hamilton*; it will be sufficient to our readers that we point out one or two, which indicate the necessity there was for a thorough reformation in the affairs of the company. A young lady, daughter to Mr. *Ward*, whose relations were dead, married a young gentleman she loved, in a clandestine manner, not permitted by the laws of *Bombay*. As she had some fortune, the governor, who was desirous of uniting her to his own family, dissolved her marriage with Mr. *Loyd*, and struck up a match between his own son and the lady. Another piece of conduct he is blamed for: The captain of a *China* ship, his friend, had behaved with so much insolence and tyranny to the crew, that they all to a man deserted him. *Gayer* ordered them all by force on board, and obliged them to proceed on their voyage. The consequence was, the crew mutinied, murdered the captain, and then went a pirating, infesting the streight of *Malacca*, where they took and plundered every ship they were able to overcome. The *Dorrel*, captain *Hide*, fell in with her,

" acknowledgments, promising
" that, as he had put him in
" that post of honour and pro-
" fit, he would endeavour to ac-
" quit himself with all possible
" integrity and justice, telling
" him, that the laws of his
" country should be the rule of
" his conduct. In his answer
" to this letter Sir *Jesiah* seem-
" ed to be extremely angry; he
" told Mr. *Vaux* roundly, that
" he expected his will and or-
" ders should be his rule, and

" not the laws of *England*,
" which were a heap of non-
" sense, compiled by a number
" of ignorant country gentle-
" men, who hardly knew how
" to govern their own families,
" much less the regulating com-
" panies, and a foreign com-
" merce." Captain *Hamilton*
informs us, that he copied those
letters *A.* 1696, at the time that
Vaux and he were prisoners at
Surat (1).

(1) *Hamilton's History of the East Indies*, v. i. p. 236.

where

when a sharp action ensued, in which the *Dorrel* lost sixteen men, was disabled in her rigging, and damaged in her hull, but, by the address of the captain, narrowly escaped being taken. Sir *John Gayer* is likewise reflected upon for permitting himself and his lady to be made prisoners in *Swally* road, by order of the governor of *Surat*. As he might easily have escaped, it was esteemed a piece of low cunning to reside in this place, where he could employ his money to more advantage than at *Bombay*¹.

NOR was the conduct of Sir *Nicholas Waite*, who succeeded *He is succeeded by* in the government of *Bombay*, less unwarrantable. The looseness of his morals, his barefaced perversion of justice, together with his prevarication, and little arts, incensed to such a degree the inhabitants and soldiers of the island, that they seized and sent him prisoner to *England*. His sway, which *Sir Nicholas Waite, whose conduct is equally blameable.* was short, was, nevertheless, very prejudicial both to the company and to private traders. From the time that the president had been obliged to reside at *Surat*, *Bombay* was under the direction of a deputy, appointed by the governor. The war and late pestilence had made great havock among the *Europeans* on the island, insomuch, that out of eight hundred *English*, there remained not above sixty. Thus, from a populous and pleasant place, *Bombay* was reduced to a solitary and dismal desert. Still the spirit of injustice remained, which *ruined by the oppression of its governors.* neither war nor pestilence could subdue. Those who survived were denied the liberty of returning to their native country, and likewise of pursuing their fortunes in *India* by private trade. They were detained in the company's service, under the lash of authority, insolence, and oppression, without a glimmering of hope^m.

To avoid confusion, and disturbing the reader's attention, we have pursued the affairs of *Bombay* at the expence of a slight trespass on chronology. We shall now return to the year 1691, when the domestic transactions of the company afford materials for our history. As the political affairs of this commerce are wholly abstracted from foreign occurrences, we believe the reader will not be displeased that we have treated them separately. The contrary would have broke the chain of narration, thrown the reader into perplexity, and wholly destroyed the pleasure arising from an uniform and complete view.

¹ HAMILTON, vol. i.^m HARRIS, *ibid.* DOBBS, *ibid.*

S E C T IV.

Containing the domestic occurrences of the company; designs set on foot to destroy the monopoly; the disputes of the company with interlopers; and the steps previous to the establishment of a new company.

A. 1691.

A design on foot, by some private merchants, to annul the company's charter.

ABOUT this time a design which had been long in agitation of subverting the old *East India* company, by erecting a new one in its stead, began first to appear. This project took its origin from all the several motives which most powerfully actuate the human mind. In 1680, and the several following years, till the unhappy war at *Bombay*, the price of *India* stock was 360 *l. per cent*, and their dividend proportionable; a circumstance that struck all *Europe* with admiration, and our rivals in trade with envy and malignity. It inflamed the avarice of individuals in the nation; prompted many to invade the exclusive rights of the company, in order to share the profits; and at last divided the whole court and mercantile interest into opposite factions. Each saw the value of the prize, and each contended with equal ardour, the one to keep, the other to obtain, possession of it. The foundation of this struggle had been laid towards the end of *Charles* the second's reign; it had been kept up by the partisans of each, either by the press, or by secret intrigues and corrupt applications^a.

Complaints exhibited against the company.

THE complaints against the company were deduced from the year 1682, when Sir *Josiah Child*, after having arrived at the presidency of affairs, got those very persons excluded the direction who had raised him. They had, indeed, opposed some of his measures, which they apprehended would be fatal and destructive. In course of the complaints, it is alleged, that Sir *Josiah's* ambition and corruption were so great, that no difficulties could withstand him; by force of intrigue, money, and notorious falsehoods, he prevailed in procuring some of the most experienced merchants, of the greatest credit and weight, to be turned out of the direction. His presents were so substantial, that the court fell in with his measures, by which, we are told, he could command equally at *St. James's* and *Westminster Hall*, whatever he desired.

^a HARRIS, vol. ii. ch. 2. b. 2.

The embargo that was laid upon the great armament set on foot for the recovery of *Bantam*, the war with the *Mogul*, the mal-administration of the island of *Bombay*, the ruin of our most beneficial settlements in *India*, particularly that at *Bengal*, then the richest province in the world, were all charged upon Sir *Josiah Child*. It was proved, that our trade in *Bengal*, which, in the space of 23 years, had advanced from 8000 *l.* to 300,000 *l. per annum*, was now reduced almost to its former nothingness, by his misconduct. It was yet further objected by the enemies of the company, that by their shameful neglect, they had lost the island of *Poleeroon*, which, though of inestimable value, was defended only by twelve men, the garrison of a wooden fort, set up for shew, and of no use in defence. That they had accepted for their right to the moiety of the customs of *Gombroon*, a trifling equivalent of about 3000 *l. per annum*. That by annexing votes to shares instead of persons, at the rate of a vote for every 500 *l.* stock, they had enabled one man (*Child*), to usurp an authority over all the rest, to the great prejudice of the trade. On these narrow principles, the stock ought to govern the stock; and he who had the most money, ought of consequence to have the greatest power. That for the last three years it could be demonstrated, that the joint-stock had been wronged about 100,000 *l.* by means of private contracts, and unheard of deductions, not without the most iniquitous frauds in both. That the trade had been leased out not only to *Englishmen*, but to foreigners, invited to assist in freighting the company's ships, to the detriment of the company, and discredit of the nation. That in consequence of a capital error in taking but one half the sum at first subscribed, they found themselves distressed by a narrow stock; and that, to remedy it, instead of calling in the remaining subscription, they had borrowed 2,000,000 *l.* at interest, which had thrown the commerce into a deep and almost incurable consumption. That the stock had been received by unjust and unreasonable dividends, made without regard to the real progress of the trade; but solely directed by ambition and avarice. That from *February* 1677 to *January* 1682, they drew out 11,647 *l.* and in two months after doubled their stock, which, together, made 1,109,673 *l.* and all this from a capital of 369,891 *l.* which was the principal paid in by the adventurers, while they were besides at the charge of 300,000 *l.* for interest and gratuities at court ^b.

^b RALPH's Hist. Eng. vol. ii. sub an. 1691.

HENCE, and from such proceedings, the stock fell into so low, weak, and languishing a condition, "That, instead of preserving the purity of their virgin credit by a continuance of punctual payments, they made it a prostitute jilt, by a paper fixed on the treasury door, declaring a stop to payments till a certain time specified." This the enemies of the company alleged, was, for the scandal and presumption of it, without precedent, and clearly demonstrated that the directors had been so busy in making dividends, that the obligation of payments was forgot (L). But the general charge brought against the

(L) Mr. *White*, in his sensible account of the *India* trade, calls this the key of that mysterious war with (1) the *Mogul*. Things arriving at such a crisis, it was high time to look about for an expedient. This offered itself readily, by seizing on the rich fleets belonging to *Surat*, especially those trading to *Arabia* and *Persia*. Previous to the intended quarrel with the *Indians*, we have seen the company's factors borrow the sum of 300,000*l.* of them, which they were to clear off by a war. In short, besides the sums borrowed, this iniquitous scheme produced about a million sterling, by the seizing of ships in an hostile manner, as was proved by oath in his majesty's court of exchequer. About 300,000*l.* sterling were brought into *England*, according to the confession of several of the factors and prime agents employed by the company. Thus, after violating the most sacred rights of nations, after involving themselves in a dangerous, expensive, and unjust war, and after bringing disgrace and contempt upon the honour of the kingdom, what was the important result of all these

deep-laid projects? Why, these that follow:

1. A charge to the company of about 400,000*l.* in sundry articles, as advance on the rate of their tonnage; for supernumerary seamen; transporting old soldiers from *England*, with their pay; for great numbers raised in *India*; for large quantities of ammunition and stores, and garrisons in *Fort St. George* and *Bombay*, together with these heavy articles of dead freight and demurrage.

2. It interrupted the course of commerce for four or five years, by which the company cannot (supposing they had a sufficient stock to trade) be computed to have lost less than 800,000*l.* and the crown about a third of that sum.

3. It destroyed several thousands of the best *English* seamen, by being sent out at unseasonable times, and by long detention in those countries.

4. It occasioned the loss of five capital ships, besides others, which, by their long stay, loss of freight, and other circumstances, had proved a dead charge, and useless by worms, before they came to be employed.

(1) *White's Account of the India trade*, p. 57.

the company was their having seized and condemned the ships of private traders, who had their licence, and this both contrary to express contract, and without sufficient authority so to act. To which was added, their having put to death by the martial law, in contempt of the known constitution of the kingdom, several of his majesty's subjects at *St. Helena*.

To this heavy indictment the company answered, in their defence, 1. in general, That they neither exceeded their power, nor abused it. That in no one instance did they violate the rights of nations, or prejudice the honour of their country. That the cry and murmurings against them were raised by those very *interlopers*, who had occasioned the war in *India*. They then descended to particulars, urging that the rights they held, and the power they exercised, were not only derived from the crown, with the sanction of parliament, but absolutely necessary to conducting the commerce, and carrying it on upon a footing with other nations, and particularly for guarding against the encroachments of the avaritious dispositions of *Indian* governors. That among the powers with which they were invested, was that of holding courts-martial, and inflicting military punishments. That it did not become them to discuss the question, how far the crown was impowered to grant them their privileges? Yet, that as a proof of this power in the crown, their charter had once been judicially confirmed in *Westminster Hall*. That for many years it was not requisite to exert that power; nor was it put in force till necessity urged it; till the interlopers broke in upon their trade, embroiled them with the natives, and even bred discord among themselves. That it was first in the year 1680, when the whole nation was in confusion, and *England* was threatened with a civil war, they began to take

* See before, p. 89.

5. And above all, those invaluable jewels, public credit and national honour, became bankrupt. From the most respected, esteemed, and favoured nation, the *English* in *India* became the most odious, detestable, and contemptible. Insolence, pride, avarice, and ambition, were the means used to destroy the estimation in which the *English* were

held; while corruption, adulation, and cringing, were made the infamous tools of regaining what had been lost, by means no less infamous. All their misconduct became articles of real grievance to the nation, which were corroborated by the secret practices of the enemies of the company, who, besides public spirit, had private views to serve.

advantage of the then situation of affairs. That on notice of their illicit practices, the company applied to the crown for such further privileges as might obviate the inconvenience. That such powers were accordingly granted. That even in the affair of *St. Helena*, which had undergone the censure of the house of commons, they were justified by an express commission from king *James* the second, and also by his orders for the fact. That such was the temper of the court at that period, that their presuming to question the validity of such a commission and order, or even insinuating the expediency of having them ratified by parliament, would be forfeiting the protection for the indignation of the court, and exposing themselves to all the rigours of a *quo warranto*. That in such circumstances they could only use the power given them, or submit their trust to be infringed, ruined, and destroyed, by the foreign and domestic enemies of the company. Which alternative was the most eligible, common sense is enough to determine. They had foretold, in their petition to king *James* the second, that all their settlements would be filled with confusion and anarchy, from the pretensions of those intruders, who, to procure themselves credit, propagated a report, that they were a *new company*, erected by the king in consequence of the *old company's* having entered into the rebellion against him. That such of the company's servants as had reason to apprehend the consequences of their unjust dealings, joined those *interlopers*. That the *English* interest being thus divided, the *Indian* governors seized the occasion to oppress them, to sink their credit, to embarrass their dealings, and to lessen their profits. That the *Dutch*, *French*, *Danes*, and *Portuguese* took their several advantages of this anarchy. That under such a variety of pressures it could not be wondered that their returns were less considerable than formerly, and the management more difficult. Yet that the company was so far from being bankrupt, that they were in a condition easily to satisfy all demands, and to carry on their trade with as large a stock and with the same advantages as ever. That, in truth, the clamour was not raised on account of their supposed poverty; it was their wealth and prosperity had excited envy. That as to their postponing payment, they had followed the example of the chamber of *London*, and even the exchequer itself. The war with the *Mogul*, the company affirmed, was so far from being unprovoked, perfidious, and piratical, that it was just, necessary, and unavoidable; and that, upon the whole, they had done nothing designedly to forfeit the protection of the government, the good opinion of the people, or the powers and privileges granted

granted them by their charters, since whatever national advantages were to be drawn from trade, might be as well obtained on the present model, as on any other whatever ^d (M).

HERE, as in all similar cases, where interest excites opposition, each discredited, or pretended to discredit, the allegation of the other. Pamphlets were poured out in such numbers on the public, that this subject would seem to have engrossed the whole employment of the press. The by-standers were delighted with the sport, the public inflamed the contest, and, next to the war, placed it among the great topics of the day. One advantage the company had, they were united, attached, and unanimous; their enemies were consistent in nothing but their animosity, which was vented in a variety of clashing projects. Some were for laying the trade open (N); others were for continuing it under the sanction

^d Vide Apologie for the East India Company, p. 18. RALPH, *ibid*.

(M) Here the company specified a number of other particulars, the consequences of the footing the several traders, or *interlopers*, as they called them, had got in *India*. The revolt of their servants under *Kerwin* at *Bombay* was charged upon them. The like consequences happened at *St. Helena*, say they, upon the report and suggestions of the *interlopers*. Here almost the whole island rose in actual rebellion, attempting to force the company's fort by arms. In *Bengal*, likewise, where the company's chief trade was, the *Nabob* and his officers took the advantage of the confusion in their affairs, to break all their former compacts, and deprive the *English* of all those valuable privileges, which they had long enjoyed by stipulation. They drew great sums of money from both parties, by violence, injustice, and open hosti-

lities, which they never ventured to attempt, while the *English* were united under the prudent conduct of a company. The *interlopers* agreed to any conditions for the liberty of trading, to the great prejudice of the company, who were also obliged to accept of the most disadvantageous terms (1).

(N) The arguments they urged were the following:

1. A company would be a monopoly, which has always been a grievance, in the eye of the law; since, in this case, there would be but one purchaser of all the *English* manufactures sent to *India*, and but one seller of the commodities imported from thence.

2. Hence such purchasers will buy cheap and sell dear, both which are detrimental to the public. On the contrary, the more buyers of *English* commodities, and sellers of foreign,

(1) *Vid. Modest and just apology for the India company.*

*The senti-
ments of
the public
divided
upon the
dispute.*

*The ene-
mies of the
company*

tion of the parliament, and transferring the direction to themselves and their friends. Those who aspired to power and importance, as well as wealth, gave into the latter, while the former scheme was supported and eagerly pursued by those whose small stocks they were desirous of extending in reasonable adventures. These, however, after some feeble attempts, were overpowered, a majority concurring in the former opinion. In short, it seemed to be the general sense, that a trade to *India*, properly conducted, would prove highly beneficial to the nation; that it could not be successfully managed but by a joint stock, and under joint adventurers, trading in a body. That these were incompatible with *interloping*; that therefore no company could subsist unless private *interlopers* were excluded, and that they could no otherwise be excluded than by investing a company with sufficient powers to vindicate their own rights, to defend themselves against such encroachments, and to conduct their commerce by such fixed laws, as should secure it against the avarice or craft of nabobs, governors, and the counter-practices of their foreign rivals. In this manner did the public reason; arguments equally strong for these in pursuit and those in possession, both joining issue in the inference. But then the enemies of the company alleged, that they were not legally invested with the powers which they exercised; that consequently by exe-

there are, the first will be sold the dearer, and the latter the cheaper; the advantage of which to the nation is obvious.

3. If the trade was laid open it would increase; the industry of individuals would discover more markets, as the advantage would be their own. The case is different with a monopoly, where a small trade is equally lucrative with a great one.

4. It is contrary to justice, and an infringement of the rights of an *Englishman*, to be excluded from the trade of any part of the nation: for why should not *Bristol*, *Exeter*, *Phymouth*, *Hull*, *Yarmouth*, &c. equally enjoy the privilege with

the port of *London*, of going to the *East Indies*.

5. The *Dutch* trade with a joint stock; but they permit their subjects to import from *England*, or any other parts, except *India*, all sorts of *India* goods. Whereas by the act of navigation, no *East India* goods can be imported into this kingdom, but by the company, directly from thence. Thus the company have it in their power to fix what price they think proper to their imported commodities, without any remedy for the buyer. Hence it follows, that the *English* are in a worse situation, and more hardly circumstanced, than the *Dutch* (1).

(1) *Vid. Somers's Coll.* vol. xxx. p. 98.

cutting an undue and unlawful authority, they had forfeited all their other rights, and were, in equity, actually disqualified for any such trust for the future*.

*dispute the
legality of
their char-
ter.*

In this train stood affairs when they came before the convention parliament. The subject appeared truly national to the unprejudiced; and worthy the attention of those who had formed designs. A committee was appointed to take cognizance of the dispute, and it proceeded so far as to demand a perfect state of the company's accounts, an estimate of their stock, goods, cash, debts, with a view of their domestic and foreign correspondence. With this the company complied, and voluntarily offered to submit their books and latest advices from *India* to the inspection of the chairman, or such two or three of the committee, as the house would please to nominate. Their reason for this limitation was, that a copy of that estimate, which they had submitted to the house, had been sent to *Holland*, for the *Dutch* to make what advantages of it they could to the prejudice of the company, as was apparent by a transcript remitted from *Amsterdam* to some *Jews* residing in *London*, to compare it with the account delivered in by the company to the chairman. But notwithstanding the eager desire of the convention parliament to pre-
judice the company, such was their address, such were the friends they made by money and interest, that they baffled all designs upon them till the third session. Their vigour, indeed, was so great and unexpected, that their adversaries thought fit to wait a more favourable occasion to renew the attack†.

*The dis-
pute laid
before the
house of
commons.*

*The com-
pany exert
themselves
in defence
of their
charter
and rights.*

HERE stood the dispute for some time, till the adverse party found themselves strengthened with the assistance and countenance of several nobility and gentlemen of rank, distinction, and weight. Upon this they renewed their operations with redoubled vigour; and, to render their motions more regular and certain, they erected themselves into a kind of company, by entering into certain engagements (O). After this

* DODSLEY'S Hist. East Ind. vol. ii. b. iii.
vol. ii. sub. an. 1692.

† RALPH,

(O) "Whereas the trade to
" *East India* is of very great im-
" portance to this nation, and
" yet, through the many abuses
" and illegal practices of the
" managers of the present joint
" stock, both at home and
" abroad, it is likely to be lost,
" if some speedy remedy be
" not used, by application to
" their majesties and the parlia-
" ment, to procure a regular
" and

The merchants petition the house against the company.

this they presented a petition to the house of commons, representing the danger to which the *India* trade was exposed by the misconduct, abuses, and unlawful practices of the present directors; praying, that a new company, on a new joint-stock, might be erected, with such powers, privileges, limitations, and restrictions, as the wisdom of parliament might see fit, and conduce to the public good. This petition, which was presented on the 28th of *October*, was attended with a counter petition from the company. Both were submitted to a committee of the whole house. And, that nothing might be wanting to a thorough intelligence of the point in question, the several articles of grievance were ordered to be fully stated, and the company's distinct answer to each particular delivered; upon which the 28th of *November* was appointed for a hearing of both sides *.

The company give in a state of their affairs to the house of commons.

DURING the intermediate time, an account of the company's stock, cash, debts, &c. as given in by their governor Sir *Joseph Herne*, was under examination. Certain petitions from the clothiers, praying a free exportation of woollen manufactures; and of the linen drapers, complaining of the company's not supplying them with callicoes, were received and read. At last, after a tedious discussion, and warm debates, the house came to the following resolutions; viz. That

* Debates of the House under this Year.

"and lawful establishment of
"the same; which cannot be
"completed, without a new and
"national stock, clear of all in-
"cumbrances. And whereas
"divers eminent traders and
"merchants, in and about the
"city of *London*, are according-
"ly endeavouring to procure
"such an establishment for the
"benefit and advantage of all
"who shall or will be concern-
"ed in the said trade; the sub-
"scribers, being willing to
"promote so good a work, &c.
"do hereby severally promise
"and oblige ourselves, so soon
"as such an establishment shall
"be made, to pay the several
"sums of money by us sub-
"scribed towards raising the
"said stock, at such time and

"place as a committee, chosen
"by the major part of the sub-
"scribers shall direct and ap-
"point. And we do hereby
"make it our request to those
"persons who have engaged
"themselves by a certain writ-
"ting of the 8th instant, to en-
"deavour the procuring such
"establishment, and to pursue
"their endeavours to complete
"the same. And we do here-
"by promise to pay them out
"of the joint-stock, all such
"sums of money as shall be
"thought necessary by them to
"be laid out in obtaining the
"said establishment, according
"to the true intent of this pre-
"amble." This was the con-
"tract entered upon.

a sum not less than 1,500,000 *l.* and not exceeding 2,000,000, *Resolution of the house.* was a fund necessary to carry on the *East India* trade in a joint stock. 2. That no person should have any share in the above stock, exceeding 5000 *l.* either in his own or any other name in trust for him. 3d. That each person having the above share, should have a vote; and that no person should have more than one vote. 4th. That the company trading to the *East Indies*, should be obliged annually to export, goods being the growth and manufacture of this nation, to the amount of 200,000 *l.* 5th. That no private contracts should be made; but all goods be sold at public sales by inch of candle, saltpetre for the use of the crown, excepted. 6th. That the company be obliged to sell yearly to the king, saltpetre refined, 500 tons, at the rate of 30 *l.* per ton. 7th. That no lot exceeding 500 *l.* should be put up at one time, at any of the company's sales. 8th. That no person whose share did not amount to 2000 *l.* should be appointed governor, or deputy governor; and that a share of one thousand pounds, and no less, could entitle a person to a seat in the committee of the company. 9th. That the election of governor, deputy governor, and committee for the company to trade to the *East Indies*, be made every year. 10th. That all dividends be made in money. 11th. That no dividend be made without a sufficient fund to clear debts, and carry on trade. 12th. That the stock be valued every five years by the accountant of the company, upon oath, to be inspected by all concerned. 13th. That for the future no ships be permitted to go to the *East Indies*, except such as should be of a company, or be established by act of parliament. 14th. That no by-laws should be binding to the company, but such as should be approved by a general court of adventurers, and were not repugnant to the laws of the land. 15th. That the joint stock of a company to trade to the *East Indies* be for twenty-one years, and no longer ^h.

HITHERTO the house seemed to regard the trade only, without entering into the interest of either contending party. The day following they further resolved, that all persons now having shares exceeding 5000 *l.* be obliged to sell out the excess, whether in their own names, or in trust, and this too at *par*. *Farther resolution of the house.* That the members of the committee of the *East India* company give security, to be approved of by the house, that their present stock and estate, all debts and incumbrances cleared, amount to 759,000 *l.* And lastly, That after security given, an humble address be presented to his majesty, to in-

corporate by charter the present *East India* company, according to the regulations agreed upon by the house, that the same might pass into an act.

By this resolution, the house gave the company their choice; who accordingly proceeded as if they thought the offer deserved acceptance. Things bore a promising aspect for them, when Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and two of the committee delivered in their proposals concerning the security required, which were rejected. However, they still shewed a ready compliance, and according to order, undertook to produce the persons of their bondsmen, and specify the sums they would severally undertake for¹. Thus every obstruction was in appearance surmounted; and a committee was appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to establish an *East India* company, according to the resolutions of the house.

A. C.
1692.

The bill was prepared, and brought in on the 16th of *January*, but not read till the 22d. This proved to the company that some new objection was started; some impediment thrown in their way, which they must remove by other measures.

The commons prejudiced against the company. The house address the king to dissolve the company.

As a farther proof, new petitions were received against them; their answers deemed unsatisfactory; and the whole game, by the following resolution, was played into the hands of the court; viz. That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to dissolve the present *East India* company, according to the powers reserved in their charter, and to erect another *East India* company for the better preserving the *East India* trade to this kingdom, in such manner as his majesty in his wisdom shall think fit. The resolution was presented, to which his majesty made answer, "That it was a matter
" of high importance to the national commerce; that he
" would consider of it; and that in a short time he would
" give the commons an answer." Although his majesty appeared quite undetermined, yet his presenting Mr. *Goldsborough*, then governor of *India*, with the honour of knighthood, was looked upon as a favourable omen to the present company^k.

The dispute referred to the privy council.

THE whole dispute being now brought before the privy council, the company shewed the greatest readiness to stand by their award; and signified in writing, the cheerfulness with which they submitted the dispute to the arbitration of the privy council. Notwithstanding this, when they received by the hands of the earl of *Nottingham*, a copy of the conditions agreed upon by the privy council, they objected to almost

¹ RALPH, *ibid.*
vol. ii. c. 3.

^k RALPH, vol. ii. A. 1642, DOBBSLEY,

every article, and accompanied those objections with a paper of their own, shewing that neither the model or conduct of such a trading company could be altered for the better (P).

IN

(P) The following is the paper of propositions by the lords of the council, with the answers of the company.

Prop. 1. The fund to be made up of 1,500,000 pounds at least, and not to exceed 2,000,000.

Ans. The company do humbly aver, and are ready to prove to his majesty's satisfaction, that their present quick and dead stock, is of more real value than the said sum of 1,500,000 *l.*

Prop. 2. The stock of the present company to be part of this fund, and to be rated at 744,000 *l.* if they can give security that it shall effectually produce that sum; or else at so much less, as they will engage to make good, after debts paid, and satisfaction made to the *Mogul* and his subjects; against whose pretensions, the new stock to be indemnified by the like security.

Ans. The company say, that the value of every thing is what it will sell for; that their stock, under all the calumnies of their enemies, currently sells at 150 *per cent.* and they know, and can prove it to be intrinsically of more value than that current price. But they know no law or reason why they should be dispossessed of their estates for less than they are really worth in ready money, by all the measures by which any thing is valued in any part of the world. They humbly say, as to security, they know no cause why they should give security for their own estates. They affirm, that they owe not a penny to the *Mogul*,

or any of his subjects, other than their running accounts with their own banyans and brokers, which are daily changing, like merchants running cash in a goldsmith's hands. Altho' the company owe nothing to the *Mogul*, yet the bare mentioning it in a public act of his majesty, would be enough to persuade him to make demands on the company, for transactions and pretences done in past ages, before any of the present adventurers were born; and that therefore part of the proposition seems manifestly impossible, as well as unjust; neither the *Mogul*, or any of his subjects, having made a complaint to his majesty of the company's being in debt to them; that being only a suggestion of the interlopers and their adherents, not only now, but for many years past. As to that hypothesis, if they can give security, it will not become the company to say what they might of their own ability, or that of their adversaries; they are on both sides well known upon the *Exchange*.

Prop. 3. That the stock of the present company shall be brought home at any time within — years, in the ships abroad, or those to be sent on account of the new stock, paying the same freight, and disposed of at public sales by the members of the present company, and the nett produce thereof to be taken as part of the 744,000 *l.* as shall also the value of their forts, to be estimated by indifferent persons, and put into the hands

In this suspence the contest hung till the next session of parliament, when it was again renewed with no less heat than

hands of the new charter company. But after — days, no goods to be exported to the *East Indies* on account of the old stock.

Ans. The company say, they have as real a right to all their forts, cities, towns, and territories in *India*, to them and their successors for ever, as they have to their purchased lands and warehouses in *England*, belonging to the company's joint stock, or other private lands or manors belonging to the particular adventurers: *Rex Dei gratia* being the original title by which many manors, court leets, court barons, and lands are held in *England*. And the company are unwilling to be dispossessed of their said real estates, till they are paid for them, which they believe in their consciences have at several times cost them above a million of money sterling, besides interest. But as to the price, were that the only point, they would submit it to his majesty's known justice.

Prop. 4. That whatever the quick and dead stock shall thus produce more than 744,000 *l.* shall be divided wholly between the members of the present company, proportionable to their respective stocks.

Prop. 5. Books to be provided for the new subscription, within —, and then the books to be closed.

Prop. 6. If the subscriptions exceed two millions, each subscriber to be reduc'd proportionably, till the whole make but two millions.

Prop. 7. That every subscri-

ber pay in his money upon pain of —

Ans. To the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th propositions, the company humbly reply, that they do as little understand the new subscribers, as they suppose most of those subscribers do the affairs of *India*. But the company know the late new method of subscribing, without authority from his majesty, is an old practice of interlopers and others emulous of the company's prosperity. This has formerly been often debated, upon the like voluntary subscriptions, and particularly in the reign of king *Charles* the second, when some of the lords of his now majesty's most honourable privy council were present. But it always ended in only giving unnecessary trouble to his majesty and the company.

Prop. 8. No one person to have above 10,000 *l.* in this stock, in his own name, or in trust for him. Every subscriber shall make oath accordingly, that it is his own money.

Ans. This proposition, in duty to his majesty, and love to their country, the company most freely declare against, as being notoriously prejudicial to the nation, whoever the adventurers are. 1st. Because trade is a free agent, and must not be limited or circumscribed; whenever it is so, it never prospers. 2d. It is contrary to the laws and customs of *England*, and of every other country, that a man who buys and honestly pays for a commodity, should swear it was with his own money; this being

than before. Both parties, with equal eagerness, made their A. 1693. applications to the courtiers, and every man of weight, who, on

ing only a trick of the first proposers to serve a particular turn, without any notion of, or regard to, right or public good. 3d, If such a limitation were admissible, certainly some other nation must have hit on the expedient ere now; whereas, on the contrary, the prudent *Dutch* indulge and favour the very *Jews*, and the more, for buying the greater stock. One of these, *Sewalls* by name, had at one time 75,000 *l.* share. The *French* king likewise, for the encouragement of large subscriptions in that stock, propounded many considerable privileges and immunities, both to natives and foreigners, proportionable to the greatness of their said subscriptions. The *Danes*, likewise, it is said, made a law not long since, that such as would not add a certain proportion to their stock already wrote, should forfeit the said stock; which was a constraint equally erroneous with the former proposition. 4th, Such kind of levelling and limiting personal estates, was never known in commonwealths, much less in monarchies. Our levellers in *England*, and much less the tribunes of *Rome*, never pretended to the limitation of personal estates; but of possessions in land, and not of all lands, not in their provinces, but those only of *Italy*, the seat or country of the Republic. 5th, No considerable man of fortune or experience, will ever endure the fatigue of continual study in the *East India* company's arduous affairs, without finding his ac-

count some way; and that must be either by a great reward, or a great stock, or by other worse ways of paying himself. The most that *English* companies give a committee-man, is about 50 *l.* per ann. whereas the *Dutch* have allowed *Peter Van Dam*, 800 *l.* per ann. with about 400 *l.* per ann. to his son. But it is more beneficial that such an active able man have a large stock, than any reward whatsoever. A man who is rewarded, is united to the company's interest but by one tie; but the other is induced by strong motives of profit and fears of loss, to an assiduity and industry the most he is capable of.

Prop. 9. That every member of the present company, who hath above ten thousand pounds stock, shall forthwith sell the overplus, at the rate of 100 *l.* for an 100 *l.*; but so that if the whole nett proceed of the present stock exceeds 744,000 *l.* this overplus shall go to the person that has sold his overplus stock, proportionable to the stock he had before such sale.

Ans. The company can see no shadow of reason or equity in this proposition; but a direct contradiction to common right, and the admirable laws of this kingdom, for the preservation of property.

Prop. 10. No person to have a vote that hath in his own right, and not in trust, less than 500 *l.* stock, nor more than one vote, unless he have 4000 *l.* and then two votes; if he have 6000 *l.* three votes, and so in proportion to 10,000 *l.*

Ans.

on their parts, were induced to put a value on their services proportionable to the consequence given them by such applications.

Ans. The company are humbly of opinion, this is more justly and equally provided for already in their present charter. This proposal of giving advantage to the small stock, is but a *Hysleron proteron*, never before known in any part of the world, in mercantile affairs; wherein, as far as the sun shines, men vote according to their proper shares in the shipping, or as they are interested more or less, and not otherwise.

Prop. 11. All members of the present company, and new subscribers, to be incorporated by the name of —

Prop. 12. All who have, or subscribe 500 *l.* stock, to meet and chuse a governor, deputy, and 24 committee-men, to manage the trade; none to be governor or deputy who hath subscribed less than 2000 *l.* nor committee-man less than 1000 *l.* stock.

Prop. 13. The governor, deputy, and committees, to be annually chosen; and those who die within the year, to be replaced by others, chosen by a general court.

Prop. 14. The governor, deputy, and committees, to take the oaths of fidelity; and also an oath for the faithful discharge of their trust.

Prop. 15. That every one purchasing any stock, shall take his freedom, and before his admittance, pay — for a fine, and take the oaths appointed.

Ans. In the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th propositions, the company see nothing new; all is provided for in the same, or

a better manner, by their present charters.

Prop. 16. That all free of the former company, or capable to be so, and all subscribing to the present stock, shall be admitted gratis.

Ans. In this there is but a trivial difference from the company's present charter, which enjoins all new adventurers, except the sons and servants of freemen, to pay five pounds each for their admittance. The old adventurers have paid their respective five pounds; and we can see no reason, if new men be admitted, why they should not do the same.

Prop. 17. That the company hereby established may make by-laws for their better government. That no by-laws shall be binding to the company, unless approved in a general court of the adventurers, and not repugnant to the laws of the land.

Prop. 18. That every general court and committee be called by the governor, or deputy; at all which the governor, or deputy shall be present; and in case of equality of voices, shall have a casting vote.

Prop. 19. That the company shall enjoy the sole trade to the *East Indies*, in the several countries lying between the *Cape de bona Esperanza*, and the *Straits of Magellan*.

Prop. 20. That it shall not be lawful for any, save the said company only, directly or indirectly, to trade within the limits granted to the said company, on pain of forfeiting —

Ans.

cations. As nothing decisive had been done last year, either in parliament or council, it was generally imagined that the com-

Ans. As to the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th propositions, the company can observe nothing in them that is not already contained in their present charter, in the same manner.

Prop. 21. That no licence or permission shall be granted to any persons or ships, to trade to the *East Indies* on any private account: and that all such permissions shall be void.

Ans. This is an unreasonable proposition, and against the sense of all charters, and ought, for the public good, to be left to the company's discretion. In the late war with the *Mogul*, permissive ships were of great use; now that peace is restored, they are only useful in particular instances, which might be specified; and in settling of new plantations, which the company best knew when and how to effect. No *East India* company in any part of *Europe* is loaded with such shackles, which in many cases would impede their progress for the public good.

Prop. 22. That there shall be no private contract for the sale of any goods; but they shall all be sold in public by inch of candle, for the company's account.

Prop. 23. That no lot of any goods to be sold, exceed 500 *l.* value.

Ans. These two are novelties, and such as were never imposed upon any *East India* company in *Europe*; they are against the national right, and if established, will tend to the prejudice of the kingdom, as the company doubt not to make

evident to his majesty by irrefragable instances. Trade must be free for the public good, otherwise it will languish and die.

Prop. 24. Every year the company shall deliver to his majesty's use, 500 tons of salt-petre, at — per ton, if required, the refraction not exceeding —

Ans. The company will always serve their majesties with salt-petre as cheap as they can afford it; and doubt not but to please their majesties therein, as they have done all their royal predecessors. But to be limited to a certain price, quantity and refraction, is a novelty that was never imposed on this or any other *East India* company. It had been an unhappy accident for *England*, if such a restraint had been laid upon the company ten or twenty years past, which would have prevented one fourth of the quantity of salt-petre from being found in *England*, which was at that time in the company's warehouses; viz. 3000 tons, when this war with *France* began. There is a famous story confirming the truth of this, in the reign of *James* the first. — At that time, a great dearth of corn happened, which occasioned his majesty to send for the *Eastland* company. He told them, that to obviate the present scarcity, they must load their homeward-bound ships with corn, which they promised to do, and were dismissed. After their departure, one of the lords of the council told the king, that such a promise signified

H

nothing,

The company proposes to open a new subscription.

company had, upon the whole, the advantage. To propagate which belief, they talked of opening a new subscription, to

nothing, unless they agreed upon what price they would sell their wheat at; on which they were called back, and acquainted, that the king desired a more explicit answer. The deputy replied, "Sir, we will freight " and buy our corn as cheap " as we can, and sell it here as " we can afford it; but to be " confined to any certain price, " we cannot." But being pressed for a more distinct answer, the deputy, who was a great fox-hunter, told the king, "Sir, " your majesty is a lover of the " noble sport of hunting, and " so am I, and I keep a few " dogs; but if my dogs do not " love the sport as well as I, " I might as well hunt with " hogs as with dogs." The king replied, "Say no more, " man, thou art in the right; " go and do as well as you can, " but be sure you bring corn."

Prop. 25. That the company shall export yearly to the *East Indies*, no less than the value of 100,000 *l.* in goods of the produce and manufacture of *England*.

Ans. The company may do this in general, some years more, some less, when their cloth lies unsold, eaten up with moths, and white ants in *India*. This ought, for the public good, to be left to the company's discretion.

Prop. 26. That all dividends be made in money.

Ans. This is commonly done, here and beyond sea; but some instances may be given, wherein it would be highly detrimental to make this limitation. So it

ought to be left to discretion, as is the case here, and in all other nations.

Prop. 27. That no dividend be made without leaving the original fund; or at least 1,500,000 *l.* besides what is requisite for the payment of debts.

Ans. This is a discretionary rule the company now observe; but it was never enjoined them by charter; nor is there any company in the world so circumscribed. It is against natural right to debar any man from doing with his natural estate what he pleases.

Prop. 28. That the company's accountant keep a book to enter the value of the stock upon oath, to lie open for the perusal of all persons concerned.

Prop. 29. That all transfers of stock be registered and entered in a book, to lie open for all persons concerned.

Ans. The 28th and 29th propositions are already provided for in the same manner by the company.

Prop. 30. That the said joint stock shall continue for 21 years, and no longer.

Prop. 31. That a book of new subscriptions be laid open for a succeeding new general joint stock, before the expiration of the said 21 years appointed for this stock.

Ans. This is so strange, that if admitted, the company would become the ridicule of mankind: It is in fact, saying, that a man shall plant a great orchard, and remove his trees, or depart

to the amount of 756,000 *l*, which, together with the value put on their old stock, made the million and a half, voted by the commons, to be a fund sufficient for this trade. They even applied for a new charter, to authorise them to do so; and gave out, after having obtained an order of council to the attorney general for preparing one, that all persons had now agreed to the regulations on which this charter was to be erected; but more particularly those who had solicited the establishment of a new company by act of parliament *.

They obtain an order of council for a new charter.

This report did not long pass unattacked. The enemies of the company presented a new petition to her majesty, in which they solicited as before a new company, by a new, free and national subscription. They declared, that the adding the new subscriptions to the imaginary stock of the present company, would expose the new stock to the debts

The merchants presented a petition to the queen,

* SOMERS'S Col. vol. xxx. p. 100.

depart from his possession at the end of 21 years; or that he shall build a fine house, a town or a city, upon such terms. The Dutch have spent within 30 years, the sum of 700,000 *l*. upon Ceylon, and have not yet seen above 300,000 *l*. of the principal. This company has been building and fortifying at Bencoolen about ten or eleven years, and they must proceed still for thirty to come, in which work they have spent from 250 to 300,000 *l*. and though, indeed, they have preserved the proper trade to this nation by it, yet have they received no other advantage, or in the least disburfed themselves; nay, on the contrary, it will cost them 200,000 *l*. more, before it is rendered complete, secure, and, morally speaking, an impregnable asylum to the English nation. It is a most impolitic notion, that any company can thrive by frequent changing, any more than a nation, by the frequent alteration of the fundamental laws. The Dutch company stand on the original

footing; and the English have never been changed but once; in the time of Oliver Cromwell, and then by their own consent. By the true rules of policy, the company should never alter; nor any man be forced to sell, any more than buy stock. It would be equally reasonable, to oblige a man of large landed property to sell a part, to make room for other purchasers.

Prop. 32. That the company be obliged, for the better and more secure carrying on this trade, to have ships of their own.

Ans. This is a constraint never laid on any company. These having ships of their own, and likewise hired ones, know best when to use either. There are few considerable merchants in Europe, that do not employ both; nor was it ever before thought, or found political, to put trade into such strait-laced bodice, which, instead of making it grow upright and proper, will either kill or force it to grow awry."

*The com-
pany's ca-
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*They ne-
glect pay-
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*The mer-
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against
a new
charter.*

of the old, by which it might be wholly absorbed, and the trade annihilated. By this they intended to destroy the prevailing notion, that a compromise had taken place. They further presumed, that the company, by their misconduct, had traced out a path for their own ruin. When the bill for taxing several joint stocks was in agitation in the house of commons, and the company's stock was valued at 744,000 *l.* the proprietors of the stock imprudently pleaded an abatement, affirming, that their debts paid, their stock would dwindle to nothing. Assertions so contradictory as those they gave in to the council; and this to the commons only served to strengthen the aspersions of their adversaries. Notwithstanding this pitiful plea of poverty, the commons tacked a clause to their bill, providing that in default of payment of the tax imposed upon the several joint stocks, at the times specified, the charter of the respective company should be, and was thereby adjudged void. To pursue their mismanagement, the company were so infatuated, as to neglect the first quarterly payment of the said tax charged on the joint stock; whereby their charters became void, and fresh arguments for dissolving them afforded to their adversaries¹.

In this condition did things remain for some time. It was generally imagined that the court would take advantage of the forfeiture, to oblige the commons, without regarding the three years notice stipulated by charter, and esteemed a point of equity. But the influence of the company was greater than was supposed, and sufficient to suspend the effects of their indiscretion. So little was the court disposed to take an advantage of their late slip, that, on the contrary, the directions for drawing a new charter given to the attorney general, were calculated both to restore the company to their former grants, and to authorize and establish their new regulations. The dispute now became more warm than ever; both sides were inflamed with the different motives of enmity, prejudice, passion, interest, and avarice. The company's adversaries entered caveats against the charter at all the offices, and talked so big, that the ministry thought it necessary to give them a regular summons before the council, to shew cause why the company might not be re-established, according to the purport of the intended charter. As the time granted was too short, a fortnight's respite was given, during which time the company petitioned a protection for 1200 seamen, to be employed as usual in their service. Their opponents also petitioned for four hundred to be employed

¹ RALPH's Hist. of Eng. A. 1693.

likewise in the *East India* trade, which they understood to lie open to all adventurers; but they received no answer^a. When the day of hearing arrived, the 17th of *August*, both *Council* for parties being called in, the council against the company *both sides* urged, 1st. The unseasonableness of passing a charter so near *are heard* the sitting of parliament, as this trade had been recommended *in the* to the peers and commons by a message last session from his *privy council* majesty. 2d. The unlawfulness of an exclusive grant; and 3d. The illegality of many powers contained in their former charter, and intended to be renewed in this. On the other hand, the council for the company asserted the power of the prerogative in that and similar cases, admitting of neither precedent or authority to the prejudice of this right. Upon this, the opposite council proposed, that an issue might be settled, in which they would cheerfully join, that so the point might be decided at common law, in the next term. This was over-ruled, the company urging, that the matters had been already decided at *Westminster-Hall*, the judges, after a trial, having affirmed their charter. To this no other reply was made, than that the judgment referred to was given by those very judges who had declared, that the king had a power to dispense with all laws; and that their opinions *The council comes to no conclusion.* in both cases should be held of equal authority^b.

So equal were the arguments alleged on both sides, that the council broke up without coming to any resolution. After *The merchants presented a petition to the council.* some days spent in expectation, the associated merchants renewed their petition for protections, accompanying it with another setting forth, that they were advised, that the charters of the company becoming void by act of parliament, could not be restored. That they ought not to be restored, as they contained powers repugnant to the laws, to *Magna Charta*, and several statutes. That under colour of these powers, the company had greatly oppressed his majesty's subjects; and they would now more than ever think themselves authorized so to do. They prayed, therefore, that passing the said charter might be suspended, till the common right of the subject to the *India* trade might be determined by due course of law. Petitions were endless. This last they backed *The clothiers and linen drapers petition against the company.* with two others; one from the linnen drapers dealing in *East India* goods; another from the clothiers and other woollen manufacturers of *Gloucestershire*. The latter solicited, that as the trade to *Turkey* and the *Streights* was in a manner wholly obstructed, whence little or no cloth was sold; and

^a HARRIS, Vol. ii. b. i. c. 2.^b Lord SOMERS's Col. vol.

that as their stock could not hold out to employ the poor, who daily cried at their doors for work, a general liberty might be granted at this time, to export freely woollen manufactures to the *East Indies*; affirming, that this trade was capable of taking off ten times the quantity yearly, which the company exported. The petition from the linnen-drappers suggested, that the trade to the *East Indies* was much impaired, and in danger of being lost, through the mal-administration of the company. That in consequence of their misconduct, such was the scarcity of calicoes, that the kingdom was chiefly supplied with them by stealth from *Holland*, at an exorbitant price, to the destruction of trade, and diminution of the revenue. They prayed, that to prevent a monopoly of the said trade in the hands of those by whom it was so abused, the charter might not pass.

The company answers the petitions.

A COALITION of so many considerable bodies so far alarmed the ministry, that they thought fit to transmit copies of those several papers to the company, and to require their answer in writing, to the several particulars and objections contained in them. On the next council day, their secretary did accordingly present to the board a written answer to this effect. That such licentious and indiscriminate a traffic would necessarily end in the ruin of the trade, and prejudice of the nation. That altho' in strictness of law charters should be avoided; the king in this instance was his own chancellor, and might, as a point of equity and justice, restore theirs. This, they said, was the more reasonable, as the tax required on stock by the parliament, was ready for payment, and would have been paid on *Lady-day*, had the Exchequer been open; for it was actually paid a few days after. That nothing illegal appeared either in the restitution or the clauses of the charter; because by an express clause therein, the company was to be restored to nothing but what they lawfully held. In answer to the clothiers petition, they urged that their not being permitted, in the years 1689 and 1690, to send out more than four ships, by reason of the situation of the kingdom, was the reason why a less quantity of woollen goods than otherwise would have happened, was exported. That for the two last years they had sent to *India* to the amount of 100,000*l.* in cloth and other goods. That this year, pursuant to the votes of the House of Commons (Q), a larger quantity than ever was in-

° RALPH, vol. ii. A. 1693. HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. ch. 2.

(Q) It must be observed, that preceding year, Sir *Edward* on the 14th of *November*, the *Seymour*, by the king's command,

intended for exportation, in case they might be allowed sufficient shipping. That as to the scarcity of calicoes charged upon them, it was occasioned by the loss of three of their homeward-bound fleet; *viz.* two wrecked and one blown

mand, had laid before the house a copy of the new regulations proposed in the *India* trade, which we have inserted, together with the company's objections to those regulations. He also laid before the house the opinion of the judges, that three years notice must be given to the company before they could be legally dissolved, or a new one erected. This was the reason his majesty left it to the Commons to act as they saw proper. On the same day that these reports were made, the associated merchants presented a petition for dissolving the company. On the 17th, the pretensions of both sides were examined, the issue of which day's debates was a resolution, *nemine contradicente*, that a bill should be brought for regulating, preserving, and establishing the *East India* trade to this kingdom. On the 24th it was farther resolved in a committee of the whole house, that a new subscription for a joint stock should be opened, not exceeding 2,000,000 *l.* and not less than 1,500,000 *l.* to continue for twenty-one years. On the 7th of *December*, it was yet farther resolved, that no individuals should possess a share exceeding 10,000 *l.* That the deputy governor should have 10,000 *l.* with several particulars coinciding with what we have related of the privy council.

All these several heads having been agreed upon, it was resolved to move the house that a bill might be brought in thereon to settle the said trade. On the 10th of *December*, the report was made and received, and it was now expected, at least by the public, that the whole affair would be brought to a speedy issue. But the company, it would appear, understood intrigue as well as the court; for all of a sudden the heat with which the house pursued the affair, was subsided; the chairman grew tired of his seat; and though, on the 4th of *January*, advantage was taken of a thin house to procure a vote, that the subscription for a new stock should be opened ten days after passing the act, yet no further progress was made in the bill. Nay, as if the business of the house was to husband the jobb with the utmost frugality, it was finally resolved on the 25th of *February* 1693, that an address, of the whole house should humbly be presented to his majesty, that he would be pleased to dissolve the said company, upon three years notice, according to the condition of their charter. Accordingly, on the 2d of *March* the said address was presented; to which his majesty only replied, "Gentlemen, I always will do all the good in my power for this kingdom, and I will consider your address (1)."

(1) *Debates of the Commons, A. 1693. Somers's Coll. vol. x. x. Ralph's 17th.*

A day appointed for a hearing of both parties.

The arguments advanced by the merchants.

up. That the said scarcity would soon be remedied by two ships already arrived, five more expected this year, and nine the next. Lastly, that as to the petitions of their opponents for protections for 400 men, they conceived them as intended to gain countenance from their majesties, that the petitioners might, by her majesty's permission of so licentious a trade as was solicited, invade and lessen her royal prerogative of restoring the company to their charter; they humbly hoped therefore, that no such allowance would be granted. In consequence of this written answer, an order of council was issued, that a copy should be given to the parties concerned, who were to attend upon a day appointed for a hearing; viz. the 21st of September^P. Accordingly, at this time the associated merchants delivered in a written reply, in which they asserted, that instead of managing the trade for the honour of the nation, as the company had boldly averred in their own commendation, they were ready to prove their unjust and unwarrantable actions a scandal to religion, to morals, the crown, and the nation; a reproach to our laws; an oppression of the people, and the ruin of trade; for which they and some of their agents had been reprimanded by parliament. That the company, in avoiding a trial of the merits of the cause by a due course of law, and soliciting a determination before her majesty in council, where they knew it would not be determined, tacitly confessed a conviction that the law was against them. That the charter they solicited, was a creation of a new rather than a restoration of their former powers. That their so eagerly pursuing the point, when a sitting of parliament was so near, argued a purpose in them to take the settlement of the trade out of those hands to which his majesty had committed it. That as to their pretence of equity in cases of penalty and forfeiture, there could be no equity against the penalty of an act of parliament. That what they averred of their intention to pay the tax on stock on *Lady-day*, if the Exchequer had been open, was false; for it appeared by several affidavits, which they were ready to produce, that the office doors were open till the usual hours of shutting; that the officers were in waiting; that public business was dispatched; and that the money would have been received had it been offered. That all the company's arguments drawn from the rights and powers of the prerogative, were of no validity against positive and express laws. That they claimed the benefit of the law as their undoubted right, by virtue of which (as they

were advised) all her majesty's subjects were equally intitled to the freedom of foreign trade, and could not, under colour of any grant from the crown, be restrained from it. That both the clause in the new charter, which restrains the grant to such powers as the company might have lawfully exercised in virtue of the old, and what is replied to that clause, was evasive and equivocal, because the company were thereby left in possession of all the powers which they thought lawful. How they were likely to interpret them, might be judged from their conduct at *St. Helena*, in condemning thirteen persons by the martial law; which execution the parliament had voted a murder. That the construction put on the merchants petition by the company, was a forced and unnatural one, since it had not the least tendency to diminish the royal prerogative; but only, by virtue of the prerogative, to secure 400 men in the quiet exercise of their callings, to the general advantage of the nation, and the particular advantage of the revenue. Lastly, they humbly prayed, that the settlement of the trade might rather be left to parliament, or the right be determined by due course of law, before a new charter was granted; that they might be favoured with the requested protections; in consequence of which, an addition of 60,000*l.* would accrue to the customs, and one branch of commerce be most seasonably opened, at a time when, by reason of the war, all others were in a manner shut and obstructed.

To this sensible and spirited reply, they subjoined an abstract of some few of those numerous precedents in common law, on which the said reply was founded. The linen-^{The com-} drapers also gave in a reply to that part of the company's ^{pany's re-} answer which related to their petition. Nor were the clothiers ^{ply.} less forward in their zeal, having prepared a reply on their behalf, which, however, they were induced to suppress. To supply this deficiency, the merchants presented a draught from the Custom-house books, of all the cloth exported for the five last years by the company. By this it appeared, that the whole amounted only to 1827 cloths; whereas in 1692 only 953 cloths had been exported in two private ships, about three times the quantity the company had exported in any three of the said five years. They enforced the whole by a petition from the freighters and owners of the said two ships, praying, that the illegal clauses in the former charters might be particularly excepted, that so the liberties, lives, and estates of their factors, agents, servants, mariners, and

others of their fellow subjects, might not be invaded in places so remote, where they could neither secure themselves against outrages, nor obtain a remedy; the aggressors being out of the reach of the ordinary law of the kingdom^r.

The company are espoused by some persons of rank and weight in the administration. A new effort of the merchants, and their proposals.

HOWEVER, all their endeavours proved ineffectual; the company had a powerful interest, and the countenance of some great personages. No answer was given to the petition for protection to the 400 seamen. Wherefore the merchants made a new effort on that head, by way of inducement, undertaking to export more cloth in this present year, than the company had done for the five preceding. They likewise promised to furnish the government, on the return of their ships, with 500 tons of salt-petre at 3*l.* per hundred weight, which now sold at eight pounds. They affirmed the state of the company to be so low, that they had neither sufficient stock of their own in *England*, to load the ships they petitioned for, nor in *India* to load them back again. That as, by reason of the war, the petitioners were in effect deprived of their livelihood; and as the *India* trade was the most profitable, as well as least hazardous commerce of any, it was their humble request, that in order to repair their losses, protections for this year might be granted them for the above seamen. But they were no less unsuccessful in this

Meets with no regard from the council; and an order is given for renewing the company's charter.

than in the former petitions. So far was the council from complying with their request, that they issued an order, September 28, to either of the secretaries, to prepare a warrant for her majesty's signature, for passing the charter. Notwithstanding the merchants were heard by their council, upon the caveats they had entered; notwithstanding they had in particular presented to the lord keeper *Somers* a paper, containing their reasons against granting the charter, and such as seemed unanswerable (R); such was the influence, intrigue, and

^r SOMERS's Collect. *ibid.* RALPH. sub. A. 1693-4. vol. ii.

(R) The reasons were contained under the following articles; *viz.*

I. We humbly conceive your lordship to be a judicial officer, indifferent between the king and his people, and a check which the law has appointed over all grants of the crown; that none may pass the great seal which are either

prejudicial to the prerogative of the monarch, or the rights and liberties of the people.

II. We humbly apprehend, that no order can warrant the passing a charter containing any grants in themselves illegal.

III. That the charter now before your lordship, is a restitution of several grants of the sole

and power of the company, that they obtained their charter, which, however, was less explicit and full than they expected.

sole trade to the *East Indies*, to a few persons, excluding all the rest of their majesties subjects; which exclusion, we conceive, is contrary to the common law of the land, the authorities of which are too numerous to be inserted here; and likewise contrary to divers statutes, some of which are particularly expressed in the paper annexed, of which we pray your lordship's consideration.

IV. That if the king can restrain some of his subjects, and license others, it may be a precedent for any of his majesty's successors to set what price they please on such licences. Hence they will never need the aid of parliament to supply them with money; the consequence of which may be dangerous to the kingdom.

V. That the former charters which are to be restored and confirmed by this act, contain divers other illegal powers. As the power of executing martial laws, of imprisoning the persons, and confiscating the estates of their majesties subjects, &c. some of which were lately acknowledged to be illegal, even by their majesties council at law.

VI. The said charter declares the late company, to have been for a long time a corporation, to the honour and welfare of the nation, which may be interpreted a justification of the illegalities which they have acted, and a vindication of them, in that for

which they have been censured by parliament. If there can be any reason to restore the late company, without doubt there can be none to commend them.

VII. That the restoring the said charters, wherein such illegal powers are granted, may occasion the loss of the lives of their majesties subjects, which can neither be restored nor repaired.

VIII. That the execution of the said powers contained in their former charters, being in places so remote, the aggressors are out of the reach of ordinary justice, and the parties aggrieved left without remedy, or at least unable to contend with a joint stock, so as to procure legal satisfaction.

IX. We farther represent to your lordship, that some of the concerned in the said caveat, have factors, servants, mariners, as well as estates in *India*; and the offering the said charters may expose not only them, but all others, who may go into those parts on their lawful occasions, to the arbitrary powers contained in the old charters, for no provision is made in the new one to secure them: And the company may be encouraged by this grant to execute the said unlawful powers, as they have formerly done.

X. That the industrious application of the company to get this charter passed, so near the session of parliament, where

pected*. The council knowing the determined spirit of the opposing party, and apprehending they would bring the dispute

* HARRIS, t. ii. b. i. c. 2.

where this matter had been so long depending, can be accounted nothing but a design in them to obstruct the settlement of that trade by parliament.

XI. That the copy of the said charter, since its alteration, hath been denied, whereby they are debarred from the opportunity of making such just exceptions as otherwise we might or ought to do, in a matter of so great consequence.

XII. That the granting of this charter will be, in effect, the giving away that trade to the *Dutch*; who have already in a great measure driven us out of it, furnishing most other countries, as well as this, with *East India* goods, the late company having neither credit or stock sufficient to carry on their trade.

And notwithstanding the pretence made as to the seeming limitation contained in the said charter, we humbly beg leave to represent to your lordship, that all the powers contained in their former charters are as fully and absolutely restored and confirmed as ever they were granted; and cannot otherwise be understood by those to whom the grant was intended, who having formerly executed them as if they were lawful, will by this grant be encouraged to do the like. It is so far from being an intimation of the illegality of any of those

powers, that it is rather an indication of their being legal; for it cannot be presumed, that any thing which is otherwise should so solemnly pass under the royal authority, and through the hands of the great officers of the kingdom, who have examined and approved the same, after long deliberation. It may rather be concluded, that if any of the above powers had been contrary to law, they would have been particularly distinguished and excepted out of the said grant. For by the general granting and confirming of their former charters, and the powers therein contained, without distinction, and especially (as the charter expresses it) as fully as if the said powers and charters were particularly recited; all the powers in their said former charters cannot but be supposed to be restored and confirmed; whereby the lives, liberties, and estates of the subjects of *England*, will be again exposed to the same unjust violence and oppression which they have formerly suffered from the late company, by colour of those powers contained in the said former charters, which are now intended to be restored and confirmed.

All which, the concerned in the caveat before your lordship, do humbly offer, in behalf of themselves and their fellow subjects, as their reasons against passing the said charter to the late *East India* company; and
do

pate again before the parliament, were careful so to limit the grants, that they should not amount to an absolute exclusion of all others. They likewise provided, that the company should submit to such alterations, restrictions, and qualifications as the king should direct before the 29th of September following.

THE penalty annexed to a transgression of these restrictions was, that letters of revocation should be issued, whereby all their powers and privileges should be rendered null and void, and of no effect. It was also stipulated, that the governor and company should once every year, in the month of August, transmit to the privy council, a true and faithful account of the qualities, quantities, and value at prime cost, of the goods and manufactures of England by them exported, together with the place from whence exported, and this certified by the oaths of the officers of the customs, and of the company's servants. It was at the same time provided, that none of the goods and merchandize so exported, should be relanded in the dominions of Great Britain, nor conveyed to any other ports beyond sea, than the places limited by charter. It was further ordered, that on application made by six or more proprietors, each of whom should be possessed of one thousand pounds capital stock in the funds of the company, demanding a general court to be held, that then the governor, or deputy governor, should, within eight days after the above application, call such a court, which might not be adjourned but by consent of the majority of proprietors then assembled.

STILL, however, the company received other favours, though less directly. They applied to the queen in council, that a stop might be put to the sailing of the ship *Redbridge*, under pretence that she was bound for the *East Indies*, though entered and cleared for *Alicant*. Upon which application, the ship was accordingly stopped, and detained at the expence to the owners of 9 *l.* per day. Nor was she permitted to set sail, till the owners had undeniably demonstrated, that she was actually bound, by charter-party, to *Alicant*; and to return from thence directly to *London*, in company with four
The company abuse the indulgence shewn them.

* SOMERS'S Collect. *ibid.*

do humbly claim the benefit of the common law, and the said statutes, and all our statutes and customs of the realm, for the securing to the subjects the liberty of foreign trade, as their undoubted right.
Lond. Oct. 7, A. C. 1693. (1).

(1) Somers's Collection, vol. xxx.

more

The associated merchants submit their plea to the public.

more ships. Although matters were thus carried against the associated merchants at court, they came to a resolution, to lay a summary in print before the public, of all the transactions during the recess. This they actually did, inferring from the whole, that such proceeding, if not checked, would render all the foreign trade of *England* precarious, by subjecting it to interruption, from the caprice, insolence, or malice of any one committee-man of the *East India* company. That admitting such a power in the crown would be of dangerous consequence, as having a direct tendency to induce future kings to farm out all trade, and so to raise money without the assistance of parliaments. And that asserting the right of the subject was become the more necessary, as the omitting it so long had paved the way for pleading prescription, which had been urged as an argument of the power of the crown to restrain this trade. That it was apparent, the crown had not the power of restraining foreign trade to some, and excluding others, without consent of parliament, from the following circumstances.

Their arguments.

1st. THE confirming the *Hudson's Bay* company, since the accession of their majesties, by act of parliament. This was a demonstration of the insufficiency of a charter to exclude the subject. Nay, the petition of the *East India* company to the house of commons acknowledged as much.

2d, HIS majesty's message, sent last session to the house of commons, in answer to their address for dissolving the *India* company. Here the king declared, that he could not determine the trade by his own single authority.

3d. THE several judgments given in *Westminster-Hall*, against stopping ships belonging to private traders bound to the *East Indies*, or seizing of ships or goods by virtue of such exclusive charter; and this too, since their majesties happy accession to the throne.

LASTLY, It was intimated, that as that bill for declaring and asserting the right of the subject to the freedom of foreign trade, might be passed speedily, without obstruction to other public affairs, this would facilitate the establishment of a new *East India* company for carrying on this trade, without any of the present oppressive objections.

1694.
The company actually open a new subscription.

IN spite of all the power, vigour and justice on the side of the associated merchants, the company, on the credit of their newly acquired charter, proceeded to take in subscriptions to the amount of 44,000 *l.* which filled with infinitely more expedition than was expected. Their adversaries then,

as the next step, presented a petition to the house of commons, founded on the several facts, claims, and authorities already recited. They requested, that from this consideration, the trade to *India* might be established by the authority of parliament. That their pretensions might be favourably heard by the house, and they be set upon an equal footing with the company, they assiduously courted the new ministry, appeared at the levies of the most popular noblemen, and caressed the leading members of the lower house. On the other hand, the company, not satisfied with a bare defence of the charter they had obtained by their influences at court, laboured to have it ratified by a parliamentary sanction. But here they found a strong current against them. Their friends were chiefly of the tory party, whose influence was on the decline ^w. The conduct of the commons indicated an intention of siding with the strongest, or implicitly coinciding with the measures of the new administration; while the ministers thought it advisable that some tenderness should be shewn the company, and the affair kept in suspense, till some advantage could be drawn from it.

The merchants apply again to the parliament.

The ambiguous conduct of the commons.

THE company relied greatly upon the influence that had put her in possession of her two charters (S). Nor were their adversaries less sanguine in the interest they imagined they had with the commons and new ministry. It was the general opinion, that all those powers and advantages secured to the former by so many charters, would have settled their affairs upon a solid basis, and especially in a reign that seemed to deny them nothing. This was, however, far from being true at this juncture. The difficulties to which the administration were driven, and the poverty of the government, induced them to a violation of those very charters they had granted; for which the company had paid exorbitant sums, and on the faith of which so many persons of all ranks had thrown their fortunes into the company's capital. It was in fact a trial, which side should bribe the highest; public authority inclining to one or other, as the irresistible force of gold directed.

Corruption of the court.

In this state were affairs, when the merchants petition to the commons was taken into consideration. After all the allegations contained in it had been repeatedly debated; and after the charters granted to the company, their new subscription

The commons resume the consideration of the dispute.

^w RAPIN, Reign of King William.

(S) *Viz.* That of *Osaber* the regulations, dated *November 17, 7th, A. 1693*, and a charter of following.

tion,

tion, the state of their stock, and every other particular relating to the merits of the cause had been examined, the issue of all was, that in effect the trade was laid open, in virtue of this resolution; "That all the subjects of *England* had an equal right to trade to the *East Indies*, unless prohibited by parliament." But no censure was passed on the charters, or the manner of obtaining them; nor was any scheme for regulating the trade by authority of parliament, adopted. Having by this trimming conduct paved the way for the extraordinary field of venality and corruption which broke out in the ensuing session, things rested here for the present. The following year it was notorious, that voting was become a lucrative trade; and that members of the house became sharers in every profitable adventure referred to parliament. In the present instance it was well known, that the favour shewn by the court to the *East India* company proceeded from the same source. It was soon proved by a discovery of facts both at court and in the house of commons. An enquiry was therefore set on foot, and it was so contrived, that the same committee which had the inspection of the chamberlain's books, should also examine those of the company. The first thing that occurred, was an abstract of all monies paid for the special service of the company since the year 1687, which served as a clue to their subsequent proceedings. Here it appeared, that the charge for special service before the dispute between the merchants and company, never exceeded 10,000*l.* and in general was from 1200 to 3000*l.* whereas this last year it amounted to 80,468 *l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* a sum by several thousand pounds short of what in fact had been expended *.

A. 1695.

The company's accounts examined by a committee of the house.

A discovery made of extraordinary sums expended in secret services.

SIR Thomas Cooke, and Mr. Tyffon, had been governor and deputy for the two last years; it was probable therefore, that the secret lay in the former. In order to a regular train of discovery, recourse was had to the minute books of the court of committees. In these entries were found, of certain informations given by the governor, of his endeavours to obtain a new charter, together with accounts of sums disbursed in this pursuit, but without descending to particulars, which was a method of proceeding never before permitted. Among the entries were likewise found orders to their cashiers to make payment of such sums of money for the company's service, as the governor should direct (T). Proceeding next to such

* RALPH, *ibid.* HARRIS and DODSLEY, *ibid.*

(T) The following sums were, orders for the payment; *viz.* found specified, with particular April 13, A. 1693, for 22,275 *l.*
New.

such other particulars as could be discovered, the committee observed, that the money issued by *Herne* and *Cooke*, while the latter was deputy only, was expended upon private service, but brought to account under general charges. The equivocation of *Cooke*, the acknowledgements of Sir *Benjamin Several of Bathurst*, one of the court of committees, with many other the direct circumstances, put it beyond all doubt that bribery and cor-
 ruption had been practised; but yet nothing clear against
 any individual could be made out. Sir *Thomas Cooke* owned, that the 90,000 *l.* was to gratify certain persons, if the bill should pass; but he would give no account of the distribution. Sir *Basil Firebrace* acknowledged his having received 16,000 *l.* which he had laid out in stock with the company's permission. As to an accommodation with the merchants (interlopers, as they were called) for buying their shares, in this private trade, at 25 *per cent.* advance, and half the profit, the committee was informed, that lord *Nottingham* had acquainted the company by letter, that his majesty's pleasure was, they should come to an agreement. That about one half accepted the terms; but messrs. *Godfrey* and *Colston* insisting upon 30 *per cent.* the rest went off. Besides, it was imagined the contract for saltpetre to be imported in the ship *Seymour*, made with *Colston*, was only in trust with him for some other person, though the original inducement for the leave given.

In this light it was, that this unprecedented affair appeared in the report of the committee to the house. The report was made on *March* the 12th, yet was *Cooke's* examination put off till the 26th. As he was a member, decency and justice required that he should immediately be examined. All of a sudden, the phlegm of the house was converted

November 24, for 24,983 *l.* For *January, A. 1694*, for the sum of 30,000 *l.* besides smaller sums, to the amount of ten thousand pounds; the whole amounting to 87,402 *l.* 12s. 3d. —The point was now to trace the disposal of this money. A great part of it, it was said, had been paid into the hands of Sir *Basil Firebrace*. Upon examination of the company's cash book, it appeared, that the balance was 124,249 *l.* 15s. 10d. But when the question was put

to the cashier, whether he had that sum in cash, he answered in the negative, and produced a receipt of the governor's, dated *January 1694*, for 90,000 *l.* and signifying, that he had expended the sum of 99,197 *l.* *East India* stock, on the company's account. But the committee could neither find any warrant for the said sum, nor any transfer of stock on the company's account, except for eighteen thousand, three hundred pounds.

(1) *Vid. Journ. H. of C. Debates of the H. of C. Parliam. Hist. A. 1691-4.*
 MOD. HIST. VOL. X. I into

*Sir Tho.
Cooke
committed
to the
Tower,
and the
house vote
for a bill
of pains
and penal-
ties.*

*Both
houses ex-
tremely
earnest in
the enquiry
into cor-
ruption
and bri-
bery.*

*Several
peers and
commons
charged
with cor-
ruption.*

into choler ; the heat with which they now pursued the enquiry, was equal to the coldness with which they a few days since regarded it. *Cooke*, on refusing to answer the questions put to him, was committed to the *Tower*, and a bill of pains and penalties ordered in to oblige him to account for the sum of 17,302*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* mentioned in the report. The bill was read on the 29th, and referred to a committee of the whole house, when *Cooke* desired leave to be heard against it by his council. After some amendments on it, *Cooke's* council were heard a second time ; after which, the bill was passed and sent up to the lords. Here it took a different turn. The duke of *Leeds*, after solemn asseverations of purity and innocence, exclaimed with great warmth against the bill. He exhausted his whole stock of eloquence to convince the lords, that they ought to reject it, as contrary to law and equity, and furnishing a dangerous precedent. Either his grace's elocution, or something else more powerful, prevailed. For seven days the bill was entirely dropt ; and when resumed, an expedient was found to keep matters in agitation, and yet avoid the chief aim. *Cooke* petitioned for a bill of indemnity, saying, that nothing besides prevented his making ample discovery. He made his apology to the commons, for making this request to the lords ; their refusal, occasioning this appeal. A bill accordingly was prepared to indemnify him against all suits and actions, those of the *India* company excepted, and sent down to the commons on the 17th. After having tacked a penal clause to it, by way of amendment, it was returned, and the lords signified their concurrence to the amendment, by a message on the 19th. By this means the two bills were in effect reduced to one ; notwithstanding which unanimity and seeming ardor for the discovery of transactions so black and infamous, all that was done for several days, was the appointing a committee to make the inquiry. All parties, the patriot, the courtier, the whig and the tory, equally affected a concern for the prosecution ; nor is it to be doubted, that they were equally concerned in it. Each had friends to screen, and enemies to expose ; and the point of contest probably was, which of the parties should be made answerable to the public. In short, after *Cooke* had given in a written discovery, in which several persons of note in both houses were hinted at as having touched the company's money ; after *Firebrace*, *Acton*, and *Bates* had been examined, and next *Sir J. Child*, *Tysson* and *Craggs* ; an imputation fixed on the duke of *Leeds*, and an easy clue for discovery in their hands ; the whole affair was dropt, never to be resumed, as if by unanimous consent. Hence it was con-

cluded, that too many of all parties were deeply concerned in the dirty job^y. Bishop *Burnet*, and all succeeding historians, seem to join in this opinion; and truly, from the evidences of *Cooke*, *Firebrace*, *Atton*, *Child*, and others, it is difficult to determine where the greater share of this scandalous corruption lay.

Thus stood the whole process till the year 1698; the ministry indulging private merchants with licences, in contempt of those exclusive charters they had granted to the company; while this last was reduced to poverty and disgrace by the exorbitant sums expended in prosecution of those charters, and the discoveries made of their unconstitutional corruption. Now a greater stroke was requisite; the sum wanted by the government was two millions. It was not believed, that any number of new proprietors would advance so large a sum for a new charter on the credit of an administration that had so lately prevaricated with the company. The affair was therefore laid before the house of commons, in order to have every thing settled upon a solid basis, that of national security. This was the time when ministerial service was deemed the highest political merit; nay, when ministers were to be gratified in all their demands, and that in the way and manner in which they desired. Some considerable persons first founded the company, to know how they stood disposed to advance money by loan, in consideration of a settlement by authority of parliament. Undertakers were found to lay the proposition before a general court; but the persons entrusted with the management, either from want of address, courage or zeal, suffered the affair to languish in their hands. The occasion was urgent; the court, wearied with expectation, had now an opportunity offered of striking in with the merchants, which was accordingly done. By this the motions of the company were quickened. They were sensible, that no alteration in the present course of trade could be made without affecting their charter, which but four years ago had cost them so dear, or their profits, or both.

Under these apprehensions it was resolved in a general court to advance the sum of 700,000 *l.* in procuring a parliamentary settlement, as had been some time before suggested to them. This sum was determined upon, because it had appeared to be the sense of the public, that considering their losses by the war, a constitutional establishment might

[†] SOMERS'S Collect. ibid. RALPH, A. 1694. HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2.

^{*} RALPH, vol. ii. A. 1698.

Mr. Montague proposes a scheme for raising the two millions. A bill of regulations brought into the house.

be granted them for a loan of 600,000 *l.* The resolution was presented to the ministry, and by them to the house of commons. Both the court and commons seemed disposed to accept the offer; but this, according to *Kennet*^a, was but a snare; for in the mean time, a new bill, under the direction of Mr. *Montague*, was preparing. By this, a method for raising two millions, by way of loan, at eight *per cent.* on the security of a fund sufficient for repaying both principal and interest, was proposed. This proposal was laid before the house on the 20th of *May*; and so much favour did it find with the majority, that a bill agreeable to it was ordered to be brought into the house, with the following additions; *viz.* 1st. That every subscriber have liberty of trading yearly to the amount of his subscription; or assign over this right to any other. 2d, That his majesty have power to incorporate such of those subscribers as should desire it. 3d. That the privileges for conducting the *East India* trade, be settled by parliament. 4th. That the subscribers enjoy eight *per cent.* and the liberty of trading to *India*, exclusive of all others, for the term of ten years, and till the sum subscribed be redeemed by parliament. 5th. That every share of 500*l.* have a vote; and no person enjoy more than one vote. 6th. That all ships loaded in *India* should unload in *England*. 7th. That no person being a member of any corporation trading to *England*, should trade otherwise than in the joint stock of such corporation of which he was a member. 8th. That 5 *l. per an. ad valorem*, be paid by the importer on all returns from the *East Indies*, to be placed to the account of the subscribers, towards the expence of embassies, and other extraordinary charges. 9th. That besides the duties now payable, a farther duty of 1 *s.* 10 *d. per lb.* be laid on all wrought silks imported from *India* and *Persia*; this to be paid by the importer^b.

The company's offer rejected, and they petition the parliament

ALTHOUGH the company were informed by hints, that their offer even of raising the two millions would be rejected, yet did they by petition appeal to the justice and equity of parliament, as well as to the public. They again recited their rights and claims under so many royal charters, particularly the last, calculated to remove every reasonable objection, and superinduce many national advantages, agreeable to several regulations proposed and resolved in the house of commons; no forfeiture of which either had or could be urged. 2d. The regard that was due to the property of above a

^a Vol. ii. p. 349.
A. 1698.

^b Debates of the House of Commons,

such other particulars as could be discovered, the committee observed, that the money issued by *Herne* and *Cooke*, while the latter was deputy only, was expended upon private service, but brought to account under general charges. The equivocation of *Cooke*, the acknowledgements of *Sir Benjamin Seaver* of *Bathurst*, one of the court of committees, with many other the direct circumstances, put it beyond all doubt that bribery and corruption had been practised; but yet nothing clear against any individual could be made out. *Sir Thomas Cooke* owned, that the 90,000 *l.* was to gratify certain persons, if the bill should pass; but he would give no account of the distribution. *Sir Basil Firebrace* acknowledged his having received 16,000 *l.* which he had laid out in stock with the company's permission. As to an accommodation with the merchants (interlopers, as they were called) for buying their shares, in this private trade, at 25 *per cent.* advance, and half the profit, the committee was informed, that lord *Nottingham* had acquainted the company by letter, that his majesty's pleasure was, they should come to an agreement. That about one half accepted the terms; but messrs. *Godfrey* and *Colston* insisting upon 30 *per cent.* the rest went off. Besides, it was imagined the contract for saltpetre to be imported in the ship *Seymour*, made with *Colston*, was only in trust with him for some other person, though the original inducement for the leave given.

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on this motion was, however, adjourned till the next day, when the company made it appear, that the said payment was made by the consent of the new subscribers, upon which the motion was dropt ^d.

*The company resolves to advance 200,000*l.* as the first payment of two millions.*

ALARMED with so home an attack, and justly apprehensive of what was next to ensue, the directors called another general court of the proprietors, in which the persons of the most credit agreed to open an immediate subscription of 200,000*l.* as the first payment of the 2,000,000*l.* and subject to forfeiture, in case the subsequent payments were not made good. Proposals on this plan were, the same day, presented to the commons, as were also those of the merchants. The latter appeared to the ministry the most reasonable, and accordingly had the preference. Their sway was great, and the whole business of the nation was made a jobb. The new company, as it now began to be called, was formed out of the old *interlopers*, having set out upon their foundation, although it did not include all the private traders that went by this name. Such of them, whose stocks were better suited to a separate than a joint trade, and who found themselves more likely to be excluded now than ever they were, equally opposed the pretensions of both contending parties. They published a sensible pamphlet, intitled, *A Letter to a Gentleman*, in which the reasoning against an exclusive trade, in the manner in which it had been conducted, was forcible, convincing, and spirited; but unsuccessful, as it did not square with the views of the court and commons (U). The bill, against which they opposed all their might,

A third party arises, who are for settling the trade open.

was

^d Debates of the Commons, A. 1698.

(U) "The landholders," says the letter writer, "of England, who all depend on trade, and who are traders, would think it highly irrational to erect by law monopolizing corporations for corn, cattle, wool, &c. well knowing that those, by commanding the markets, buying cheap and selling dear, would grind both the first seller and consumer. They would rob the landlords of their income, deprive the people of their sub-

sistence, discourage manufactures, labour, and all sorts of industry, relating to the produce of the country. By the artifice of combination they would cut up the roots of trade at home, which depends on cheap living; whereas such corporations relating to foreign trade are no less pernicious, by destroying the foundation of wealth to be drawn from abroad, which is cheap selling. The present company, and what may be design-

"ed

was passed by the commons, and sent up to the peers. The old company, having obtained leave to be heard by their counsel, insisted, as before, upon their rights by charter, and even vigorously attacked the new regulations in the bill, asserting them to be less beneficial to the publick than those inserted in their last charter. According to the charter, they were obliged to take in additional subscriptions, to the amount of 744,000*l.* whereas, by the present bill, no provision was made for any certain stock. They were likewise obliged to export home manufactures, to the value of 100,000*l.* per annum, whereas the new subscribers were laid under no such obligation. By their charter, none but natural born subjects, and persons naturalized, had the privilege of a share; but the new bill admitted foreigners, which might produce effects pernicious to the general good of the nation. Though the old company had offered to raise two millions, the new were obliged, by the bill, to raise

A bill passes the house, in favour of the merchants. The company object to the regulations contained in the bill, and are heard by their counsel.

ed to succeed it, being but one buyer of commodities proper for trade, and one seller of whatever is imported from thence, will get such a mastery over the markets, in both cases, as to buy and sell with their own stated profits. Whereas private traders must take the markets as they find them. It is certain, that from A. 1653 to 1657, while the trade was open, the Dutch suffered greatly, by the low prices of the *English*. Nor can any thing be more serviceable to the *Hollanders*, than that the opulence and enterprising spirit of this nation be confined and fettered in a lazy monopoly, which can regulate the prices with them to their own mutual advantage, but to the prejudice of the public. I shall not," says the letter writer, "insist on the difficulty of good government in a new corporation, though some late instances of corrup-

tion, charged on the *India* company, might justify me: I shall only remind you of the national constitution. In the late reigns, the *East India* company and the bankers of *Lombard-street*, were thought dangerous to liberty, by the loans of great sums to *Charles* and *James* the second, on the credit of the exchequer only. In the present reign, the bank of *England* was restrained, for the same measures, from loans to the crown, but on parliamentary security. But if a new corporation of two millions fund, with a million or two occasionally or otherwise advanced, with pretence to carry on the trade, together with the constant profits; if this gives no umbrage to patriots, threatens no danger to the constitution, I may then safely conclude this nation for ever out of hazard from secret or open attacks on liberty (1)."

(1) *Vide a Letter concerning the East India trade, A. 1698.*

no more than one. It was therefore not unreasonable to question, whether the remaining million would be raised by voluntary subscription? Lastly, the counsel for the old company urged, that whereas, by the votes of peers and commons, the best way to carry on a trade was by a joint stock, exclusive of all others, the bill provided both for a joint stock and a separate trade; a circumstance which, they apprehended, would increase the difficulty of raising the two millions. These were the arguments advanced in allegation of their right, and against the claim of their adversaries, by the company.

*The reply
of the mer-
chants.*

WHAT deserves the most notice, in the answer of the merchants to this plea, are two assertions; the one, that the charter had been obtained by irregular means; the other, that it was not in the power of the crown, without consent of parliament, to grant an exclusive charter. Thus the corruption of the legislature was avowed on one hand, and the royal prerogative attacked on the other. The ministerial interest, it is true, ran strongly in favour of the bill; yet did a number of peers, of the first distinction, weight, and authority, oppose it with vehemence. No argument, legal artifice, or trick of parliament, were omitted, to dispute and impede its progress. After the bill had passed, by a majority of twenty-seven voices, a protest was signed by twenty-one peers, among whom was the Lord Godolphin, then first commissioner of the treasury. The reasons contained in the protest were as follow:

*Some peers
protest a-
gainst the
bill.*

1. "BECAUSE this bill put an unreasonable hardship upon the present *East India* company, since it plainly appeared, at the bar of this house, that a security, of which we conceive there was no reason to doubt, had been offered by the said company, for raising the two millions for the public service: whereas the bill, investing the new subscribers with the trade, upon the subscription of one million only, does not, as we apprehend, give so much as a probability for raising more. And it may be reasonably doubted, whether the separate trade allowed in the bill, concurrent with a joint stock, may not prove so inconsistent, as to discourage the subscription from ever coming near to the said million,

" 2. BECAUSE the bill puts a period to the charter of the *East India* company, and gives the trade thither to other persons, without so much as suggesting that the said charter, or the trade carried on by virtue of it, hath been

† SOMERS'S Collect. *ibid*, HARRIS, *ubi supra*.

" preju-

"prejudicial to the king or kingdom, though the said company have an express clause in their charter, that it shall not be determined without three years notice, even if it should appear not profitable to the king and this realm. And the bill granting likewise a supply of two millions, in which the commons pretended the house of peers ought not to make any alteration, we are of opinion, their lordships are thereby deprived of the freedom of their votes in the matter of the *East India* trade, to which it cannot be denied but they have an equal right with the commons. And yet, by its being joined to a bill of supply, this house must either be the occasion of disappointing to large and necessary a grant for the public service, or be put on the unreasonable hardship of consenting to a matter, which, though it seems so unjust, it is fruitless for them to examine, if their amendments are not to be admitted, because offered to a money bill, which we conceive to be a manifest violation of the rights of the house, and tending to an alteration of the constitution of the government."

UPON the whole, we will conclude this affair with bishop *Bishop Burnet's* observations on it. "It is certain," says he, "that *Burnet's* this act, together with the inclinations which those whigs, *remark on* who were in good posts, had expressed for keeping up a *the whole* greater land force, did contribute to the blasting the reputation they had hitherto maintained of being good patriots, and was made use of by the tories to disgrace both the king and them. To this another charge of a high nature was added, that they robbed the public, and applied much of the money, that was given for the service of the nation, both to the supporting a vast expence, and to the raising great estates among themselves. This was sensible to the people, who were uneasy under heavy taxes, and too ready to believe, that, according to the practice in king *Charles's* time, a great deal of the money that was given in parliament was divided among those who gave it. These clamours were raised and managed with great dexterity, by those who intended to render the king, and all who were best affected to him, so odious to the nation, that by this means they might carry such an election of a new house of commons, as that by it all might be overturned. It was said that the bank of *England*, and the new *East India* company, being in the hands of whigs, they would have the command of

The ministry push the interests of the merchants.

"all the money, and by consequence of all the trade, of "England." And, indeed, whatever the bishop might imagine, certain it is, there was great room for this apprehension. Notwithstanding the opinion of the protesting lords, the ministry was fully persuaded, that the old company would not give security for a subscription of two millions, the sum wanted; they were equally persuaded, that no number of new proprietors would advance so great a sum, without the sanction of parliament; and they were made to believe, that though half was only stipulated, yet that the remaining million would soon be voluntarily subscribed for, if this check was given to the old company. This determined them, together with the power which it would throw into their hands, to push the affair in parliament with all their strength. Nothing was wanting by the old company, that money or eloquence could effect; but the bill passed with peers and commons, though in the former their rights were enforced by their counsel, Sir Thomas Powis and Sir Bartholomew Shower, with all the energy of diction, and strength of argument, which the cause would admit of. It was, indeed, a thing determined, to sacrifice justice and the company to the artifice of certain persons, and to the necessities of the government. However strong the arguments for laying open the trade may be, yet we cannot but esteem it an act of the most flagrant injustice to rob the old company of rights which they had done nothing to forfeit since the last grant; and to give to other persons an exclusive right, which had been solemnly made over to them but four years before.

The company's rights sacrificed to the interests of the nation; the necessities of the court, and the ambition of individuals.

A new company erected.

THUS a new company was constituted and incorporated by law, at the price of a loan of two millions, for which they received interest at the rate of eight *per cent.* though by subsequent acts of the legislature it has been reduced to six and five *per cent*^h.

A. 1699. The old company continued, during the remainder of their charter.

ALTHO' the old company did not look upon themselves as dissolved: yet so diffident were they of their right, that they assiduously applied to parliament, to be continued as a company, during the remainder of their charter. Nor was the new company in a condition to withstand this effort. Montagu, their great patron, was no longer lord of the ascendant either in the cabinet or in the house. During the suspense of the supply for the year, the commons, of all the branches of the constitution, assumed the most consideration.

^s History of his own times, p. 170, fol. edit.
vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. RALPH, A. 1698 9.

^h HARRIS,

The old company set out with distributing their case in print, at the door of both houses, in which they made the most of the equity of their claim, and the injuries they had sustained. The new company took a similar method to answer them, in which, for the sake of exposing the corrupt practices of their adversaries, they again laid open the venality of the court, with as much freedom as if there had not been the least room to suspect, that to a corrupt influence in parliament they owed their very existence. But their invectives served only to exasperate; they were imprudent and ill-timed, by exciting resentments fatal and destructive of their arguments. Though the old company could not prevent the establishment of the new, they yet had sufficient influence to procure a like establishment for themselves. The bill for authorizing their charter by parliament passed, in defiance of all the opposition that was made. Thus the nation had two *East India* companies constituted upon parliamentary authority, instead of one, by an act of royal prerogative¹ (W).

*Their
charter
authorized
by parlia-
ment.*

THE two companies appeared now as solicitous for each other's destruction, as before each had been for its own establishment. The same heats, animosity, and resentment, were rather inflamed than abated. They had both tasted the sweets of the profits accruing from the trade, and looked on each other with that jealousy, and deep resentment, which ambition and avarice will ever inspire. In the year 1700 they had both been detected in bribery and corruption at elections. The old, indeed, began with corrupting members, and purchasing voices in the house: the new followed their example with a little variation; for instead of purchasing votes, they bought seats; instead of corrupting the representatives, they began with bribing the constituents, and securing a majority in the house. A great number of attempts to unite both the companies for the two last years were made, but they were ineffectual.

THE commons had appointed a committee to receive proposals for paying off the public debts, and advancing the credit of the nation. To this committee did the old com-

*A. 1701.
Proposals
made to the*

¹ *Ibid. ibid. ubi sup.*

(W) It is remarkable that in the abridgement of the statutes, this act, which is of so extraordinary a nature, and which so essentially concerned so vast a branch of trade, is ranged under the head of private acts.

house by
the old
company.

pany propose, by the interposition of their old factor Sir Thomas Cooke, to pay the principal and interest of so much of the two millions as had been advanced by the new company and separate traders, at an interest of eight *per cent.* This sum, which was the consideration of their establishment, amounted on the whole to 1,688,000*l.* As to the remainder of the two millions, it was advanced by the old company, at five *per cent.* payable out of certain funds already settled by act of parliament. With what views and with what ends this loan was made, at an interest so low, does not appear; probably it was the price of their parliamentary establishment. The principal money so paid (which was to be at ten payments in twenty months) to be redeemable in a certain number of years, to be determined by the house, and subject to such regulations and restrictions, as might be necessary for the public good, and the preservation, progress, and security of trade. An opening too was to be left for any persons whatsoever to subscribe a certain sum to be fixed by the house, and thereby to become proprietors^k.

The clamours of
the new
company
against
this pro-
posal.

THIS was a proposal of dangerous tendency to the new company, and which, if accepted, must infallibly have destroyed them. But they were sufficiently aware of their danger, and vigilant to prevent it. While, therefore, their rivals were drawing up the proposal in form, as they were required to do by the committee, the new company began to talk and write in the same strain their adversaries had formerly done. They declaimed on the importance of preserving the public faith unhurt and unmolested; on the wrong policy of saving 60,000*l. per ann.* by a measure which would not only disoblige, but even ruin, a thousand families, subscribers in the new company. Without reserve, they exposed the perfidy of resuming, under any pretence whatsoever, the right (the exclusive right, as they at first understood it to be) vested in them, till the 20th of September 1711, only because three words had been omitted in the act (X). In short, with such success did they talk, write, and act, that when the committee reported the proposal of the

^k SOMERS'S Coll. vol. xxx. p. 152.

(X) The words, *and not sooner*, having been omitted in the act, the old company laid hold of this mistake, to endeavour to prevail on the commons to restore the grant they had, saying it might be done, according to the literal sense of the act.

old company to the house, no resolution was taken upon it¹.

AFTER these civil feuds had continued upwards of two years, at length both sides growing sick of a quarrel which might possibly terminate in the ruin of both, by laying the trade open, began secretly to think of a reconciliation, and an union of stocks. An agreement was soon determined, by which it was resolved, that the effects of both companies should be brought home with all convenient expedition, to be disposed of for their separate accounts, and all precautions taken for doing it with security. That no advantages, either on the part of the crown or of the new company, should be taken of the old, under pretence of forfeiture (which clause would seem unnecessary after the charters of regulation, granted and afterwards confirmed by parliament); that a release should be given by the two companies to each other reciprocally, and by each of them to their respective factors and servants. That the funds of the old company, amounting to 315,000 *l.* should immediately, on the execution of the above part of the agreement, be united to the capital of the new company. That the old company purchase of the new 693,500 *l.* in the capital stock and fund of 1,662,000 *l.* to be transferred by three of the members in their political capacity. Thus the old company may have 988,500 *l.* in the common funds, an equivalent to the interest of the new company therein. That the above stock of 673,500 *l.* should be transferred at four several times, one fourth to be paid for at each transfer, at the rate of par. That the dead stock of the old company at home and abroad should be valued at 33,000 *l.* that of the new company at 70,000 *l.* That the old company should, at the time of transferring their first fourth of the said 673,500 *l.* transfer all their dead stock at home and abroad to the new company, the latter paying for one moiety thereof 16,500 *l.* That the old company would also pay to the new company the sum of 35,800 *l.* as the one moiety of their dead stock, upon which the old company shall be intitled to one moiety of both dead stocks, in the same manner as the members of the new. The members of the new company transferring shall be intitled to the arrears of their annuities, till the time of the said transfers; after which all annuities arising from the stock of the old company (315,000 *l.*) to be paid to persons appointed for that purpose by the old company for their use. In like manner the new company to enjoy all profits

Both companies make secret offers of a coalition. Terms of the agreement between the companies.

¹ HARRIS, vol. ii. *ibid.*

previous to this agreement, and also 5 *l. per cent.* on all ships entered homeward, or cleared outwards, previous to the same agreement; but that each company desist from any separate exportation^m.

It was likewise stipulated, that both companies should, for seven years next ensuing, share equally in the administration of all affairs relating to their funds or commerce; and that twelve persons should be elected by the general court of each company respectively, out of the courts of committees and directors of the said companies, to be nominated in the new charter, the *managers* of the *united trade to India*; and that a new and additional stock should be raised for the support and increase of the future trade, to be advanced at the time, and in the manner, determined by the twenty-four directors composed of each court, the general court approving of their determination. That for the seven ensuing years the old company should remain a separate corporation, and preserve their stock as a body politic, with power to transfer and assign in their own books, as at the time of signing the agreement. That at the end of this term they should transfer and assign in the books of the new company their share in the capital, to such members as should then stand intitled to the same, upon which the members of the old company should, without fee or cost, become members of the new. That each company should indemnify the other from their debts and demands, and a proper proviso be made for that purpose. That the new company, from the time that this agreement is in force, should not take up money on their common seal, nor do any other act that related to both, without the consent and concurrence of the old company. That it should be stipulated, agreed, and covenanted between them, that his majesty should, within ten days after making the above assignment, make a re-grant, and that the old company should surrender their charter and act of incorporation within one month after the expiration of the above term of seven years. Also that the king should, within ten days after the said surrender, make a new grant to the trustees, and subject to the same trustees, all estate and effects of the old company as should come to or devolve upon the crown, by reason of the said surrender. Lastly, That immediately from and after the said surrender, the new company shall be styled, *The united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies*. That the future management of the said stock and trade, after the

^m DODSL. vol. ii. c. 3. RALPH, Hist. Eng. under this year.
expi-

expiration of the term of seven years, should be according to the charter of the new company, bearing date the 5th of September, an. 1698. That there shall be a tripartite indenture for the better obtaining the purposes specified above, to be executed by the king and both the said companies; and that here such provisions and covenants should be made as should be thought reasonable, with proper releases to each company, in such manner as that as soon as the above term of seven years should be expired, the two companies should thenceforward become one in name and effect ^a.

Thus were the animosities, heats, and enmities between the two companies terminated by an union, equally beneficial to both. The markets, which took advantage of the rivalry between them, were lowered, and the stock to carry on trade enlarged. It was, indeed, the only possible remedy for so great an evil, the bad consequences of which were foreseen by the prudent and impartial, before the two charters had been granted. Experience, however, multiplied the bad effects prognosticated, and, probably, pointed out the cure. It was the opinion of many, that the animosities between the company and private merchants, and afterwards the project of two companies was, if not planned, at least promoted, by the Dutch. Nor is the conjecture without probability, considering the advantages they reaped from it. A circumstance that strongly corroborates the notion is, that the subscription for the two millions was chiefly filled up by foreigners. It has the air of a paradox, that people would lend their money to hurt the old East India company; but this difficulty will be easily solved, if we consider, that the subscribers relied less upon the dividends and advantages of trade, than on the 8l. per cent. interest.

But however things might be brought to an amicable crisis at home, by this union of the two companies, it was by no means so abroad for a considerable time. The coalition was known, but little observed, in those distant parts. Their rancour, jealousy, and enmity would seem to be inflamed by the heat of the climate; and what originally had its rise from interest and selfish notions, to have now become constitutional from habit.

To give the reader a more distinct idea how far those prejudices were carried, we shall take a succinct view of the settlements abroad, and of the conduct of the governors, factors,

^a The above-cited authors, *ibid*.

and servants of the companies. It is somewhat difficult to represent in one distinct scene, so great a variety of objects; but we shall attempt it, hoping for the candid reader's excuse for any slips we may be guilty of, whilst we are pursuing a theme hardly touched upon by former historians (Y).

NOTHING but the cement of avarice and self-interest had held the *British* subjects engaged in this commerce united. By means of this, persons who secretly entertained the greatest aversion for each other, were forced to a certain degree of compliance, in order to obtain their several ends. It will easily be believed that the companies affairs were in a languid condition, as they were intirely conducted by such as had no other concern for them than in the proportion their private interests were connected with those of their masters. Hence every opportunity of enriching themselves, at the expence of their constituents, were laid hold of by the governors and factors. The divisions among the servants of each company arose from opposite private interests, as much as from the enmities between the companies. Neither honour, justice, or humanity were regarded, whenever an occasion of injuring each other, or bettering themselves, occurred; all was conducted by fraud or open force (Z). The ministry were taken up with hum-
bling

(Y) Captain *Hamilton's* history is our only guide; who, tho' an honest and faithful writer, is so diffuse, perplexed, and languid, as almost to nauseate a reader.

(Z) The following story from Captain *Hamilton* will strongly mark the character of the *East India* governors at this time.

"*Perrin*, the master of a ship A. 1706, took up 500 *l.* on *respondentia* from Mr. *Sheldon*, one of the company's governors in *Bengal*. The money was intended for a voyage to *Perfia*, and was payable on his return to *Bengal*. *Perrin* having dispatched his affairs in *Perfia*, called, in his return, at *Goa*, where he bought a *Surat* built ship. This he loaded at *Calicut* with

pepper, designed for the *Bengal* market. He also took in store of *Perfia* wines, for which having no sale at *Fort St. George*, he carried the whole to *Bengal*. On his arrival, he complimented *Sheldon* with the first offer of his pepper and wines, which he declined, taking no more than would balance the account between them of principal and *respondentia*. On delivering the goods, he desired his bond; which *Sheldon* refused, saying, that, as he was an *interloper*, he would keep the bond as a security for his future conduct. *Perrin* used all his influence and arguments to procure the surrender of his bond, but to no purpose. Nor was the governor satisfied with this exertion
of

being the exorbitant power of the house of *Bourbon*; the balance of *Europe* engrossed their whole attention, and prevented

of his power and resentment; he used a still more cruel method of hurting *Perrin*, which was by vilifying his pepper and wines, and spoiling their sale. *Sheldon*'s intention was to bring down the price in such a manner, that he and his associates might have a bargain of them, which *Perrin* was at last obliged to grant, holding a quarter part in his own hands. *Perrin* made his complaint to me, but I was in no condition to assist him, because having three or four large ships at *Bengal*, I was reckoned a criminal, guilty of that unpardonable sin of interloping. However, I advised him to comply with his inexorable master on any terms, which he endeavoured to do, that he might at least keep the command of his ship, which he had hardly done but by an accident. One day meeting me on the green near the fort, he stopped me to relate his grievances, and begged that if he was turned out of his ship he might be employed in one of mine; which I promised he should. *Sheldon* observed us from a window, holding a long conversation, and being impatient to know the subject of it, sent a servant to call *Perrin*, and obeying the summons, was interrogated about the nature of the conversation. *Perrin* told me of my promise; upon which the governor replied, that he was as able to employ me as I was. *Perrin* answered, that he knew that, but wished I would be as willing. Upon which *Sheldon* promised, that he

should command his own ship to *Persia*.

But the wine still lay unfold, though at that time it was scarce in *Bengal*. The bad name it had got by *Sheldon*'s means stuck so fast to it, that none would go off. I therefore advised *Perrin* to carry it off in the night in my boats, on board of one of my ships, and I would try whether I could not serve him, which was done accordingly. Two gentlemen of the council coming one day to dine with me, I treated them and the rest of the company with *Perrin*'s wine, which they all praised, and asked where I got it? I told them, that knowing good wine would be scarce that year in *Bengal*, I had provided a good quantity at *Surat*. Every one begged that I would spare them some chests, which I condescended to do as a favour, and next day sent it at double the price the owner demanded. Thus I disposed of 100 chests, by which *Perrin* was enabled to satisfy most of his creditors. *Sheldon* provided a stock and freight for him to *Persia*, putting on board some rotten long pepper, which he could not otherwise dispose of, and some damaged *Gunnies*, much used, if good, in *Persia*, for embalming; and obliged poor *Perrin*, *nolens volens*, to sign bills of lading for sound well-conditioned goods. Just as he was setting sail he was stopped, till he could raise the sum of 2500 rupees, to discharge a bill then due, and indebted to *Sheldon*. I helped him out

ed their finding leisure for the more tranquil concerns of manufactures, trade, and commerce. There is nothing, however, more obvious, than that commerce ought to be a principal concern with a *British* ministry; since the extension of trade is, perhaps, the sole means of raising the power and credit of the nation. Our naval force will ever render us considerable abroad; but this cannot be maintained by any other means than promoting a spirit of trade and navigation.

out of this difficulty likewise, upon which he proceeded on his voyage; but called at *Calcutt*, where he laid up his ship, and took protection of a *Nayer*, with the full hand of 11,000 *l*. From hence he wrote to *Sheldon*, that he might keep his former bond, and he would take care of his part of the stock in his hands. He wrote also to me, that he would soon reimburse me; but he died soon afterwards, and his effects came into the *English* chief's hands, who detained them several years, denying that he ever received any. At length, on Mr. *Bowes* coming, A. 1715, to the government of

Bombay, the affair was somewhat cleared up by a lame account. I have been so particular in this story, for the Captain, as it forms an idea of the deformity and distorted image of tyranny and villainy supported by a power that neither divine nor human law have force enough to bridle or restrain (1)." It is, indeed, apparent, from a number of circumstances, that the gross abuses were committed by the petty tyrants, while the attention of the companies was engaged too much at home, to regard the conduct of their servants abroad.

(1) *Hamilton's History of the East Indies*, vol. i.

S E C T. V.

Containing an act empowering the company to borrow money on their common seal; an act to prevent foreigners from establishing a trade prejudicial to the interest of the company; several other acts in their favour; massacre of the factory at Pulo Condore; the revolt of the natives at Bencoolen, &c.

The United Company resolve to bind the government money. AS the views of the ministry, during the long war with France, were wholly abstracted from the concerns of trade, the *India* company was obliged to devise means for removal of many inconveniencies, which remained after the union of both companies. To obtain such a law as would settle their affairs on a proper footing, they resolved, in

6th year of queen *Ann*, to lend the government the sum of 1,200,000 *l.* over and above the former loans. This had been a way of procuring the protection of the government of ancient standing, and it was practised on this occasion with success. The proposal was readily embraced; in consideration of which the parliament was ready to grant whatever they required for the benefit of their trade (A). A law was therefore passed, in which it was enacted, That the *English* company trading to the *East Indies* shall pay into the exchequer the above-mentioned sum at certain stated payments, in failure whereof the money to be recovered of the company by action of debt, with 12 *per cent.* damages; and that the company be empowered to borrow on their common seal a sum of money, the principal not exceeding 1,500,000 *l.* over and above what they were before legally intitled to borrow on their common stock. In case the governor and company of merchants of *London* trading to the *East Indies*, and the general court of the said company, whilst they continue separate, shall think fit to call in money from their respective adventurers, towards raising the said sum of 1,200,000 *l.* or repayment of money borrowed for that purpose, they are invested with full powers to make such calls. And if any members shall neglect or refuse to pay their money so called in, or which the company, in pursuance of statute 9th *W^{m.} III. c. 44.* or their charters, shall call in for carrying on their trade (after notice fixed on the Royal Exchange), that then the company may stop the dividends payable to such members, and apply the same towards such payment, till it be satisfied. They may also stop the transfers of the shares of such default-

(A) It may be proper to observe, that here the *India* company is to be considered in a double capacity, as creditors to the public, and as a trading company. In the first they have a security, as other companies have, for the money they advance to the government, and a proportionable interest for it. In their other capacity, their directors are trustees for the company's trade, the profits of which likewise belong to the proprietors. Hence it appears, that the dividends upon their stock are compounded of the

profits on trade, and the interest from the government. This latter being fixed and invariable (except on the reduction of interest by parliamentary authority), serves as an index to the former; since at all times the interest paid to the company, being deducted from the dividend paid by them to the proprietors, leaves the clear profits of trade. This short note will serve the reader as a key to the nature of *East India* stocks, the difficulty of understanding which we have heard many sensible persons complain of.

ers, and charge them with interest at 5 *per cent.* till such payment. If the same be neglected for three months, the company may afterwards sell so much of the defaulters stock as will amount to the sum required by the call *.

THE above sum of 1,200,000 *l.* shall be deemed an addition to the stock of the *English East India* company, and be free of taxes. The united stock of the company shall be subject to the debts contracted by the said company, and such persons intitled to 7,200 *l.* part of the 2,000,000 *l.* original stock, as have not united their stock to the corporation's, and who are authorized to carry on a trade for their separate use, may hold and enjoy the trade as if this act had not been made. The company may repay the same at the expiration of three years, together with the annuities due thereon, upon which the whole trade shall be invested in the said company. Disputes between the two companies, relative to the union between them, to be referred to the arbitration of *Sidney* earl of *Godolphin*. After award is made, and the charter of the governor and company surrendered, the persons who, at the time of the surrender, pursuant to an indenture tripartite, made between the queen on the first part, the said governor and company on the second part, and the said company on the third part, shall be directors and managers of the United Company, and shall continue in that capacity untill new directors are chosen, according to their charter, dated *September 5th*, and 10th *William III.*; provided, That after a term limited, and repayment of the said two millions two hundred thousand pounds, and all arrears then due for annuities, which annuities amount to 160,000 *l. per ann.* and upon three years notice, that then the aforesaid duties on salt, &c. and the benefit of trade given by this and the former charter cease. This proviso is extended as to the time, by stat. 10 *Ann.* c. 28 & 29. and impowers the company to enter such goods as they shall import at the custom-house, by bills at sight or sufferance, and shall give security under their common seal for payment of such customs and duties as are rated in the book of rates, and upon coffee, to be ascertained on the oath of the importer; viz. for payment of one half at the end of six calendar months, and the other half at the end of twelve months. The custom-house officers shall grant to the company such bills at sight or sufferance, and take security as aforesaid, making such allowances and deductions as are made to other merchants paying their customs at or before

* HARRIS, ubi supra. HAMILTON, vol. i. DODSLEY, vol. ii. c. 3. J. P. A. 1705-6.

the landing their goods and merchandize. Nothing, however, herein contained to extend to alter the method of paying the duties of 15 *per cent.* on muslins and callicoës, or the duties of any other goods, to be ascertained by sale of candle ^b.

Not long after the accession of *George the First* to the British crown, a new evil was discovered, the preventing of which was of the utmost consequence to the whole nation as well as to the company. It was found that various attempts had been made to penetrate into the secrets of this commerce, for the information of foreigners, who projected a scheme for sharing in so beneficial a traffick. To put a stop to so dangerous a design, a bill passed in parliament, and received the royal assent, to render all such practices ineffectual. It was enacted, That all his majesty's subjects, who shall sail or go to the *East Indies*, or such places of *Asia*, &c. beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the *Streights of Magellan*, contrary to the laws in being, or the tenor of this act, shall be liable to the punishments inflicted by law for such offences; and it shall be lawful for the United Company of *English* merchants trading to the *East Indies*, and their successors, to seize such persons, and to send them to *England* to stand trial, and to be punished according to law: whoever shall solicit, procure, obtain, or act, under any commission, authority, or pass from any foreign power, to sail or trade to or in the *East Indies*, shall forfeit 500 *l.* whereof one moiety to the informer, another to the crown; the said penalties and forfeitures to be recoverable in any court of record at *Westminster*.

This law, notwithstanding the severity, did not produce the intended effect. The profits of the *English* company, who had, for several years past, divided 10 *per cent.* on their capital, excited a general eagerness among foreigners and others to share in so lucrative a commerce. The *English* merchants, excluded by the company's charter, thought themselves injured by this monopoly, and determined, if possible, to avoid the penalty by other means projected. This gave occasion, among other plans laid out by our neighbours, to the establishment of a new company, at *Ossend*, of which we shall speak more particularly in another place. In this project so many *English* traders and merchants were concerned, that, to obviate the inconveniencies resulting to the company and nation from the share they had in the new foreign subscription, an act was passed in the 9th year of *George* the first.

^b Debates of the house under this year.
DODSLEY, vol. ii. b. 3.

^c Ibid. Etiam

*As to pro-
went Bri-
tish sub-
jects from
encourag-
ing foreign
East India
commerce.*

By this act all the subjects of the three kingdoms were prohibited from encouraging, in any way, the establishment of any foreign company trading from the *Austrian Netherlands* to any place mentioned in the *English* company's charter, or to have any interest or share in the stocks or actions of any such foreign company, or to make payment in money, bills, or any other method whatsoever, towards the promoting or support of that or any other foreign company; the persons so offending to forfeit their interest and share in the stocks of such company, with thrice the value thereof; one third to go to the crown, and the remainder to the *English* company, in case they inform or sue for it; otherwise one third to go to the certain informer, recoverable by action of debt.

*Terms of
the act.*

THE attorney-general, of his own authority, or on the relation of the said United Company, and for the company, may file a bill of complaint in the court of chancery or of the exchequer, against any person who shall have contributed to, promoted, or any ways become interested in, the establishment of any such foreign *East India* company, or the stock or trade thereof, for the discovery of his offence, remitting or waving the forfeiture of the treble value of the offender's stock or concern in any such company, and insisting only on the single value. And if, upon this, such person shall answer to the bill, and not plead or demur to the discovery thereby sought; and in case the single value only of such stock, share, or interest, shall be decreed to be paid, one third part thereof shall go to his majesty, and the other two thirds to the company. If any *British* subject shall have accepted of any trust, or know of any interest, share, or concern, which any of his majesty's subjects shall have in any such foreign company, and shall not, within six months after accepting the trust, or the coming to the knowledge of any such interest, truly discover the same in writing to the said United Company of *England*, or their court of directors, he shall forfeit thrice the value of the said concern, interest, or so accepted in trust, or so known and not discovered; one moiety to the crown, the other to him who will sue for it by action of debt; or, such offender shall, at the discretion of the court where the cause is tried, suffer one year's imprisonment: such persons as shall, within the time limited above, voluntarily come to the court of directors, and make a true discovery in writing of the interest, &c. of any subject in the stock of any foreign company, shall have one half of the clear amount of the forfeitures arising from this act.

Any of his majesty's subjects, not legally authorized, found in the *East Indies*, are declared guilty of a high misdemeanor, and may be prosecuted for the same; and, if found guilty, shall be liable to such corporal punishment, imprisonment, or fine, as the court where the prosecution is commenced shall see fit. And the offenders may be seized and brought to *England*, and any justice of the peace may commit them to the next county jail, till sufficient security be given by natural born subjects, or denizens, for their appearance in court, &c. and not to depart out of the kingdom without leave. All actions on account of offences against this act, or against the 9th of *William III.* c. 44. or 5th *Geo.* I. c. 21. shall be laid in *London* or *Middlesex*, at the option of the prosecutor; and a *capias* in the first process shall issue upon any bill, plaint, or indictment, prosecuted for the said offences⁴.

THESE laws, one would imagine, would be sufficient to prevent *British* subjects from engaging in schemes pernicious to the nation; yet so far was it otherwise, that all the measures taken since by foreigners, to the prejudice of our commerce, owed their birth, in a great degree, to *Britons*. To make great fortunes at any rate, was the resolution of numbers of determined pursuers; and no laws were a sufficient barrier against the irresistible motions of ambition and avarice.

In the 7th year of *George* the First, a law was passed for *Another* the better preventing an unlawful, and securing a legal, com- *act passed* merce to the *East Indies*. Here it was enacted, That any *for the se-* goods shipped for the *East Indies*, except goods for the com- *modity of* pany, goods licenced by them, naval stores, provisions, and *commerce.* necessities for the ships in their voyage; and all goods taken out of such ships in their voyage homewards from the *East Indies* and to *England*, before her arrival here, shall be forfeited, with double the value; and the master or officer of such ships, knowingly permitting such goods to be shipped or unshipped, shall, for every offence, forfeit one thousand pounds, and wages.

ALL agreements or contracts made or entered into by any *Contents of* of his majesty's subjects, or in trust for them, on the loan of *the act of* money, by way of bottomry, upon any ship in the service of *parlia-* foreigners, and bound to the *East Indies*, &c.; and all con- *ments.* tracts for loading or supplying any ship with a cargo of any sort of goods, merchandizes, treasure, or effects, or with provisions, stores, or necessities; and copartnerships entered into with relation to any such voyage; shall be void. Every

⁴ HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. DOWSLRY, vol. ii. c. 3.

subject of his majesty that shall go to the *East Indies*, contrary to the laws now in force, shall be deemed a trader, and to have traded there; and all the goods there bartered or trafficked for, purchased by such person, or found in his custody, or any other in trust for him, by his order or procurement, shall be forfeited, with double the value.

LIKEWISE by this act it shall be lawful for the attorney-general, or the company, to file informations in any court at *Westminster*, against clandestine traders. If the defendants are found guilty, the court shall immediately proceed to give judgment against them. It shall also be lawful for the attorney-general, at the relation of the company, or by his own authority; to exhibit bills of complaint in the exchequer against persons trading to or from the *East Indies*, contrary to law. All copartners, agents, and factors, of such illicit traders may be prosecuted, for the discovery of such their trading, and for recovering the duties and damages. And such persons shall pay to his majesty the customs of the goods of such unlawful trading; shall answer to the company 30 *per cent.* according to the value of the goods in *England*; the amount of such customs being paid into the exchequer, and damages to the company, the prosecution shall drop. But if a decree be obtained against the offender, he shall pay costs to his majesty and the relator respectively.

If such bills as are exhibited at the relation of the company be dismissed by the court, the company shall pay every defendant his full costs. The forfeitures and penalties herein before appointed, or in former acts, relating to the *East India* company, may be sued for, not only by the attorney-general, or the said company, but also by any officer of the customs, such officer having the consent and order of the court of directors, as by the act is particularly required: one third of the penalty shall be to the crown, one third to the company, and the remaining third to such officer of the customs as shall inform and sue as aforesaid.

It is also provided, That the United Company be permitted to ship out stores, provisions, utensils of war, and necessaries for maintaining the garrisons and settlements, free of all duties, so that such duties, if they had been paid, should not exceed 300 *l.* No *East India* goods to be imported into *Ireland* or the plantations but from *Great Britain*, on pain of forfeiting ship and goods*.

THUS have we seen the *East India* company struggle with a variety of difficulties, dangers, and perplexities, through a

series of years. They were partly owing to the maxims of certain leading men in the nation, who obliged them to purchase every favour at an exorbitant price. The *Dutch* too had been the cause of numberless hazards to them. This advantage the *Hollanders* had over the *English*, that they were always sure of the utmost support from their government, and were permitted to conduct their affairs in the manner they thought most advantageous, in a sovereign and independent manner. Of late years, indeed, the circumstances of the *Indian* company have been greatly altered for the better. The legislature has now taken under their protection a corporation from which the nation in general, and the revenue in particular, receives infinite benefits. In consequence the company has been gaining ground on the *Dutch*; at least in those countries where an equal freedom of trade is permitted, and where the success depends on the choice and good opinion of the natives.

THE desire we had of continuing the chain of domestic transactions prevented us from taking notice of accidents that gave a disagreeable check to the rapid progress the company was making in this commerce.

THE company had a settlement in the island of *Pulo Condore*, subject to the monarch of *Cochin China*, and inhabited by *Cochin Chinese* and *Cambogians*. The first residence of the *factory* at *English* here was in the year 1702, when they built a slight *Pulo Condore* fort with earth and palisadoes, mounting on it a few pieces of cannon. It was garrisoned with about 45 *Europeans*, including the agents and servants, with eight *Topazes* and sixteen *Bugasses*. With the caution of persons not well fixed in their habitation, and unacquainted with the manners, disposition, and inclination of the inhabitants towards them, the *English* prohibited the natives from keeping arms in their custody on any pretence whatever. The misfortune of the *English* factory is attributed to the disgust of the *Bugass* or *Macassar* soldiers, who were threatened with corporal punishment for letting two of the slaves belonging to the factory escape. The revenge they meditated was cruel, and strongly marks the vindictive nature of those wretches. At night, on the 3d of *March*, 1705, while the garrison was asleep, they set fire to the houses within the fort, and murdered the *English* as they ran out naked to extinguish it. Above thirty of the *English* were massacred amidst the confusion the fire had occasioned, twelve only out of forty-five having escaped the resentment of the *Macassars*, by means of a sloop that lay in the harbour. The following letter from
Mr.

Mr. *James Cunningham* to the company's supercargoes and captains in *China*, gives a minute account of the horrid tragedy.

“ BEFORE this comes to your hands, you may have heard
 “ of the overthrow of the settlement at *Condore*, of which I
 “ shall here give you a more particular account, that you
 “ may impart the same to our honourable masters. Our
 “ *Macassars* were told they should be punished for letting
 “ some of our slaves escape, whereupon they resolved to
 “ take a cruel revenge : for on the 2d of *March*, at one
 “ o'clock in the morning, they set fire to the fort, and at
 “ the same time killed Mr. *Catchpole* the governor, Mr.
 “ *Loyd*, Captain *Rasbwell*, Mr. *Fuller*, and others, to the
 “ number of nineteen. Doctor *Pound*, Mr. *Chitty*, and
 “ Captain *Dennet*, with eight or nine more, made their
 “ escape in a sloop to *Malacca*, I suppose, and from thence
 “ to *Batavia*. Those that remained were so dispersed that
 “ hardly two remained together. I went to the *Cochin Chinese*
 “ for their assistance ; but their fear was so great, that
 “ they went to barricado themselves. The *Macassars* having
 “ perpetrated their villainy, got into a *Cochin Chinese* prow to
 “ put to sea, but were assaulted by the people of a *Cambodia*
 “ vessel, which was then on the island. Our armourer, who
 “ was with the *Cambodians*, killed one of the *Macassars*, and
 “ wounded two more, which made them put again to shore,
 “ and make their escape to the woods. In the morning be-
 “ times, the *Cochin Chinese* took possession of the fort ; fear-
 “ ing, I suppose, we should have joined with the *Cambodians*
 “ to carry away what the fire had not destroyed ; for being
 “ got together we were sixteen *English*, four of whom were
 “ dangerously wounded, six *Topazes*, and about twenty
 “ slaves, too small a number to cope with these, who were
 “ above 200. The *Chinese* being like so many cyphers, and
 “ the *Madras* sloop in *Cochin China*, obliged us to desire
 “ their friendly assistance. Whereupon the money was all
 “ put into chests, and the most part weighed and carried
 “ into their custody. During this time the *Macassars*
 “ thought to have seized another prow to escape in, but
 “ were frightened away by the *Cochin Chinese*, who promised,
 “ in a few days, to bring them all, dead or alive. Most
 “ of us were dubious of their friendship, but did not know
 “ how to answer it to our honourable masters, to leave so
 “ much money, while they pretended to be our friends, and
 “ we had not deserved otherwise at their hands. We
 “ could

“ could have got away in the *Cambodia* boat that failed, which failed the seventh following, and Mr. *Baldwin* and Mr. *Wingate* did go to *Cambodia*, to make the best of their way to *Batavia*; but we staid to take care of the money. The day after the departure of the boat, the *Cochin Chinese* caught one of the *Macassars*, and immediately cut off his head, by which we began to make sure of their friendship. Yet on the tenth, and without any the least provocation, but to make sure of their prey, they barbarously murdered all the *English*, among which were Mr. *Pottinger*, Mr. *Townsbend*, Mr. *Ridges*, and Mr. *St. Paul*, with four *Topazes*, and six slaves; only me they saved alive, after giving me two wounds, one slight in the arm, and the other more dangerous in my left side, of which I am now well. They besides saved two *Topazes* and fifteen slaves. On the 18th arrived in the island from *Borea* some *Cochin Chinese* gallies, with prows, amounting in all to 65, and in them 300 soldiers, the other *Cochin Chinese* making about 300 more. In these they embarked every thing worth taking away, and during their stay sent three or four times in search of the *Macassars*. Lighting on them at last, they put four to death.

“ On the 7th of *April* I was ordered on board one of the gallies, and not having leave to stir but attended by a soldier. I saw and understood that all the people belonging to the *Madras* sloop were in confinement, in separate houses, and also in *Congas*, except Captain *Ridley*. I desired several times to wait upon the governor, but was denied admittance, he was so busy in over-hauling the goods brought from *Pulo Condore*, and weighing the money, which, it was found, amounted to 21,300 tale. At last, on the 28th, I was obliged to appear as a criminal, in *Congas*, before the governor and his grand council, attended with all the slaves in *Congas*. Here I was charged with three crimes: the first, That the *English* when they arrived at *Pulo Condore*, said they would stay there whether the king of *Cochin China* would or not. The second, That there were no *English* sent with the present to court last year. And the third, That we sent a ship to *Cambodia*, and did not acquaint the governor of *Borea* with it. To the first charge I replied, that we had never said any such thing. For, on our arrival, we did not know that the island was inhabited; and that, as soon as our governor had dispatched the ships for *China*, he sent an embassy to *Cochin China*, and obtained leave “ to

“ to stay. To the second article I answered, that all the
 “ *Englisb* were so sickly, that we had not one of any rank to
 “ send, and therefore spoke to a *Chinese* captain, then pre-
 “ sent, who agreed to go ; but that the *Casom* taking the
 “ present upon himself, promised to make our apology to
 “ the king. To this they replied, that the sending a *Chi-
 “ nese* was all one as sending the *Casom*, and that an *Eng-
 “ lishman* would have done better. I answered, that was
 “ the *Casom*’s fault, who ought to have informed us better.
 “ They then asked why we did not get some out of the
 “ ships to send, when there were so many ? To which I
 “ replied, That we had no power over the ships. As to
 “ the third article, I said that we were never informed that
 “ we ought to have acquainted the governor of *Borca* be-
 “ fore we sent a ship to *Cambodia*. They insisted upon it,
 “ that no *Englisbman* came from the ship at the mouth of
 “ *Cambodia* river, when the governor sent to speak about
 “ the ships. To this I replied, that the ship was not yet
 “ returned to *Pulo Condore*, therefore I could not say what
 “ the reason of their conduct might be. Upon this I was
 “ dismissed, and returned home, where I had the *Congas*
 “ (thumb-bolts), taken off. The next day I was at the
 “ governor’s son’s house, and the governor, accidentally
 “ passing by, saw me, and sent for me to his house. He
 “ asked me nothing of moment, but why I sent two *Eng-
 “ lishmen* to *Cambodia*, and how much I had given them.
 “ After answering his questions, I desired to know what he
 “ intended doing with us. He told me we must stay here
 “ till he had a return from court, which would take up two
 “ months. I then asked for Captain *Ridley*, who was sick
 “ at *Dangai*, about twenty leagues from thence, and to have
 “ the *Congas* taken off his people ; he only replied, he would
 “ see to it shortly. I know not what our honourable mas-
 “ ters will be willing to do, therefore cannot advise them
 “ herein. I am,

“ With much respect, &c.

“ Signed,

“ CUNNINGHAM.”

THIS gentleman was afterwards president of *Banjar*,
 where he was equally unfortunate, the settlement having
 been ruined by the natives before he had been there ten days ;
 but in a less fatal manner. At *Pulo Condore* were massacred
 by the *Maccaffars* the following gentlemen ; viz. Mr. *Catch-
 pole*,

ple, governor, Messrs. Ridges, Rasbwell, Fuller, Aust, Emmett, Mansfield, Boulton, Stratford, Herring, Watts, Walton, Ormond, Hill, Bensley, Lindsay, Omans, Bradford. Some days after were massacred by the *Cochin Chinese*, Messrs. Loyd, Pottinger, Townshead, Savage, St. Paul, Hudson, Dorothy, Penniman, Lynch, Cellon, Cornelius, Ridges; many of these were persons of inferior rank and menials, or mechanics. We no-where can find that the company ever recovered their effects, or obtained satisfaction for this injury and barbarous treatment. It is possible the distance might have rendered this difficult.

In the year 1719, the governor and council at *Bencoulen* had resolved, on account of the unwholsomeness of the situation, to remove the factory to a few miles distance from its present situation. For this purpose the ground was traced out for *Marlborough* fort, and the work carried on with great vigour and spirit; but the council had not sufficiently consulted the temper and inclinations of the natives, who were greatly displeased with this design. Some little jealousies and heartburnings had appeared among them before; but as they did not break out into an open rupture, the factory disregarded them. The natives observing that this new fortification was applied to with such diligence, mistook the intention of it, interpreting it into a design upon their liberties, or, at least, into a suspicion in the *English* of their affection. This notion taking root, diffused such a spirit of rebellion among them, that nothing less than a general revolt, and an absolute destruction of the power they began to dread, was meditated. They concealed, however, their sentiments so artfully, and shewed so little sign of uneasiness or resentment, that the *English* proceeded in their work without any apprehension of what was contriving against them, till it was on the point of breaking out. The whole affair will best appear, and the conclusion of the conspiracy be set in the most genuine light, by the following letter from the council at *Bencoulen* to *Joseph Collet*, Esq; governor of *Fort St. George*.

— “ It is with the greatest concern that we acquaint you with the misfortunes that have befallen us and our honourable masters affairs since our last advices. In these we assured you, with too much confidence, of the perfect peace and tranquility we then enjoyed, which the satis-

¹ LOCKER, p. 90, &c.

² HAMILT. vol. ii. c. 4, .
“ faction

“ faction the natives seemed to express in our administration
 “ gave us but little reason to imagine would prove of so short
 “ duration. Our pepper, for some time, coming in very
 “ plentifully, and we having frequent promises from them of
 “ much greater quantities being ready to be brought out of
 “ the country, we had made a progress in our buildings,
 “ even beyond our expectations. The foundation of one
 “ gorge and two curtains of our fort walls were laid, and
 “ raised in brick and chinan a foot above ground, and the
 “ earth laid open for a third, in the space of a little more
 “ more than a month. We had laid such provision of brick
 “ and chinan that we should have had sufficient to com-
 “ plete the whole in less than twelve months, at the rate we
 “ had begun. Thus we thought ourselves successful in our
 “ undertaking; and it was no small pleasure to us to think,
 “ that, by diligently serving our masters, it would add to
 “ our credit, and, in a more peculiar manner, recommend us
 “ to their favour hereafter. But, in the midst of our prosper-
 “ ity, all our hopes were blasted by a secret combination of
 “ the whole country against us, which they certainly de-
 “ signed to execute while we had no ship in the road to help
 “ us. The *Meteb-lapatane* had been at *Bantal* since the
 “ 21st of *January*, but fortunately returned to our assist-
 “ ance the 18th of *March*, a few days before the discovery of
 “ this horrid plot.

“ It was late at night, on the 23d of *March*, before we
 “ had the least suspicion of any treachery, when Captain *Gibb*
 “ advised the deputy-governor that *Dupurty Benlorin* had
 “ got together between four and five thousand men in his
 “ *Dufan*, and he believed they designed to make war on the
 “ company. Upon this the deputy-governor dispatched a
 “ letter to *Benlorin*, to demand the reason of his assembling
 “ such a number of people, ordering him immediately to
 “ disperse them, and to come himself to the fort in the
 “ morning, that if he had any grievances they might be heard
 “ and redressed. That if he did not immediately comply
 “ he should no longer be considered as a friend, but betreat-
 “ ed as an enemy. Early in the morning *Benlorin* returned
 “ an answer filled with frivolous excuses, and false assurances
 “ of friendship, without taking notice of dispersing his army,
 “ or of coming in person to the fort. The council was im-
 “ mediately assembled, and acquainted with what had passed,
 “ when it was determined to send Mr. *Mackey*, who was
 “ *Benlorin's* friend, to confer with him, and persuade him to
 “ come to the fort. About noon *Mackey* returned with
 “ the

“ the *Dupurty*’s answer, and promise to wait on the governor the next morning. In the mean time our *Pangarans* and *Dattoos* were sent for to consult with on this occasion, who were the persons that ought to have given us the first notice ; but they seemed to make light of our apprehensions, persuading us, that the *Dupurty* was an honest and well-affected man. That the people of his *Dusan* were only friends he had assembled from the country to feast with him ; and that he had no intention to hurt the company. This opinion of theirs made us jealous of their fidelity, and tender a fresh oath of allegiance to them, which, after much persuasion, they took at the hands of their *Padres*. After this *Pangaran Munco Rajah* undertook to bring in the *Dupurty*, and did accordingly set out himself for *Benlorin*. Not an hour after we were alarmed with the dreadful sight of the sugar plantations on fire, it being then about six o’clock in the evening. A strong party, commanded by Ensign *Adaire*, was immediately sent out to *Bencoolen*, with orders to proceed next morning to *Dusan Benlorin*, and to engage the enemy either there or where-ever he should meet them, using his endeavours to destroy the *Dusan*, and as many of their people as he could. But in this he had no success for want of the *Pangaran*’s assistance, who had promised to supply *sampars* to ferry his people over the water at *Benlorin*, or where-ever he should have occasion for them, in which they deceived us. For our party finding a body of the enemy had fortified themselves with a strong breast-work of fire-wood, and some small guns, on the other side of the river, opposite to the sugar plantations, and not one *sampar* sent by the *Pangarans*, *Adaire* was prevented from fighting them, and obliged to return to the fort, after he had been deserted by the *Bugasses*, *Blacks*, and *Chinese*, who went over to the enemy. By the ensign’s account, it was plain that the whole country were concerned in this rebellion. The principal persons whom he saw and knew among them, were *Rajong*, *Pangaran Munco Rajah* ; most of the *Dupurtys* of the *Dusans* adjacent to us, with many of the people and *Bazars* of *Bencoolen*, headed by *Dupurty Benlorin* and *Selebrian* ; but he could not guess at their number as they were under the cover of trees and the breast-work they had raised of fire wood. Mr. *Alcock*, from *Sellenbar*, acquainted us the same day, that *Pangaran Jantentaley* and his country was also in concert with them.

“ On the 26th of *March*, in the morning, the strongest party we could muster of *English*, *Bugasses*, *Blacks*, and
“ *Chinese*,

“ the 29th of *March*, we were obliged to alter it, and
 “ make the best of our way to *Batavia*. After supplying
 “ each boat with water and provisions for five days, we
 “ set sail in company for *Batavia* &c.” The remainder of
 the letter is taken up with a journal of their voyage to *Batavia*; their usage there, and their being transported from thence to *Nagapatâm*, from whence this account is wrote, signed by the deputy-governor and two of the council.

SUBSEQUENT to this is a paper signed *Thomas Cooke*, containing a narrative of the circumstances which brought about the ruin of this settlement. Among these the following seem the most remarkable. The *English* had been involved in troubles with the country government, both at *Marlborough* and *Bantal*, before. Mr. *Cooke* had seemingly terminated those differences amicably, and a fair correspondence for several months ensued with the natives. Under the mask of friendship they had, however, harboured resentments; and at the time they preserved the most specious appearances, were forming plots, combinations, and conspiracies against the *English*. Seeing fort *Marlborough* in great forwardness, they apprehended their schemes would be frustrated if they delayed the execution till the *English* were secured by strong brick walls and cannon. Besides, they suspected that this fortress was an attack upon their liberties, and would be an asylum to those who had committed the most unpardonable injuries against them. Not long after this rebellion a difference had happened between *Dupattay* *Bandarin* and *Sec Gibb*, captain of the *Chinese*, and undertaker of the company's sugar and arrack plantations. The *Dupattay* is one of the second men in the kingdom, and governor of *Dasanore*. He is well beloved among the natives, being esteemed a priest among them, and always thought to be a good friend to the *English*. The quarrel first began to shew itself by the *Chinese* killing four of the *Dupattay*'s buffaloes, breaking down his fences, and damaging his plantations, which they affirmed had been done by order of Mr. *Farmer*, the preceding deputy-governor. Mr. *Cooke*, however, put a stop to this violence, obliging the *Chinese* to render the *Dupattay* full satisfaction for the damages done him. Notwithstanding this, some of the *Dupattay*'s men, in revenge, killed a slave belonging to the captain; and his brother was known to be of the party. The governor ordered him to be seized and confined in the cock-house till next day, when he took his trial, and was acquitted, without suf-

The original cause of this unfortunate affair.

" bill of lading, were sent on board. About eight o'clock
 " news came that both the *Pangarans* and families were
 " eloped from *Bencouleen*, and no account could be given of
 " their route. About tea, sultan *Catcheel* undertook to
 " accommodate matters with the country people, provided
 " we would consent to their chusing new *Pangarans* ; to
 " which we agreed. But before we could come to a *Bechar*,
 " or conference, with them, the *Portuguese Padre's* slave
 " told us, that the *Bugasses* and *Malayes* were risen at *Ben-*
 " *couleen*, and had cut off the *Padre*, and most of the *Por-*
 " *tuguese*, without distinction of sex or ages. He had hardly
 " finished his account, when a great fire broke out at *Ben-*
 " *couleen*, another near the fort, behind *Canbury Paggar*, ano-
 " ther towards *Sillebar*, and soon after at the *Hermitage* house.
 " Till this time no enemy appeared, but still fresh fires were
 " seen in different places, which could only have been done
 " by our own *Bugasses* and *Malayes*. As no enemy as yet
 " appeared, we discharged all the great guns we had mount-
 " ed, at the thickest of these fires, as we thought. In do-
 " ing this, one of the wads of our own guns unfortunately
 " fell upon the top of the fort buildings, which took fire, and
 " burnt so fierce, that there was no extinguishing it ; at
 " which time we marched out of the fort in one body to
 " meet the enemy. We first passed the lower ground,
 " from thence round the *Horse Stable Hill*, to the *Hermitage*,
 " and so by the *China Town* and brick-shades, which were
 " all on fire, but no enemy to be seen. We thence proceed-
 " ed to the sea-side, where we saw some thousands of *Ma-*
 " *layes*, headed by our *Sultan* and *Bugasses*. Most of the
 " *Chinese* had secured themselves in boats, and on board
 " their own prows. We had then none to stand by us but
 " our own *Blacks*. Under these disadvantages, we thought
 " it vain longer to hazard our lives against so numerous an
 " enemy. Our fort and most of our buildings being de-
 " stroyed by fire, put every man upon saving his life by
 " swimming, or getting on board the boats in the best man-
 " ner he could ; in which attempt near half our people were
 " drowned, or killed by the enemy. Next morning we com-
 " puted near 350 black and white men, women, and children,
 " were saved on board the ship *Machlepatan*, Mr. *New-*
 " *combe's* barge, and three *Tombongons*, or boats for going
 " on board ships, for which number we had not water for
 " above five days, at a pint a day each. Our first design
 " was to go to *Bantal* ; but both the wind and current were
 " so strong against us, that, after continuing in the road till

ing; and proceed without interruption in the building *Marlborough Fort*. Thus what the council affirm in their letter, of the fort's being the chief bone of contention, seems groundless; it plainly appearing, from the letters quoted in our notes, that the natives thought themselves injured and oppressed by the *English*. The chiefs of the factory did not always abound in discretion; and their assuming and imperious behaviour had greatly disgusted the natives; but as this was very tolerable in comparison of the brutal tyranny the *Dutch* exerted where-ever they were settled, the *Malayes*, upon the expulsion of the *English*, began to apprehend a visit from those cruel and unwelcome neighbours. From this dread, they soon dropt their resentments against the *English*, and burying in oblivion their indiscretions, welcomed them back with as much zeal as they had expelled them¹.

THE new fort, notwithstanding its vicinity to the old, was incomparably more healthy; besides, as it is a place of much greater strength than *York Fort* in *Bencoulcen*, the servants of the company are freed of all apprehensions of surprize from the natives. So that every thing contributed to extend the traffick and consequence of the company on this island (C).

THESE

¹ HAMILTON, vol. ii. c. 41.

(C) The year succeeding this, a kind of war broke out in the kingdom of *Vissam*, on the *Malabar* coast, between the *English* factory and the *Sandab Rajah*. The *Rajah* had built batteries at the mouth of the river; by this means, locking up the *English* fort from the harbour. This the president complain'd of, but had no redress. Towards the end of the year, a ship was wrecked on the coast, about four miles from the factory, to which Mr. *Taylor*, the *English* chief, claimed a right, as lord of the manor. The *Rajah* disputed his title; but *Taylor* imprudently maintained it, which highly incensed the sovereign. In consequence, he raised an army, and besieged the fort for two months, before the season would permit relief

to be sent by sea. At last, some of the company's ships arrived; but they found it difficult to land in the teeth of the enemy, as the sea ran high. In the first attempt to disembark, they were unsuccessful, thro' the neglect of orders; about 80 *English* were killed, and some made prisoners. However, a few days after, a landing was effected without loss; and in a few weeks their revenge taken on the *Rajah*. An engagement happened on the side of a hill, among thick bushes. The enemy being on the higher ground, attempted to beat the *English* from a spring of fine water, of which they had possession, near the sea; but the small vessels lying close by the shore, to cover 400 men who had the guard of the spring, fired with so much success,

THESE successes, joined to the caution of the company, in sending none but persons of prudence and abilities in quality

success, that in less than an hour, the *Rajah's* forces were defeated, leaving 200 men dead on the field.

This victory was, however, so far from being decisive, that the *English* were forced still to act on the defensive. They were greatly inferior in number, and dissident of their own military prowess; yet they did not fail to harass the enemy, and keep them in perpetual alarm. They likewise took some vessels belonging to the *Rajah*, laden with salt, provisions, and about 140 *Arabian* horses. At length a reinforcement arrived, and the *English* army, including seamen, numbered 2250 men. To prevent the landing of the succours, *Sandah Rajah* had erected batteries on the strand. The *English* opposed these by some floating batteries, having made the prizes shot-proof above the water, and mounted them with guns, each of them under cover of a frigate of 20 guns. With these they played upon the enemy briskly, and in the mean while landed 1250 men, without molestation. The enemy were preparing for their fight, when they observed some confusion among the *English*, who were endeavouring to form themselves into a hollow square. The soldiers not being very perfect in their evolutions, instead of making a regular figure, went into the utmost disorder; in which situation they were attacked by the *Rajah*. The consequence was a defeat, after the loss of 250 men; but the floating batteries prevented the enemy from

pursuing their successes. So terrified were they by the balls which dropt among them, that they did not wait to gather the *English* arms left upon the field. This gave the sailors courage to advance, who brought back to the ships about 200 stands of arms, most of them loaded. On the *Rajah's* side, the loss was trifling, not above a dozen of horse or foot being left dead.

Although he had been thus successful, yet he began to tire of a war, by which little besides empty honour was to be acquired. To support an army of seven or eight thousand men, exceeded his revenues, which were but slender. The loss of his shipping and provisions distressed him; besides, the *Sandah Rajah* had made an invasion on his northern borders, which divided his forces. All these circumstances inclined him to peace; but his pride would not suffer him to make the first overtures. However, he permitted a Brachman to go on board the commodore, to make certain proposals, as if from himself, which he would endeavour to prevail on the *Rajah* to accede to. The commodore referred the agent to Mr. Taylor, the president; but he would by no means treat with him, who had been the occasion of the war; and he affirmed, that *Sandah Rajah* would refuse the most advantageous terms, from the man he had so much reason to dislike. Both sides, however, being desirous of peace, it was brought about by the mediation of a Scic, who pretended the utmost impartiality

The great profits of the company, and the thriving condition of their trade.

New attempts to lay the trade open.

The company obviate those attempts, by making certain proposals to the government.

quality of chiefs to *India*, soon gave their affairs a prosperous turn. It has been said, that had it not been for the losses sustained by the establishment of new companies abroad, they would have been in a condition to have doubled their dividends; the benefit of which was laid open by the exhibition of the company's books, and the amount of their sales; a step occasioned by the clamour then raised about the decay of trade*. The conduct of the ministry it was, that gave birth to many new attempts of foreigners, to obtain a share in a traffick they saw attended with such immense returns. While these designs were vigorously pursued by foreigners, there were not wanting men of eminence and weight at home, who were for laying the *India* trade open. A variety of plausible arguments, which greatly alarmed the company, were urged upon this head. The whole nation was filled with complaints of the injustice of a monopoly, by which a body of private merchants fatiated their avarice, at the expence of all his majesty's other subjects.

THE company, to obviate the consequences of arguments become so general, made proposals to the ministry, highly beneficial to the government. No other conditions did they require, than a perfect security to an exclusive right of trading to the *East Indies*. A law was soon passed; by which all their powers, privileges, and immunities were confirmed in the manner they required. By this it was enacted, that the company do, on or before a fixed day, pay into the Exchequer 200,000 *l.* to be applied to the supplies granted to his majesty. For this no interest shall be paid, nor any addition be made to the capital of the company by the public, on account of this grant; nor the same, nor any part of it be paid to the company. That after the 29th day of September 1730, the annuity, or yearly fund, of 160,000 *l.* be reduced to 128,000 *l.* in respect of the capital stock of 3,200,000 *l.* That the annuity, so reduced, shall be charged on the same duties and revenues by the like weekly or quarterly payments, and with the same provisions for making good deficiencies in the said reduced funds, as their present fund or annuity is now charged on, till other provision is made by parliament with consent of the company. That

* DODSLEY, vol. ii. HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2.

and friendship for both sides. that the *Rajah* still kept the Nor indeed had the *English* any batteries at the mouth of the other reason to complain, than river (1).

(1) *Hamilton's Voyage to the East Indies*, vol. i.

upon

upon one year's notice by parliament, after the 25th of *March* 1736, after the expiration of that year, and on repayment of the said debt of 3,200,000 *l.* to the company, and all arrears of their reduced annuity of 128,000 *l.* which shall be due at the end of the said year; then, and thenceforwards, the said annuity or yearly fund shall cease and be no longer payable. At any time after the said 25th of *March*, after a year's notice by parliament, and after the expiration of that year, upon repayment made to the company of any sum not less than 500,000 *l.* part of the capital stock, and on payment of all arrears then due on their reduced annuity, that after such payments made, such part of the said annuity as shall bear a certain proportion to the capital so paid in part, shall cease and be abated. Thus from time to time, upon such yearly notices, and payment of such other sums in part of the said capital stock, till the whole of their annuity be intirely sunk and determined. *The contents of their proposals.*

NOTWITHSTANDING any such redemption, all persons intituled to any interest in the stock, &c. of the said company, shall be, and continue a body politic and corporate with perpetual succession, with power to purchase lands, &c. in *Great Britain*, not exceeding ten thousand pounds in value at any one purchase, with full enjoyment of all powers, privileges, and immunities, as by former charters have been granted, with power to declare what share in their remaining capital shall qualify members to be directors, or to vote in general courts. The company, notwithstanding such redemption, shall continue to enjoy the whole and sole trade to the *East Indies*, &c. but with the proviso of determination herein mentioned.

ALL persons (factors, &c. excepted) sailing or trading to the *East Indies*, shall forfeit the goods, ship, and double the value to be sued for, recovered and distributed as in the statute of 7 G. I. c. 21. is directed. The company shall enjoy all the powers granted them by former charters, and not charged by this act, freed and discharged from all provisos of redemption, as fully as if the same were here repeated; but subject to the restrictions as are contained in acts and letters patent now in force; as also to all provisions following.

PROVIDED, that upon three years notice by parliament, after the 25th of *March* 1736, and repayment made to the company of the capital stock; with all arrears due with regard to it; then, and from thenceforth, the right, title and interest of the said company to the sole, intire and exclusive trade to the *East Indies*, shall cease and determine. But after the said determination of the company's right, the corpora-

tion may, with all or part of their joint stock, trade to those parts in common with other subjects of his majesty. Any notice in writing from the speaker of the house of commons, to be deemed a due and proper notice by parliament. Nothing in this act to extend to subject the *Levant* company to any penalties and forfeitures on account of their traffick in the *Levant* seas; nor restrain any trade within the limits of the *East India* company, that the *South Sea* company are any way intitled to¹.

Scheme of
the mini-
stry to send
a Squadron
to the East
Indies.

IN this condition did the *East India* company continue till the beginning of the last war with *France*. Towards the close of 1743, after the *French* had attacked the confederate army, headed by his *Britannic* majesty, lord *Carteret*, who at that time had the direction of public affairs, proposed sending a Squadron to the *East Indies*. It was not doubted but the *French* would embrace every opportunity of attacking this nation in her most vital part, her commerce; on which depends her strength, her wealth, and happiness. The scheme was, however, for that time postponed. We shall shew, in the progress of our account of commerce, what a number of unsuccessful attempts had been made in *France* to erect and support an *East India* company, for near four-score years. About 1720, the *French* company began to make a figure, and almost ever since had regular returns of three, four, five, six and seven fine rich ships. It was therefore the business of a *British* ministry, not only to secure the settlements of the *English* company, but, if possible, to check the progress of the *French*. Accordingly, war was no sooner declared, than the minister made the above proposal of sending a Squadron thither, under the conduct of commodore *Barnet*. This was the more necessary, as the *British* company had of late both suffered in their trade by a competition with the *French*, and also by the encouragement that had been given to the latter by smuggling their *India* goods into the kingdom. In point of interest, it is true, the *Dutch* were more nearly concerned than we, to ruin the *French* commerce to the *East Indies*. It was likewise now easy for them to effect this, as they had beyond doubt an incomparably greater strength in those parts. But though it was an effort expedient to their maritime power, yet as they had not declared war with *France*, nothing of this sort was to be expected from them. *Great Britain* was left to attend the concerns of *Holland*, as well as her own; and by attacking the *French* in *India*, gave the States General an equal

¹ HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2.

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advantage in her success with the *British* subjects, entirely at her expence.

THE affairs of the *French* company, and their head settlement at *Pondicherry*, were now in a prosperous condition. As from hence apprehensions arose, that the commerce of this nation would be incommoded, an application was made from the court of directors to the lords of the admiralty, that a fleet should be sent for the protection of their settlements, and the annoyance of the enemy. In consequence, three ships of the line and a frigate, were ordered to be got ready (D). *Barnet*, with his squadron, sailed from *Commodore Portsmouth* on the 5th of *May* 1744. On the 26th he arrived at *St. Jago*, where he found a *Spanish* privateer of 14 guns, and 79 men, with a pink of 250 tons, under *Spanish* colours. As this was a neutral port belonging to the *Portuguese*, the commodore had no intention of attacking the privateer, till he was informed, that she had taken and burnt three *English* ships at anchor in the *Isle of May*; the crews of which she had left upon that island. Finding she had thus notoriously violated the laws of nations, he summoned her and the pink to surrender, which they accordingly did. He then sent the pink to the *Isle of May*, for the masters and sailors of the *British* vessels; he put them on board her, and a brigantine he took in the offing, furnished them with provisions, and gave them all the effects to which they laid claim he could recover.

BARNET then proceeded on his voyage, and arriving at *Madagascar*, he ordered the squadron to separate, appointing their rendezvous at *Batavia*. Himself in the *Deptford*, and lord *Northesk* in the *Preston*, intended getting in the *Streights of Sunda*; from thence to the *Streights of Banca*, while the *Medway* and *Diamond* proceeded in their course to the *Streights of Malacca*. His design was to intercept the *French East India* fleet of merchant-men, expected to be on their return to *Europe*, without convoy; for there was but one fifty-gun ship for the protection of the *French* settlements in those seas. The commodore disguised the *Deptford* and *Preston*, by rigging and painting them in the *Dutch* manner, arriving in this condition in the *Streights of Banca*. Here

Lays a design for intercepting the French bound China-men.

(D) The names of the ships are as follows :		Guns	
	<i>Preston</i> , lord <i>Northesk</i> ,	50	
	<i>Diamond</i> , captain <i>Moore</i> ,	20	
<i>Deptford</i> , commodore <i>Barnet</i> ,	The whole amounting to 190 guns, and about 1220 seamen and marines.		
<i>Medway</i> , captain <i>Peyton</i> ,	60		

they

they continued at anchor till the 25th of January, when they could descry three sail of large ships coming towards them. They had no sooner discovered them to be *French* built, than it was concluded they were *Chinamen*, under convoy of the fifty-gun man of war from *Pandicherry*. The commodore got under sail to receive them, and so effectually disguised his ships, that they were taken for *Dutch*, till he came within musket-shot of the enemy. He then struck the

*He engages
and takes
three rich
French
ships.*

Dutch, and hoisted *English* colours. The commodore gave the enemy a broadside, which they briskly returned, and a sharp engagement ensued. He then ordered the *Preſton* to board one of the ships with all possible expedition, at the same time that he intended boarding another. As they were both preparing for this, the enemies shot cut the tillers of both ships, and frustrated their intention. Upon this, the engagement was renewed with great guns and small arms, when in about three glasses the *French* struck, after a gallant resistance. The prizes were the *Dauphin*, the *Hercules*, and the *Jafon*, from *Canton*, of 700 tons burthen, 30 guns, and 150 men each.

THE commodore sent officers and men to take possession of them, and to bring the captains and supercargoes on board his own ship. They were generously received, the commodore shewing them the utmost favour, friendship and humanity. He soon found himself possessed of a valuable acquisition, the supercargoes acquainting him that the cargo of each ship was worth 100,000 *l.* in *France*. Some of the officers and supercargoes were put on board two of the *English* company's ships, homeward-bound; and the rest with the prizes carried into *Batavia* ^m.

*Captain
Peyton,
with a di-
vision of
the squa-
dron, takes
a French
Manila
ship.*

NOR was captain *Peyton*, with the *Medway* and *Diamond*, less successful in the *Streights* of *Malacca*, where he took a *French* ship from *Manila*, worth 246,000 *l.* having on board 72 chests of dollars, each containing 3000 *l.* besides two chests of gold, amounting to 30,000 *l.*—He then proceeded to the *Streights* of *Banca*, resolving to wait for the *Chinamen*. Here he was informed, by an *English* officer on board a homeward-bound *Swedish* *Indiaman* with intelligence to the lords of the admiralty from the commodore, that he was anticipated; upon which he steered his course for *Batavia*, where he soon after met with the commodore.

*The
French
endeavour*

BEFORE we proceed farther with commodore *Barnet*, we shall stop to make a few reflections on the state of the *French* company, and the methods they took to render *Barnet's*

^m ROLT's Hist. of the last War, vol. iii. c. 2.

voyage ineffectual. The *French* company found a great re- to frus-
turn of treasure in the *Asiatic* commerce; but their advan- tate
tages were still inferior to ours. For some time before war *Barnet's*
was declared, the *French* were at prodigious expences at *intention.*
Pondicherry, and their lesser factories, while their remittances
from *France* were but slow. This obliged them to contract
large debts in *India*, to carry on their affairs; and they were
conscious, that a war would put a total stop to supplies
from *Europe*, as well as to their credit abroad. These cir-
cumstances being thoroughly weighed by the court of *Ver-*
sailles, before a rupture with *England*, *Pondicherry* was in
consequence put in a state of defence. M. *Bourdonnais* was *The Sieur*
sent thither in the year 1739, with 1500 men, to reinforce *Bourdon-*
nais sent
nais and the other settlements". Notwithstanding this pre-
caution of the ministry, the *French* company, although they *with a*
were sensible that the *English* had neglected to put their prin- *fleet to*
cipal settlement in a defensible condition, were willing to *Pondi-*
establish a neutrality between the two companies. To ex- *cherry.*
tend the flames of war to so great a distance, must, they
foresee, be attended with a prodigious expence. Accord- *The*
ingly, in *November* 1742, the directors of the company drew *French*
up certain proposals for concluding a convention of neutra- *company*
lity. These proposals they confined to three articles. The *propose a*
1st was to prevent hostilities in any of the settlements belong- *convention*
ing to either company. The 2^d to grant the ships of either *of neutra-*
company leave reciprocally to touch at any of their settlements, *lity be-*
and not only to depart without obstruction or impediment, but *tween them*
to be furnished with such fresh necessities as the place could *and the*
supply them with. And 3^{dly}, to restrain the ships of either *English*
company, meeting at sea, from attacking or making prize of *company.*
one another. The proposals of the directors met with a fa-
vourable reception from the cardinals *Fleury* and *Tencin*.
They were afterwards presented to the king by M. *Orry*,
comptroller general, and returned with this answer, " That
his majesty would ratify any conditions stipulated for the
benefit of commerce between the companies."

AFTER this, the proposals were sent over to *Britain*, upon
which the directors met to deliberate upon what measures
were most adviseable. The result was to reject them, be-
cause they imagined the neutrality could be of no service,
but by an agreement among the settlements, as in the last
war, when the governors of *Madras* and *Pondicherry* came
to a resolution to commit no hostilities upon either of their
presidencies. They were farther of opinion, it would be

for their interest to procure a squadron of men of war to be sent into *India*, if for no other purpose than the destruction of the *French* marine on that coast. The value of the prizes they doubted not would excite diligence in the officers; and the success of *Barnet* proved they were not mistaken in this particular °.

It is rejected by the English.

THE *French* company were greatly concerned to have their proposed neutrality frustrated. They pretended not to be able to discover what motives could induce the *English* to reject a scheme which had nothing in view but the security of trade. It would, they said, most certainly prevent expenses, and might probably obviate great losses; besides, the *English* were in every particular gainers, because carrying on a more considerable trade, they had more to lose, consequently the advantage was on their side. Finding that the *British* company persevered in their resolution; that commodore *Barnet*, with a squadron, was cruising on the *Indian* coasts, where he made rich captures; and that tampering with the enemy would only be losing time, they resolved to exert themselves with vigour, and try to effect by arms, what was denied them by treaties. On the 11th of *April*, his most Christian majesty granted M. *Bourdonnais* a commission, ordaining, that all captains and officers of the *India* company's ships should acknowledge him for commander, and obey him as such. As soon as this commission was received by *Bourdonnais*, he applied his whole attention to oppress the *British* company. As the means most effectual, he meditated the reduction of *Madras*, the head settlement. This he thought a more rational method than spending his time in uncertain cruises, and endeavouring to intercept the *English* ships °.

1745.
Bourdonnais made commander in chief in India.

Barnet dies, and captain Peyton succeeds to the command.

COMMODORE *Barnet* dying about this time, was succeeded in command by captain *Peyton*. He sent home the *Deptford* and *Diamond*, and was reinforced by three men of war from *England* in their room. This fleet consisted now of one ship of sixty guns, three of fifty, one of forty, and one of twenty; for the *Medway's* prize was retained, and the command given to captain *Griffith*. *Peyton* seemed wholly bent in cruising, while the settlements, on which depended the safety and success of trade, were intirely neglected. The governor of *Madras* had made repeated remonstrances on the weak and defenceless condition of the place; the *French* had set a seasonable example, and *Bour-*

° ROLT, vol. iii. ibid.

° Memoire BOURDONNAIS, ibid.

donnais

Bourdonnais was at the head of a formidable Squadron (E); yet did the company as well as *Peyton*, seem to be lulled in a perfect security. The *British* Squadron had taken five merchantmen, four of them exceeding rich, a privateer and two sloops, before the *French* admiral had taken one; they were now watching each other's motions at their different stations; the first at fort *St. David's*, and the last preparing for his expedition against *Madras* at *Pondicherry* ¹.

On the 24th of *June*, while *Peyton* anchored in the *Nagapatam* road, he spied a fleet, about day-break, to the offing, which he soon discovered to be *Bourdonnais's* Squadron: Upon this, he immediately got under sail, and both fleets prepared for battle; but it being almost a calm, they could not get within cannon-shot before four in the afternoon. At this time the engagement began, and continued till seven o'clock, when the darkness occasioned the separation of both Squadrons. They continued within sight of each other all the next day, without renewing the fight; when in the French evening, *Peyton* called a council of war, in which it was ^{and English fleets} determined to avoid battle, and to proceed to *Trinquimal Bay*. *Peyton*, after refitting his ships here, appeared again off *Nagapatam*, on the 3d of *August*, and was soon followed ^{within sight of} by *Bourdonnais*, who wanted to draw him into a general engagement. As the *British* commodore had no such intention, he soon disappeared, making the best of his way to the ^{*Peyton refuses to*} bay of *Bengal*; upon which, the *French* Squadron returned ^{*engage the enemy.*} to *Pondicherry* ².

BOURDONNAIS having now got every thing in readiness for his enterprize against *Madras*, was desirous to know whether the *British* commodore would endeavour to frustrate him. For this purpose, he appeared before the place on the 18th of *August*, and fired on the *Princess Mary*, one of the ^{*Bourdonnais pre-*} company's ships, which was returned both by the ship and ^{*pares to lay*} the fort. Each of *Bourdonnais's* Squadron gave a broadside; ^{*siege to*} after which he retired to *Pondicherry*, to watch *Peyton's* in-^{*Madras.*}

¹ *ROLT*, vol. iv. part 8.

² *Mem. BOURDONNAIS*, vol. i.

(E) *M. Duplex* then had the command in *Pondicherry*, while *Bourdonnais* took upon him the conduct of the fleet, which consisted of the *Achilles*, of 70 guns, and 700 men; *Duc d'Orleans* and *Bourbon*, of 56 guns; the *Neptune* and *Phoenix*, of 54 guns; and the *St. Lewis*, of 44 guns, with each 400 men; the *Lis*, of 40 guns, 300 men, six of these being the company's ships, fitted out as men of war. (1).

(1) *Mem. de S. Bourdonnais*, vol. iii. p. 29.

tentions. On the 23d of *August*, the *British* Squadron appeared before *Madras*, and stood into *Pulicat* road, to the northward of the city. Here he sent a lieutenant on board a ship in the road, where he was informed of what the *French* admiral had done. This he no sooner heard, than he disappeared, leaving *Madras* an easy prey to the *French*. *Bourdonnais*, pleased with this intelligence, immediately determined upon the attack. He arrived before *Madras* on the 3d of *September*, having on board 3,200 *Europeans*, 300 *Cassrs*, a considerable number of *Sipoy*s and *Péens*, the

*He arrives
before the
settlement.*

*State of
Madras.*

natives of the coast of *Coromandel*. The white town was in a tenable condition, if the garrison had been sufficiently numerous, and infantry provided to sustain a siege; but this the company had neglected. Besides the remonstrances made by Mr. *Morse*, then governor, commodore *Barnet* had acquainted the secret committee with the insufficiency of the garrison, and bad state of the fortifications. This judicious officer expresses his surprize, that a settlement of such consequence to the company, should be left in so bad a condition; "The

*Barnet's
account
of the de-
fenceless
condition
of Madras*

"works," says he in his letter, "seem rather built by chance than design; the bastions are placed contrary to all rule, and the curtain no better than a long unflanked garden-wall; the garrison so weak, that I should never sleep sound in a *French* war, while there were 500 *Europeans* in *Pondicherry*. I have seen and considered the plan proposed, which I think a good one: when completed, the town will be sufficiently fortified on that side. But then something must be done towards the sea, where the embasures are rather for form than use, there being no rampart to mount guns on. The distance between the bastions is too great; and the wall insufficient to stand the fire of a sixty-gun ship for two hours. It is my opinion, that in this space we would make an intire breast from bastion to bastion."

*Mr. Morse
the gover-
nor takes
all possible
precautions
for the se-
curity of
the place.*

SUCH was the condition of this valuable settlement when *M. Bourdonnais* appeared a second time before it. *Nicholas Morse*, Esq; governor, did all that lay in his power for the security of the place; but he was no military man; nor indeed had the company one engineer, or tolerable officer, in the garrison. In the beginning of 1745, the governor sent to *Bombay* for military persons of the most judgment and experience he could procure; but had these answered his wishes, what could be done against a powerful and bitter

* Mem. BOURDONNAIS, ubi supra. * ROLT, vol. iv. part. 8.

army, with a garrison so slender ! The company had, long before the commencement of the war, promised to augment it with 600 *Europeans*, exclusive of the gun-room crew ; yet when the *French* came before *Madras*, the whole muster of *Europeans* they could make, amounted only to 300 *Europeans*, 23 of which were *Portuguese* deserters from *Goa* ; 34 in the hospital, and many others incapable of service. The whole garrison fit to bear arms, it is certain, was composed of 200 *Europeans*, with the crew of the *Princess Mary*, consisting of 80 men ; and about 200 *Topasses*, a black, degenerate and wretched race of the ancient *Portuguese*, little to be confided in where danger appeared. *Peter Eckman*, a superannuated and superficial *Swede*, was the principal officer. He had been a common soldier ; but now bore the rank of a lieutenant. This officer was assisted by two other lieutenants, and seven ensigns. The garrison had cannon ; but they wanted gunners, and persons able to charge, play and point them ; which, with the scarcity of ammunition, gave *M. Bourdonnais* every advantage he could desire.

This officer had made himself perfectly acquainted with every circumstance relating to his design ; he well knew the situation of *Madras*, the nature of the works, the force and ability of the garrison. As he had been preparing the execution of this plan for above a year, nothing was wanting to insure success. Every implement and instrument of war, with persons skilled in the use of them, were provided ; so that he came before it with no other doubt of taking it, than what arose from his apprehensions that the *British* commodore would have performed his duty. On the 1st of *September*, *Bourdonnais* landed 600 men twenty miles south of *Madras*, with orders for this corps to march to *St. Thomas's*, within three miles of the town. Here they could cover the landing of the remainder of the troops, without sustaining any loss from the garrison, which was not in a condition to send out a detachment strong enough to incommode the enemy. As soon as the troops were disembarked, the town was invested on the land side, *Bourdonnais* forming his grand camp at *Chindadu Pettah* ; the fleet at the same time blocking it up by sea. Almost all the *Asiatic* inhabitants fled up into the country with their most valuable effects ; and a general panic had spread over the whole town and garrison. Some relief was expected from the nabob of *Arkhat*, in consequence of his promise ; but this viceroy preferred *French* gold to *English* professions. He had indeed received considerable presents

The prudent conduct of Bourdonnais.

He lands his troops before Madras.

presents and favours from the settlement; but these were forgot, either through fear or policy^u.

The garrison abandoned the Black Town.

THE French were no sooner landed, than the garrison abandoned the Black Town, after having withdrawn or nailed up all the cannon; and this before one shot had been fired, or the enemy's artillery landed. On the 6th, two batteries were raised, one of nine mortars, behind the garden-house, on the north side of the town; the other of six, to the southward. These they immediately opened, and began to play with great vigour, but did little execution for that day. On the 7th Mr. Smith, the only real engineer in the garrison, died of a fever, which furnished the enemy with an opportunity of proceeding in their works, almost without molestation. They threw their bombs into the town without intermission, till the 8th, by which time 700 shells had fallen into the White Town. The besieged, however, were not so much disturbed, but they had leisure to plunder the Black Town; in which laudable employment, and drinking of arrack, the greatest part of the garrison was busied, instead of attending to the defence of the place. The utmost disorder reigned within the walls, in defiance of all the arguments and threats of the governor. On the 9th the besiegers played both their batteries so warmly, that before night, above 500 shells had fallen into the town. The ships likewise kept up a constant fire; the *Topasses* deserted, and every thing contributed to bring destruction upon the place^w. The governor and council began now to join in the panic, which before had seized the inhabitants. Intelligence was brought, that the enemy were erecting a battery of 18 pounders, and had sent for a number of seamen to begin an assault. The notion of standing an assault; and being put to the sword, increased the terrors of the besieged. Nothing but the shrieks of women, and confusion of men disordered with spirits and want of rest, was to be heard or seen. In this emergency, it was necessary the council should come to a final resolution. That the most prudent measures which their situation would admit, might be taken, the strength of both sides was maturely weighed. The military men gave it as their opinion; that the place was not defensible against the number of the enemy. There was no place that was bomb-proof for the garrison to sleep in. This, with a number of other deficiencies; the clamours of the inhabitants, and other discouraging circumstances, induced the council to believe there was little pro-

A. 1746. Madras invested and bombarded.

The irregular and bad conduct of the garrison.

A council called, and their resolution.

^u Mem. sur le BOURDONNAIS, vol. i. ROLT, *ibid.* ^w Mem. pour BOURDONNAIS, *ibid.*

ability of being able to resist an assault. Upon these considerations, and seeing no hopes of relief, either from the Nabob, or from commodore *Peyton*, it was agreed, "That to wait being stormed, whether the White Town was first attacked, or the enemy possessed themselves of the Black Town, would only be to expose the whole to be plundered; the garrison to be massacred, and to leave the town to the discretion of the incensed besiegers. As the value and importance of the settlement to the company appeared to the governor and council of a different value and nature from the common towns in *Europe* to their sovereigns; it seemed more for the future credit and interest of the company, and the *British* nation in these parts, to redeem it, if possible, out of the hands of the besiegers, though at the expence of a very heavy ransom, than to sacrifice the lives of the best part of their countrymen, and the properties of all the inhabitants, without a prospect of maintaining the place thereby, and consequently without any advantage accruing to the company from their obstinacy. It was therefore determined to send a deputation to the *Sieur Bourdonnais*, to try what terms would be granted. *"

IMMEDIATELY the resolution was drawn up, and *William They send Monjon* and *John Hallyburton*, Esqrs. were sent in quality of deputies to the *French* camp. Their instructions were to obtain the mildest terms possible, and above all, the ransom of the settlement. They arrived there on the 10th, and were graciously received by *Bourdonnais*, who, after conferring with them, made the following proposals; viz.

"I. THAT *Fort St. George* and the town of *Madras*, with their dependencies, should be delivered up to *M. Bourdonnais*, by two o'clock in the afternoon, on the 21st of September, with the whole garrison, officers and council; the *English* in general remaining prisoners of war. His terms of surrender to M. Bourdonnais.

"II. THAT all the council, officers, servants, and other *English* gentlemen of the better sort, should have liberty to go and come where-ever they thought proper, even to *Europe*, provided they did not bear arms against *France* offensively or defensively, till they were exchanged, according to the terms prescribed to the *French* by Mr. *Barnet*.

"III. THAT to facilitate the *English* in ransoming the place, and to render valid the acts which should in consequence pass, the governor and council should cease to be prisoners of war, the moment they should enter into negotiation;

* ROLT, vol. iv. p. 8.

“ and M. de la Bourdonnais oblige himself to give them an authentic act, twenty-four hours before the first sitting.

“ IV. THAT the articles of capitulation being signed, that of the ransom should be amicably adjusted between M. Bourdonnais and the English governor, or his deputies, who should engage to surrender all the effects, merchandizes already received, or to be received, the books of accounts, arsenals, magazines, ammunition, provision, and vessels, together with all other goods belonging to the company, without reserving any thing, whether in gold, silver, merchandize, moveables, or other effects whatsoever contained in the fort, town, or suburbs, to whomsoever they belonged, without excepting any thing, in fact, manner as the right of war requires.

“ V. THAT the garrison should be conducted to Fort St. David, as prisoners of war. And if by ransom the town of Madras should be delivered, the English should be at liberty to repossess their garrison to defend themselves against the country people, for which there should be returned to the French by the English, an equal number of prisoners. And if at present they had not a sufficient number, the first French that should be made prisoners after the capitulation, should be free to complete the article.

“ VI. THAT the sailors should be sent to Caddalore, and their exchange begin with those who were actually at Pondicherry, and the others pass in their own ships to England. But they should not be at liberty to bear arms against France, until an exchange had been made of an equal number of sailors in India or Europe; but in England by preference.

“ VII. THAT on these conditions the water-gate should be delivered up to M. de la Bourdonnais; at two o'clock the gates of the town be relieved by his troops; and a full declaration made to M. Bourdonnais, of all mines, countermines, and other subterraneous works charged with powder (F) &c.”

7 ROBT, *ibid.* Mem. Bourdonn. *ibid.*

(F) It would be tedious to give all the particulars of this affair, as we find them in the Memoire published at Paris, in justification of Bourdonnais; sufficient it is, that Bourdonnais and Mr. Morfe appear from this piece to be the only persons who discharged their trust with honesty and fidelity, though they also were questioned by the conflicting parties.

As *Bourdonnais* had no instructions for forming a new *Madras* settlement, 'tis obvious he had only this alternative, either to *surrender* or destroy what he became possessed of, or else to treat for a ransom. This last was the most suitable both to his disposition and interest; and as he had only agreed that it should be regulated in a friendly manner, the deputies demanded a further explanation. "Gentlemen," says *M. Bourdonnais*, "I do not sell honour. The flag of my king shall fly over *Madras*, or I will die before the walls. In the ransom of the town, as in every thing else, you shall be satisfied with me." Then taking his hat from one of the deputies, "This hat," said he, "is worth six rupees. You shall give me three or four for it. In this manner we shall adjust other particulars." The deputies struck dumb with this noble answer, and with the freedom and greatness of the *French* admiral, *Mr. Hallyburton* returned to the governor and council with the conditions signed by *M. Bourdonnais*. The same day he went back with the articles accepted by the governor and council. In consequence, *Bourdonnais* entered the town with part of his troops, and took possession of the magazines, warehouses, and other places. All the *English* officers and sailors were carried on board the fleet, while the governor and council consulted with the *French* commander concerning the price of the ransom. After a good deal of deliberation, it was at length stated at 1,100,000 pagodas, or equal to 421,066 l. 13 s. 4 d. sterling. A valuable present was agreed upon to *M. Bourdonnais*, for the noble manner in which he treated the prisoners; and it was finally adjusted, that the *English*, on these considerations, should be fully reinstated in their former possessions (G) *.

THIS

* Ibid. p. 143. vol. i.

(G) After *Bourdonnais* had entered the town, he was met by the governor, who delivered to him his sword, which the other immediately returned. The governor acquainted him, that the most disorder had prevailed in the garrison from the time it was first invested. This he did in order to obviate the reflection that might arise from any faults committed on *Bourdonnais* or his officers. So elevated with rage and arrack were many

of the soldiers, that they openly declared, they would cheerfully sacrifice their lives for the satisfaction of putting the *French* commander to death; and yet those very persons could not be kept to their duty while there was a prospect of being able to defend the town. *Mr. Morse* expressed the utmost uneasiness at this conduct; acquainted *Bourdonnais* with it; apprized him of his danger; gave him the strongest assurances that

M. Du- THIS agreement soon came to nothing; for after it had
plicix refus- been signed by *Bourdonnais*, the *English* governor and coun-
sest to ratify cil, and ratified by the government of *Pondicherry*, it was
the treaty revoked. *M. le Bourdonnais* was reembarking his troop,
of ransom.

when a protest arrived from *M. Dupliex*, declaring the contract null, void, and of no effect. This protest, although the treaty had been ratified by the council of *Pondicherry*, ran in the following terms; *viz.* That the treaty of ransom was an act of *M. Bourdonnais*, without power or lawful authority to perform it, and with prisoners who could not engage in an affair of so much importance, but for their own conduct only. It was the will of the governor and high council of *Pondicherry*, that things should remain at *Madras* in the situation in which they were at the treaty of capitulation; and that all subsequent acts should be void, null, and regarded as nothing. *Bourdonnais* was incensed at this insult upon his authority. He put *M. Paradis*, appointed governor of *Madras* by *Dupliex*, and the council of *Pondicherry*, with

Mr. Morfe several of his officers, under arrest. *Mr. Morfe*, the *English*
draws up governor, sent to the *French* presidency a counter instrument,
an instru- bearing date the 25th of *September* 1746, in the name of his
ment a- *Britannic* majesty and the united company of *England*. Here
gainst Du- he protested against all those who should obstruct the imple-
plicix's re- ment, and full execution of the capitulation and subsequent agree-
monstrance ment, rendering them responsible for the consequences. He
 complained of the injurious suspicions industriously propa-
 gated, that the *English* would not fulfil their engagements.
 He represented, that if the *British* hostages, if the parole of
 honour of all *Madras*, were insufficient to satisfy the *French*
 government at *Pondicherry*; yet, the respect due to a nation
 like his, ought to have suspended a judgment so precipitate
 and false, till the *English* had at least countenanced the re-
 flection by a breach of their word, which they never would.

Bourdon- NOTWITHSTANDING this spirited conduct of *Morfe* and
nais is *Bourdonnais*, they were foiled, and the latter forced to revoke
forced to the terms of ransom he had granted; and redemand the
revoke the parole of honour he had given the *British* governor and coun-
treaty. cil. They were conducted prisoners to *Pondicherry*, while

it was not contrived at by any of the superiors of the garrison; and desired he would take the necessary measures for appeasing the tumult, and his own security. This *Bourdonnais* did by sending the soldiers and sailors on board the fleet in the road, and accepting the offer of some marine officers, who desired leave to attend his person (1).

(1) *Mémoires sur le Sieur de la Bourdonnais*, tom. I. p. 159.

the rest of the *English* were ordered to quit the town on a day fixed; upon which they dispersed themselves to different places, leaving the *French* in the quiet possession of all their effects. *Bourdonnais* resented this usage the more, because it gave the *English* room to call his honour in question. *Morse* had surrendered the town sooner than otherwise he might have done, from the expectation given him of a ransom; and if the *French* had kept their engagements, the terms were such as the *English* ought to have been satisfied with (H). The enemy ob-

(H) It must be observed, that after *Bourdonnais* had signed, and the council of *Pondicherry* ratified, the treaty of ransom, he received a letter from *Dupliex*, acquainting him, that he had entered into treaty with the Nabob to give *Madras* up to him. *Bourdonnais* was at a loss what to make of this letter, in which *Dupliex* assumed to himself a sovereign power, in giving to one prince the towns conquered from another. He was still more at a loss what *Dupliex's* intention could be in entering on this treaty, unless it was to oblige him to forfeit his honour, which he had engaged to the governor's council of *Madras*. However, it soon appeared that this pretended treaty was a mere feint to impose on both the Nabob and *Bourdonnais*. The monsoons were soon approaching, which would oblige the fleet to quit *Madras*; in which event *Dupliex's* creatures would have full scope and liberty to ravage and plunder the town. These are the reasons given in *Bourdonnais's Memoire* for the conduct of his rival; and they are such as facts have proved. For, first, the treaty with the Nabob was broken off as soon as *Bourdonnais* quitted the road; and in consequence of this it was, that

the vizier's orders had been sent to the Nabob of *Arcot* to expel the *French*. *M. Dupliex's* motives were more strongly expressed by letters which *Bourdonnais* received from him, towards the close of the month. In these he observed, that *Madras*, the moment the king's standard was erected in it, became a dependence upon the governor and council of *Pondicherry*; and that the sieur *Bourdonnais*, 'altho' entrusted by the king with the conduct of the fleet, was, notwithstanding, subjected to him and the council's authority. He therefore ordered him to revoke the engagement he had entered into with the *English*; the parole he had granted; and to depart from the road. These orders *Bourdonnais* for a long time delayed. The quarrel was carried so high, that the *French* deputies from *Pondicherry* made some attempts to arrest and carry him prisoner with them. Nor did it terminate here; *Bourdonnais* was recalled, put in the *Bastille*, at which time his *Memoire* was published. It has so much the air of truth, is so circumstantial and particular in relation to facts, that we can no more doubt of *Bourdonnais's* conduct at *Madras*, than of his bravery and generosity. His misfortunes we attribute to the

Booby ob-
tained in
Madrafs.

obtained a booty of silver, woollen cloths, velvets, copper, iron, lead, and stores for use and sale, to the amount of 73,000 *l.* in plate, furniture, and other small articles, about 12,000 *l.* besides 7000 bags of saltpetre, 1,600 bales of calicoes, and 800 landies of red wood, valued at 72,000 *l.* prime cost, with the ships in the harbour, and every thing else included, the whole loss to the company exceeded 200,000 *l.* To this might be added, a much more considerable sum from the deprivation of so important a branch of commerce; from the loss of revenues; from the public buildings, which alone cost 160,000 *l.* In short, the loss of *Madrafs* was a great, and almost fatal stroke to the *India* company; especially as it was attended with danger to all their other settlements on the coast of *Coromandel*.*

THE *English* were no sooner gone, than the *French* intended demolishing the town, and would have executed this design if they had not received fresh instructions, in consequence of *Cape Breton*'s falling into the hands of the *English*. This caused them to alter their measures, with the view of exchanging them; which was actually done about two years after. In this the *French* did not act up to those professions of honour of which they are so liberal; for although they received *Cape Breton*, in pursuance of the general treaty whole, intire, and in a better condition than they left it, they did they demolish the fortifications, and ruin the chief buildings before they surrendered *Madrafs*.

Bourdon-
nais medi-
tates the
ruin of all
the Eng-
lish East
India set-
tlements.

BUT the *French* did not propose confining their conquest to the taking *Madrafs*. M. *Bourdonnais* meditated nothing less than the extirpation of all the *English* settlements in *India*; at least on the coast of *Coromandel*. He was soon a condition to attempt this, by the arrival of a seventy and two fifty-gun ships from *Europe*; nor is there any doubt but his designs would have succeeded against *Fort St. David*, had not his fleet suffered by a storm before he left *Madrafs*. In this tempest he had three ships foundered; and several

* Mem. pour BOURDONNAIS, p. 156, — 160, &c.

clamours raised against him by the interest of his rival, who never had it in his power to equal him in any thing but wealth; in which he surpassed most subjects in *Europe*. In his way to *Europe*, he was taken by an *English* privateer, conducted to *London*, and soon sent over to *France*, where he was arrested by the *India* company for debt of a million of livres, and thrown into the *Bastille*, in which he continued for some time (1).

(1) Vid. Mém. de la Bourdonnais, vol. i. p. 15, 16, and p. 151, 152, &c.

rendered

rendered unfit for immediate service. A thousand two hundred of his men perished, together with sixty of the *English* prisoners, who were on board the *Duc d'Orleans*, foundered. *Bourdonnais*, instead of prosecuting his intention, was under the necessity of returning directly to *Pondicherry*, after he had sent four of his fleet to refit at the isle of *Burton*. Soon after his departure, M. *Paradis*, who commanded a garrison of 500 men at *Madras*, was invested by the Nabob of *Arcôt*, in consequence of orders he had received from the grand vizier *Nizam Mulmulock*, to drive the *French* out of the settlement, and to restore the *English*. To execute these orders, he came with a body of troops before the town, on the 17th of *October*. M. *Paradis*, the governor, ordered a party of 200 *Europeans*, to fall upon his advanced guard. After the fight had continued the whole night, the *French* being reinforced by a party from *Pondicherry*, attacked and defeated the main body of the *Moors*; after which they committed the most shocking barbarities. Where-ever they went, they burnt the houses and barn, cut down the grass, and spoiled the orchards; at the same time that they slew without distinction men, women and children.

The Nabob of Arcôt lays siege to the French in Madras, and is defeated.

BEFORE the disputes between M. *Dupliex* and *Bourdonnais* are terminated, the other *English* settlements at *Fort St. David*, *Bengal*, and *Bombay*, had leisure to put themselves in a state of defence; but their greatest security were the damages the *French* navy had sustained in the late storm, and the differences between those two commanders. Mr. *Hynd*, governor of *Fort St. David*, took every possible precaution for resisting the enemy, if they attacked him. He took a number of militia into pay, strengthened the fortifications, laid in provisions, and regulated the whole conduct of the garrison in case of a siege. These precautions soon became necessary; for on the 8th of *December*, the greatest part of the garrison of *Pondicherry* appeared before the fort, with a strong train of artillery. This detachment consisted of 1000 regulars, and about 200 well disciplined *Peons*, with about 500 other natives. Governor *Hynd* sent out a party of 1600 *Indians*, to attack the enemy before they began to erect batteries; to harraß them all night, and keep them in perpetual alarm. This they did with great success, and in the morning began a regular engagement. The *French* soon forced their way to the garden-house; which Mr. *Hynd* observing, detached another body of *Moors*, with a hundred *Europeans*, to support

The Frenches, siege it, and are defeated.

and maintain the battle. For an hour the enemy stood their ground ; at last, fearing to be surrounded, they retreated with great precipitation, leaving dead upon the field about 200 men, among which were four officers of some distinction. Their tents, ammunition, six camels, two mortars with their shells, two chests of arms, four drums, and all their provisions, fell into the hands of the garrison^c. The *French* returned to *Pondicherry*, after their defeat, where they renewed their preparations for another attempt. But this likewise was frustrated by the arrival of commodore *Griffin*, with a fleet from *Europe*, to take upon him the command of *Peyton's* squadron.

Commodore
Griffin
arrives in
India, and
takes the
command
of the
English
fleet.

ABOUT the end of the summer of 1747, *Griffin* joined his squadron, with the ships before stationed in *India*, and found himself at the head of a formidable fleet. It consisted of the *York*, the *Princess Mary*, *Exeter*, and *Medway*, of 60 guns ; the *Harwich*, *Winchester*, and *Preston* of 50 guns ; the *Pearl*, *Ealtham*, and *Medway Prize* of 40 ; and the *Lively* of 20 guns. At this time the *French* squadron was composed of two ships of 74 guns ; two of 56 ; one of 54 ; two of 50 guns, and a bomb ketch. These had been refitted after the storm, but never attempted to engage with the *British* squadron, which blocked up *Pondicherry* for the whole month of autumn. *Griffin's* disposition was so good, that he prevented the settlement's receiving any kind of supplies while he lay before it. He also burnt the *Neptune* man of war of 54 guns, in *Madras Road*. This advantage was soon balanced by an equivalent loss ; for the *Princess Mary* Indianman putting into *Madras Road*, supposing it to be in possession of the *English*, was taken by *M. Paradis*, on the 23d of *September*. *Paradis* had kept *English* colours flying upon the fort ; a stratagem that had nearly decoyed several other *India* ships into his power.

The com-
modore
burns a
French
man of
war.

COMMODORE *Griffin* found the force he commanded too slender to reduce either *Pondicherry* or retake *Madras*. The former was defended by 200 pieces of heavy cannon, mounted upon regular fortifications ; six additional forts, to flank the exterior works, had lately been erected ; the magazines and arsenals were well stored, and the garrison, with the trained *Indians*, formed a body of 4500 effective men. Nor was *Madras* neglected ; the garrison was not only augmented, stores and ammunition laid in, but some new works raised, and many additional cannon mounted. Nor was this all, for the court of *Dehli*, after the Nabob's

late defeat before *Madras*, professed a strict neutrality. The viceroy for some time continued to threaten; but *Dupliex* silenced him with a sum of money; the most irresistible argument that can be urged with an *Asiatic* minister. In such a situation of things, *Griffin* found himself unable to assert the character of his country, and retrieve the circumstances of the company, till the arrival of a proper reinforcement. As this was speedily expected, *Pondicherry* was still under the apprehensions of a siege, though delivered from the blockade by the departure of the *British* squadron to *Fort St. David*'s. *Griffin*'s intention was to prevent the *French* schemes against this settlement; though he seems culpable for not disposing his squadron in such a manner, as not only to protect it, but deprive *Pondicherry* of the means of laying in provisions till the arrival of admiral *Boscawen*. This he certainly might have effected, considering the short distance between the settlements; yet not only this was neglected, but an opportunity lost of fighting the *French* squadron. While he lay at anchor before the walls of *Fort St. David*, the enemy's fleet was discovered by the *Lively*, off *Negapatam*, with intelligence of which, she immediately made all the sail she could to the commodore. On the 10th of *June* they made their appearance within four leagues of *Fort St. David*; upon which *Griffin* called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to put to sea immediately. The deliberations, however, of the council had been so slow, that the occasion was lost, and the enemy was out of sight before the commodore was under sail. He stood out to N. E. and next day anchored within three leagues of *Pondicherry*, expecting to meet the enemy. From hence he steered his course to *Madras*, where he arrived the following day; before which time the *French* admiral, after landing his men, money, and stores, was departed.

THUS disappointed, he returned to *Fort St. David*, where on the 29th of *July*, rear-admiral *Boscawen* arrived, and took upon him the command. After this junction, the *British* fleet consisted of nine ships of the line, two frigates, a sloop, and two tenders, having on board 3580 seamen, eight companies of independent foot, besides marines. Every thing was put in motion, with intention to undertake the siege of *Pondicherry*. The troops and marines were landed, and joined by a detachment of the garrison, with which a body of 3650 *British* troops was formed: besides this, there were 148 artillery men, 120 *Dutch* lent from their settlements, and 2000 *Indians*^d. All things being in readiness, the army

^d ROL. 1. vol. iv. p. 10. c. 3. See also the Gazettes published by authority.

*He lays
siege to
Pondicherry.*

*Condition
of Pondi-
cherry.*

*A sharp
engage-
ment be-
tween the
besiegers
and the
garrison.*

set out by land for *Pondicherry*, while the fleet blocked up the harbour, and cut off all communication with the *French* squadron. On the 11th they arrived within four miles of the fort, where they discovered 300 of the enemy posted behind an intrenchment they had thrown up. Mr. *Boscawen*, who led the forces, still advancing, the enemy abandoned their works; but notwithstanding his near approach, the garrison apprehended no danger. It consisted of 2000 *Europeans*, and 3000 *Indians*. *Duplex* had taken the most seasonable and best precautions against an attack, having intelligence of the design of Mr. *Boscawen*, long before his arrival. Besides the additional fortifications round the town, he had likewise put the fort of *Aria Coupan* in a state of defence, having garrisoned it with two hundred *Europeans* and blacks. Mr. *Boscawen* having advice that this fort was maintained by no more than an hundred men, resolved to attack and gain a lodgment in a village contiguous to it, where he proposed erecting a bomb battery. Accordingly he ordered a body of grenadiers and piquets, accompanied by a detachmant of *Indians* to march up to the village. As they came within musket-shot of the enemy, a cannon-ball lighting among the *Indians* employed in carrying up the tools necessary for raising an intrenchment, put them to flight, which unfortunately frustrated the design. The detachmant was at the same time flanked by two batteries the enemy had erected on the opposite side of *Aria Coupan* river: these playing with great vigour, occasioned some confusion in the *British* troops, who found means, however, of opening a pass to the sea, by means of which, cannon, and the materials for a siege might be landed. It was now perceived, that approaches in form against *Aria Coupan* fort were necessary, as they found it defended by a berm, ditch, draw-bridge, and covered way. The detachmant was obliged to lie on their arms the whole night, after losing several men in the attack on the village: one lieutenant was killed, and three officers wounded, besides major *Goudier*, the commanding officer of the artillery, who was rendered incapable of service by a cannon-shot in the leg; a loss the more sensible as he was an able and experienced officer, who would have conducted their approaches in a different manner than that in which they were performed. Early the next day, the army joined the detachmant, and was farther reinforced by a body of 1100 seamen. The admiral had caused to be disciplined on board, and exercised in platoons, under the command of captain *Loyd*. They mounted guard, and performed every other part of the duty of the land troops. On the 16th, 17th, 18th, and as

many

many 12 pounders were landed, with which the admiral ordered two batteries to be erected. One was constructed by the engineers, and began to play the next morning, but without success, it having been injudiciously contrived. On the 18th, the other battery, executed by the artillery men, was opened, when the effects answered the most sanguine expectations. The enemy, with a troop of *European* horse, supported by an equal number of foot, and some seamen, sallied out of the fort, with intention to destroy this battery. They attacked the advanced guard in the trench with so much fury, that it was put in disorder; but soon after rallying, they repulsed the *French*, and made the commanding officer prisoner. Soon after, one of the *French* batteries blew up, and destroyed about 120 men; upon which the besiegers played with great vigour on the fort. About noon it was blown up by a bomb-shell; but the garrison had seasonably retired, leaving behind all their cloaths and effects. The admiral immediately removed his camp to *Aria Coupan* fort, which he repaired with all possible diligence. On the 25th it was completed, and the army crossing the river, took possession of a strong post in the round hedge of the town; about a mile from the walls of *Pondicherry*, which the enemy injudiciously abandoned, tho' it was so situated, as, with a small number of men, to have foiled all *Boscawen's* power, and of great importance to the defence of the town. Having got possession of this post to the north-west of the town, Mr. *Boscawen* ordered the fleet to the northward of it. He then opened a communication that way to the sea, and gave directions for landing all the necessaries for breaking ground before the fort. This was begun on the 30th, in pursuance of a plan produced by one of the engineers, which seemed feasible. On the 1st of *September*, the besieged made a sally, in which they were repulsed with the loss of an hundred men, three officers killed, and *Mons. Paradis*, the chief engineer and director of all the military affairs, who was just returned from *Madras*, mortally wounded; after which, the engineers continued working every night, without any material progress. The batteries were not completed till the 25th, when they began to play: they consisted of one of eight guns, and one of four, together with a bomb battery of five large mortars, and fifteen royals, besides another of fifteen cohorns. Nor were the *French* on their parts less active and industrious. They raised three fascine batteries to play on the admiral's trenches, which gave him much annoyance, obliging him to erect two more batteries against them. These consisted, one of three, and the other of two guns,

The garrison make a sally, and are repulsed.

Slow progress of the besiegers.

Mr. Duplex lays the town under water, and impedes the approaches of the admiral.

guns, continuing to play till the grand batteries were completed. Besides this, the besieged had laid the ground round the town under water; by this, rendering it impossible for the besiegers to carry their approaches nearer. Upon first breaking ground, the admiral had directed captain *Lisle* to bring the bomb-ketch close by the walls, and begin bombarding the citadel without intermission. This he did, but with little damage to the besieged; for in a short time they had got her length so exactly, that she was forced to discontinue her fire in the day, renewing it always at night. Besides this, captain *Lisle* was ordered to extend the fleet in line of battle before the town, to work in, and begin cannonading as soon as the batteries were opened. Captain *Lisle* obeyed his orders, keeping a constant and warm fire on the town, which was briskly returned for a while; after which the fire towards the sea was slackened, and the whole force of the besieged converted to the land side; the season being now far advanced, and the besieged too well fortified and provided for the admiral to have any other expectation of taking the town, than what might arise from a random shot, and the garrison's being harrassed and fatigued. He, however, continued firing, beating down a great part of the defence where the attack was intended. As he was prevented by the inundation from carrying his approaches nearer, and his troops were insufficient to begin a new attack, he endeavoured to make a breach in the curtain, at the distance he then was. This he soon found to be impracticable, the enemy's batteries being greatly superior to his. Upon this, a council of war was called on the 30th of *September*. Here the state of affairs was deliberated, and it appearing, that the strength of the army was greatly reduced, and daily diminishing by sickness and fatigue; that the ships could be of no use in the siege, having cannonaded a whole day without effect; that the monsoons and rainy season approached; that these would not only oblige them to raise the siege with the loss of their artillery and stores, but probably render the rivers impassable, destroy the roads, and cut off the retreat of the army to *Fort St. David*; besides the risque of having the ships driven off the shore, and dispersed and lost in the tempest; upon these considerations, it was unanimously resolved to embark the stores and cannon, and to raise the siege. From the 1st of *October* to the 4th, was employed in shipping these; on the 5th, the admiral set fire to the batteries, and re-embarked the sailors; and the day following, the army began its march to *Fort St. David*, where it arrived the day following, having destroyed the fort of *Aria Coupan* in their way. Thus terminated

The siege raised.

minated the siege of *Pondicherry*, with the loss of 757 soldiers, 43 cannon, and 265 seamen to the besiegers; and about 500 *Europeans* on the side of the besieged. There would seem neither courage nor conduct wanting in the admiral's army; yet was it unsuccessful, although a force less proportioned to the occasion had the year before got possession of *Madras*. *Pondicherry* was still a place of liberty; *Madras* was in captivity, and likely to remain so, if a peace did not rescue it. The *French* were now too formidable to dread any future attempts; and their intelligence was too good not to take the requisite measures for safety. In short, the ill success of the expedition may be reasonably attributed to the long detention of Mr. *Boscawen* in *England*, of which the *French* being apprised, had sent a squadron with supplies to frustrate his designs.

BEFORE the admiral had time after the monsoons to attempt any thing else for the advantage of the *English* company, or annoyance of the *French*, all hostilities were ended by the arrival of intelligence of a cessation of arms, and the conclusion of a general peace. Soon after this, he had the misfortune to see several of his ships, and about 1200 seamen, miserably perish in a storm on the *Coromandel* coast; after which he returned into *Europe*.

AFTER the restitution of *Madras*, at the general peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the affairs of the company prospered till the late unhappy affair at *Bengal*. They were, however, embroiled on the coast of *Coromandel*, in a war with *Sundab Sahib*, assisted by the *French* at *Pondicherry*. The particulars of this affair we shall endeavour to lay before the reader in as concise a manner as possible, not doubting but the relation will be agreeable to our readers, both as it connects the narrative, and gives the first instances of the valour of that self-instructed general Mr. *Clive*, and presents a series of facts but little known, even to persons deeply concerned in the affairs of the company. As we are here necessarily obliged to rely upon private letters and intelligence, we hope we shall be excused if we fail of that accuracy that might reasonably be expected, had we written testimonies always before us.

ABOUT the end of the year 1742, or the beginning of the following year, animosity, jealousy, and discord, began to appear among the Nabobs of *Arkhat*, *Velâr*, *Polâr*, and *Tiruchirapalli*. Each of them aspired to the possession of *Arkhat*, the first to stand his ground, and all the rest to supplant him. In consequence *Dost Ali Khan* was defeated and

Peace concluded with France.
A part of admiral Boscawen's fleet lost in a storm.
General account of the wars in India, in which the French and English were engaged as allies, on opposite sides.

cut off by *Muley Ali Khán*, the former Nabob of *Arkhat* or *Arcoët*, and the latter of *Velur*. This revolution was brought about in favour of *Sundah Sáheb*, brother-in-law to *Muley Ali Khán*, who was made governor of the capital. His promotion, however, was disagreeable to the Mogul's court; he was deposed, and *Anawerdi Khán* put in his room. *Sundah Sáheb*, resolving to recover his government, applied to the Count *D'Anteuil*, the French general in *Pondicherry*, and received from him a supply of 2000 *Sipoy*s, 60 blacks or *Káfirs*, and 420 French soldiers; on condition that, if he was successful, he should cede to the French the town of *Velur*, in the neighbourhood of *Pondicherry*, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages. This may serve for a key to the mysteriousness of the French conduct, who, after obtaining so many favours from the court of *Dehli* for protecting the lawful sovereign of *Arkhat* against the *Maharattas* in 1741, should now draw the sword in the cause of a rebel and usurper. It is even suggested, that the scheme for distressing *Anawerdi Khán* was formed by *Sundah Sáheb* and Mr. *Duplex*: in consequence, *Anawerdi Khán* was defeated by the French and their allies, in which action the Count *D'Anteuil* was wounded; *Sundah Sáheb* was reinstated in the government of *Arkhat*, and his conditions and engagements to the French were punctually executed. *Anawerdi Khán* had been killed in the action; and his son *Mahommed Ali Khán*, flying to *Tiruchirapalli*, supplicated the assistance of the English, who sent him a reinforcement of men, money, and stores, under major *Lawrence*, a resolute and experienced officer. Some advantages were gained over the enemy; they were forced to retreat, but no decisive blow had been struck. Soon after *Mahommed Ali* came in person to *Fort St. David's*, to solicit more powerful assistance, alleging, that his interest and that of the English were mutual, as it was apparent, if the enemy were suffered to proceed in their conquests, the English would soon be forced to abandon the whole coast. Perhaps likewise, thinking this a proper occasion to revenge the loss of *Madras*, they dispatched a strong reinforcement, under the command of captain *Cope*; however nothing was done, and the English, after some unsuccessful attempts, retired; the enemy attacked *Mahommed Ali* in their absence, and obtained over him a complete victory. The unfortunate Nabob entered then into a stricter alliance with the English, and ceded to them some commercial points which had been long in dispute. Captain *Gingen*, a Swiss officer, in the service of the company, was sent with 400 Europeans as auxiliaries, and captain *Cope* dispatched

patched to put *Tiruchirapalli* in a posture of defence. The two armies lay for a month encamped within sight of each other; but nothing happened besides skirmishes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the *English*, and their Nabob ally*.

To make a diversion and divide the *French* forces, it was thought expedient to send a detachment into the province of *Arkhât*. Mr. *Clive*, then purveyor of the army, a gentleman born with all the talents of a great officer, and a hero rather by instinct than [from education, offered his service without pay on this occasion. He set sail in the *Wager* to *Madrafs*, with 130 *Europeans*, and on his arrival there was reinforced by 80 more. With this slender force he marched with such secrecy and expedition to *Arkhât*, that he got possession of the capital without opposition. The inhabitants, expecting to be plundered, offered him a large sum to spare the city; but his own generosity and prudence were their security: he refused their money, and at the same time ordered proclamation to be made, that those who were willing to remain in their houses should receive no injury, and the rest have leave to retire with all their effects, except provisions, for which he promised to pay the full value. By this wise conduct he gained the affections of the natives so completely, that they who did not chuse to stay in the town, gave him afterwards, when he was besieged, the most exact intelligence of the enemy's designs, which probably saved the place. For *Sundah Sâheb* appearing soon before it with a large army, laid siege to it; but it was the 24th of *September* before the place was fully invested, the enemies approaches being retarded by the frequent and brisk sallies made by Mr. *Clive*; and although the siege was under the direction of the *French*, it was more than a fortnight before they could effect a breach. About that time, indeed, two very considerable ones were made; but such was the diligence of Mr. *Clive* in repairing them, that before the enemy could prepare for storming, they were filled up, and as strong as any part of the walls. At length, on the 14th of *October*, at three in the morning, they attacked both breaches and one of the gates, which they attempted to force open with elephants; but Mr. *Clive*, having received intelligence when the assault was intended, had so well prepared for it with masked batteries, that he repulsed the besiegers in every quarter, with great slaughter, not 20 men

An account of Mr. Clive's first appearance in a military capacity. 1751.

Mr. Clive besieged in Arkhât, and the besiegers repulsed.

* Private intelligence, and a letter to the directors of the India company from a gentleman of the council at *Madrafs*.

returning

returning alive from the breaches, and obliged them to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation. Such were the first glimmerings of that greatness of soul, which, a few years afterwards, burst forth in the full blaze of glory.

*He defeats
the enemy
in the field,
and takes
several
towns.*

AFTER receiving a reinforcement under captain *Kirkpatrick*, he pursued the enemy; and coming up with them in the plains of *Arani*, on the 3d of *December*, he attacked them with the utmost intrepidity, and after a contest of five hours, totally defeated them, with little or no loss on his own side. He soon obliged *Arani* and *Kajevarân* to surrender, rather to the terror of his name than to the force of his arms; after which he returned covered with laurels to *Fort St. David's*.

*1752.
Defeats
them a se-
cond time.*

MR. *Clive* had not resided above a month at the fort, when fresh incursions of the enemy called him again into the field. He marched to *Madras* with 150 men, and there was joined by a reinforcement from *Bengal* of 160 more (A). With this slender force he joined battle with the *French* and *Indians* at *Kavaripakkân*, commonly called *Koveripauk*. The enemy had 1500 *Sipoy*s and 100 *French* in front, with eight pieces of cannon; 50 *Europeans* more, with some natives, drawn up on a rising ground, formed the left wing, and on the right were posted 1700 horse. Mr. *Clive* immediately advanced within push of bayonet, ordering his troops to reserve their fire, and soon drove them within their intrenchments; but it being now dark, and his troops raw and undisciplined, the victory remained for a time doubtful. At length Mr. *Clive* sending a detachment round to fall on the rear of their battery, the design succeeded happily, as it was executed with courage and planned with prudence. The *English* entered with fixed bayonets, and firing a platoon, so disconcerted the enemy, that the *French* to a man threw down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war, whilst many of the rest, especially the horse, made their escape under cover of the night. This battery was defended by 48 *French*, 14 *Topasses* or *Portuguese* of the country, and a body of *Indians*, under the command of a lieutenant, all of whom surrendered at discretion: eight pieces of cannon, nine tumbrils of powder, 208 stands of arms, were likewise taken; a great number were killed, and the victory would have been decisive, but for the intervention of the night.

(A) We can learn from no authority what number of natives Mr. *Clive* had under his command; yet it is probable that he must have had some, as it can hardly be supposed he would have engaged the enemy with so unequal a force.

THE brave and fortunate *Clive* having cleared the pro-^{Major} vince of enemies, set out for *Fort St. David*, where he ar-^{Lawrence} rived on the 11th of *March*, the command of the troops ^{takes the} devolving upon major *Lawrence*, then returned from *England*, ^{command} as the superior officer (B). The only action deserving no-^{of the Eng-} tice was performed by a detachment under the command of ^{lish troops} Mr. *Clive*, who returned to the army to serve in an inferior capacity. With a party of 400 men he dislodged a large body of the enemy, posted at *Sameaveram*, a strong fort and temple upon the river *Kalderon*, upon which *Sundah Sahib* broke up his camp before *Sirangham*, and retired within the temple. Here *Clive* proposed to attack him; but receiving advice that captain *D'Anteuil* was arrived from *Pondicherry* at *Utatur*, with money and stores for the enemy's camp, he marched directly thither. Being disappointed by false intelligence, he returned the same night, and, though much fatigued, immediately invested the temple. The commanding officer and several others, attempting to push out at the gate, were killed; and the rest surrendered, to the amount of 66 *Europeans*, and a great number of *Sipoy*s. The enemy had still possession of another ecclesiastical fortress, against which *Clive* carried on regular approaches, which soon reduced the enemy to the necessity of hanging out a flag of capitulation, just as *Clive* was advancing to storm the breach. The *Sipoy*s, ignorant of the meaning of the flag, and mounting the breach, pushed on the attack, which so terrified the ^{Mr. Clive} enemy, that 24 *French* plunged themselves in the river, and ^{possesses} all perished but four: an accident that gave Mr. *Clive* great ^{himself of,} uneasiness. The remainder, in all 72 and three officers, were ^{a strong} made prisoners. The officers made loud complaints that no ^{fort, and} regard had been paid to their flag; yet certain it is, that ^{takes the} the clemency of Mr. *Clive* alone saved them from being cut ^{garrison} in pieces, in the heat of action, and the career of victory. ^{prisoners.} To the same complaint Mr. *Dupliex* added another, of the contempt with which that gentleman had treated the *French*; but this invective was disproved by all the prisoners to a man, and very justly attributed to the effects of *Dupliex*'s resentment, for *Clive*'s having demolished his new city.

AFTER the reduction of *Achevaram*, Mr. *Clive*, equally ^{Mr. Clive} judicious in forming and alert in executing his plans, marched ^{defeats a} directly to *Golkonda*, whither he was told *D'Anteuil* had re- ^{French de-} tachment.

(B) Major *Lawrence* set sail turned, with some additional from *India* on the 12th of Sep- rank, of which we know not tember 1750, and was now re- the particulars.

D'Anteuil
the French
commander
made pri-
soner.

Number of
French
prisoners
made dur-
ing this
war.

tired. Here he attacked and drove him out of the village where he was retrenched, making himself master of all the cannon. The enemy attempted to escape into the fort; but the governor, apprehending they might be followed by the *English*, shut the gates against them, which obliged them to scale the walls for refuge, and afforded Mr. *Clive* an opportunity of destroying the whole body. After he had made a prodigious slaughter, humanity supplanted in his breast every other passion, and he sent the conquered a flag of truce, which they joyfully accepting, a capitulation was signed, the terms of which were, that *D'Anteuil* and three other officers should remain prisoners on parole for one year, that the rest of the garrison should be prisoners till they were exchanged; and that the money and stores should belong to the Nabob in the *English* alliance. On this occasion were taken 48,000 *rupees*, four pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of warlike stores. But the consequences of Mr. *Clive's* rapid victories were more important, though less striking, than all his military strokes, the battles he had won, and the towns he had taken: for the enemy's army of 30,000 men was totally dispersed and ruined, for want of provisions. In the course of this war the *English* killed and taken an army infinitely superior to their own, their artillery, which amounted to forty pieces of cannon and ten mortars, with all their ammunition and military stores. Among the prisoners were thirty *French* officers, upwards of 800 men; whilst the whole loss on the side of the conquerors did not amount to fifty *Europeans*.

WE have delivered the transactions of this war the more explicitly, because it serves as a military history of the first and first dawnings of *Clive's* genius; to record which faithfully is really no other than to write a panegyric. It is always in pitched battles between great armies, on the success of which hangs the fate of empires, where the master-strokes of genius are displayed; less affairs frequently for as much or more sagacity, refinement, intrepidity, and presence of mind in the commander. Yet are they generally passed over as matters of no consequence, by those who either consider the greatness of the event than the spirit of enterprize; measuring every action by the narrow view of interest, or the superficial notions of the vulgar.

Mr. *Clive* THE war being thus ended, so contrary to the hopes sails for Mr. *Dupleix*, he, at the instance of his confederate Nabob of England, sent to solicit peace of *Mohammed Ali Khan*, who declared and a cess- himself ready to consent, provided it was to the satisfaction of

of the *English*, his allies.^b Peace however did not take effect; but a cessation of arms ensuing, Mr. Clive set sail for *India*, where he remained till the year 1754, when the service of his country and of the *East India* company again required his attendance in *India*, previous to the most unfortunate and calamitous event recorded in history.

^b Private intelligence, letters to the directors, &c.

S E C T. VII.

Containing a short account of the unhappy affair at Calcutta; the reduction of Angria by Admiral Watson and Mr. Clive; the retaking of Calcutta, and all the company's settlements on the Ganges; the reduction of the French settlement at Chandernagore; the defeat of the Nabob of Bengal; and lastly, a recapitulation of the preceding history of the company.

NINE months after the departure of Mr. Clive, hostilities were re-commenced, while neither the *English* or *French* companies were at open war. They had each engaged in war as allies to support the interest of those Nabobs in treaty with them; but they acted as principals, and with all animosity and bitterness of rivals in arms and commerce. Major Lawrence, an officer of experience, resolution, and conduct, but of an haughty and insolent disposition, had the sole command of the *English* auxiliaries, obtained several advantages, and was in a fair way of terminating the dispute by dint of arms, when the unhappy affair at Calcutta for a moment suspended the rapid progress of the company's flourishing condition. Without pretending to decide where the blame of this catastrophe ought justly to be placed, we shall merely relate the circumstances. Indeed, such were the heated prejudices of proprietors of *India* stocks, and of the directors themselves, and such the interest of some persons the most suspected, that no clear knowledge of this calamitous affair ever appeared.

WHILE a treaty between the *French* and *English* companies was upon the carpet, the Nabob of *Bengal*, irritated at the proposition given to one of his subjects by the governor of Calcutta, and, as it is said, at the refusal of some duties to which he claimed a right, with some other co-operating reasons, levied a great army, and suddenly laid siege to that place;

1756.

place, then in no posture of defence. Mr. D. the governor, terrified by the number of the enemy, with some of the principal persons in the settlement, immediately abandoned the fort, and took refuge on board the ships in the river, carrying along with them their most valuable effects, and the company's books. Thus deserted, Mr. *Holwell*, the second in command, bravely defended the place to the last extremity, assisted by a few gallant friends, and the remains of a feeble garrison. A very intrepid defence was insufficient to protect an untenable place against so powerful an enemy, or *Holwell's* character, which was aspersed with the most malevolent slander that cowardice, guilt, and envy could contrive. The fort was taken, and the garrison being made prisoners, were thrust into a narrow dungeon, from whence Mr. *Holwell* and a few others came out alive, to paint a scene of the most cruel distress which perhaps human nature ever suffered or survived. "Figure to yourself," says Mr. *Holwell*, "if possible, the situation of 146 wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in *Bengal*; shut up to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from whence air could come to us, by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred within, from whence we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air." Such was the residence of those unhappy victims for the space of twelve hours; which alone is sufficient to paint their distress, without our entering upon the melancholy tale, which must draw tears from the eyes, and pity from the heart, of the most obdurate and savage breast (C).

Thus from the height of prosperity the affairs of the company fell into the utmost confusion, and their credit at home kept pace with their fortune abroad: but it would be an invidious task to enter upon particulars so recent in the memory of every man; sufficient it is, that by the conduct of Mr. *Clive*, and the brave admiral *Watson*, their affairs were

(C) Soon after Mr. *Holwell's* arrival in *England*, he published, in the year 1757, a full account of this deplorable disaster, in terms so pathetic, so feeling, and so moving, as could not be dictated but by a heart suscepti-

ble of the tenderest emotions of friendship, even though he was a sufferer. To this we refer the reader as the best written account of the kind we have ever perused.

soon

soon retrieved, their settlements on the *Ganges* recovered, and the pride and cruelty of the Nabob justly punished

ADMIRAL *Watson* being arrived at *Fort St. David's* with his majesty's ships, the *Kent* of 70 guns, the *Cumberland* of 66, *Tyger* of 60, *Salisbury* of 50, the *Bridgewater* of 24 guns, with *Admiral Watson with his Squadron arrives in the East Indies.* sloop and bomb-ketches, the first expedition proposed was to reduce *Tulagee Angria*, a piratical prince, who had for many years molested the *East India* trade. The governor of *Fort St. David* had, on the admiral's arrival, received intelligence that *Angria* was entering upon some treaty with the *Maharattas*, concerning *Geriah*, no way favourable to the company's affairs; and this it was that determined the admiral to proceed thither, after taking on board some of the company's forces. On his arrival before the harbour, he summoned the town to surrender; but no regard being paid to his messages, he stood in in two divisions, the enemy firing all the while with great vigour from their batteries. As soon as the ships were properly disposed, they began so warm a fire as soon silenced the batteries, and gave the admiral an opportunity of landing the troops. The enemy, now invested on all hands, were plied so closely, that on the 13th of *February* 1756 they hung out a flag of capitulation; but the admiral, not chusing to grant their terms, began his attack with such vigour, that they were soon forced to call out for mercy, and submit at discretion. Among the prisoners were the brother, the wife, and the child of *Angria*, his brother-in-law, and the commander in chief of his *grabs*, or fleet. In the place the *English* found 200 pieces of cannon, six brass mortars, and a large supply of stores and ammunition; the money and effects amounting to 130,000 *l.* *Angria's* fleet, consisting of eight large *grabs*, one ship in the harbour, and two upon the stocks, together with a number of small vessels called *gallivats*, were all destroyed; the spirits of the company somewhat restored, and fresh vigour given to their *actions*, which had been drooping from the time the loss of *Calcutta* was known.

In *October* following admiral *Watson* taking on board Mr. *Clive* and the company's troops, sailed for *Bengal*, with the *Kent*, *Tyger*, *Bridgewater*, *Salisbury*, and *Kingsfisher* sloop; gal; and by the united endeavours of those two brave officers, soon changed the face of the company's affairs. On the 5th of *December* he anchored in *Balasore* road, in the kingdom of *Bengal*; and having crossed the *Braces* on the 8th, pro-

* See the Gazette printed by authority, November 6, 1756.

take Buf-
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fort ;

and Tan-
na fort.

They re-
take Cal-
cutta.

Take and
destroy the

ceeded up the *Ganges*, and arrived at *Falta* on the 15th, where he found governor *Drake*, and those who had escaped from *Calcutta* before it was taken, on board the company's ships and vessels, in a very deplorable condition. After affording them all possible relief, and strengthening the land forces with all the recruits they could draw together, Mr. *Clive*, with his troops, was landed, in order to attack *Busbudgia* fort by land, while the squadron battered it on the side of the river. *Busbudgia* made but a slight resistance, the garrison having abandoned it in less than an hour after the first attack. This fort was extremely well situated for defence, having a wet ditch round it, but badly provided with cannon; no more than eighteen pieces, from twenty-four to six pounders, with forty barrels of powder, and ball in proportion, being found in it.

On the 1st of *January* the *Kent* and *Tyger* anchored between *Tanna* fort and a battery opposite to it, both which the enemy abandoned before either ship fired a single gun. About forty pieces of cannon, some twenty-four pounders, all mounted on good carriages, with some powder and ball, were found in the fort and battery. The passage now being open to *Calcutta*, admiral *Watson* resolved to lose no time in attacking it; and accordingly proceeded up the river, leaving the *Salisbury* as a guard-ship, to prevent the enemy's regaining the places he had taken. In the night several armed boats were sent before the squadron, to burn a ship and some vessels said to be filled with combustibles; an enterprise that succeeded happily, as all the former had done; and next morning Mr. *Clive* landed with his troops, and began his march towards *Calcutta*. Animated with revenge at the affecting sight of a place, the scene of the deplorable sufferings of so many of their countrymen, the ships and land forces attacked it with such spirit and undaunted resolution, that the *Indians*, unable to maintain their ground, surrendered the fort the same day it was approached. The ships had scarce suffered any thing in their hulls or rigging; nine seamen only were killed, and twenty-one wounded; and the loss was still less considerable among the land forces, where not an officer was either killed or hurt. Four mortars, ninety-one guns of different sizes, and a considerable quantity of all kinds of ammunition, were found in the fort; and the company once more put into full possession of this settlement, that had cost the lives of so many brave men. A few days after, *Hugly*, situated higher up the *Ganges*, was reduced with

with as little difficulty, but greater loss^d; for here fell captain *Dugall Campbell*, an officer in the service of the company, endued with every social and generous virtue; brave, liberal, and humane; neglected in his early years by relations who knew not his merit, and cut off from friends in the bloom of youth and career of fortune, who loved and now bewail him.—This tribute to his memory friendship and affection demand, affinity forbids more. In *Hugly* the English found twenty pieces of cannon, from twenty-four pounders downwards, with a quantity of ammunition. The city was soon after burnt and destroyed, together with the granaries and storehouses, which greatly distressed the Nabob, and facilitated the farther designs of Mr. *Clive*.

THIS vigilant and brave officer, not contented with re-instating the company in all their settlements, had resolved to humble the pride of the Nabob; who perceiving that the torrent of *Clive's* valour was not to be resisted by such feeble dams as forts defended by *Indians*, drew down an army consisting of 10,000 horse and 15,000 foot. Infinitely inferior as Mr. *Clive* was in number, he did not hesitate to engage and even attack the Nabob. On the 2d of *February* the Nabob's army were seen marching towards the town, within a mile of the English camp; upon which Mr. *Clive* sent for a reinforcement to the admiral. Accordingly captain *Warwick* received orders from admiral *Watson* to take upon him the command of a detachment of 569 seamen, and immediately proceed to the camp. At two o'clock the same day he joined Mr. *Clive*, and found him ready to march, the men being all under arms. The king's troops and company's grenadiers were in the front; captain *Warwick*, with his seamen, were ordered to take charge of the artillery; and the *Sipahs* were in the rear. At three Mr. *Clive* altered his disposition, by strengthening the front, in which order he came up with the Nabob, and was soon charged in the van by the enemy's horse. Before the rear got up to the Nabob's camp the engagement became general from hedges and bushes; upon which Mr. *Clive* ordered the artillery to be pointed against the thickest of the enemy's fire, and with a success that proved the wisdom of this measure. The Nabob was soon dislodged, and driven before the victorious English; a great slaughter was made, but not a complete victory obtained. The consequences were, however, nearly

Mr. *Clive* defeats the Nabob.
him to sue
for peace.

^d See the Gazette, by authority, July 23, 1757.

to that effect; for the Nabob was forced to sue for peace, and to grant the company the following terms:

The articles of the treaty.

" 1. THAT whatever rights and privileges the king has granted the *English* company in their *phirmaund*, and the *busbulboorums* sent from *Dilly*, shall not be disputed or taken from them; and the immunities therein mentioned be acknowledged and stand good. Whatever villages are given the company by the *phirmaund* shall likewise be granted, notwithstanding they have been denied by former *Subahs*; the *Zemindars* of those villages not to be put out or displaced without just cause." *Signed.*

" 2. ALL goods passing or repassing through the country by land or water, with *English* stamps, shall be exempt from any tax, fee, or condition whatever, from *Chokeys*, *Gaalvals*, *Zemindars*, or any other officers."

" 3. ALL the company's factories seized by the Nabob shall be returned. All monies, goods, and effects, belonging to the company, their servants, and tenants, and which have been seized and taken by the Nabob, shall be restored. What has been plundered and pillaged by his people made good, by the payment of such a sum of money as his justice shall think reasonable." *Agreed and consented to.*

" 4. THAT the company have permission to fortify *Calcutta* in such manner as they may think proper, without interruption. *Granted.*

" 5. THAT the company shall have liberty to coin *siccas*, both of gold and silver, of equal weight and fineness as those of *Muxadavad*, which shall pass in the provinces." *I consent to the English company's coining their own imports of bullion and gold into siccas. Signed by the Nabob.*

" 6. THAT a treaty shall be ratified by signing and sealing, and swearing to abide by the articles therein contained, not only by the Nabob, but by his principal officers and ministers."

I have sealed and signed those articles in the presence of God.
(In the Nabob's own hand.)

" 7. THAT admiral *Charles Watson*, and colonel *Robert Clive*, on the part and behalf of the *English* nation, and of the company, do agree to live in a good understanding with the Nabob, to put an end to these troubles, and to be in friendship with him, while those articles are performed and observed by the Nabob."

SUCH were the terms obtained for the company by the vigorous and gallant measures of those two brave officers, who conducted every thing with a harmony and unanimity that shewed their minds congenial, ambitious of glory, and zealous in the cause and for the honour of their country.

THE war was now broke out in *Europe* and *America* between *Great Britain* and *France*, after both courts had endeavoured, by a tedious negotiation, to adjust the difference and settle the pretensions of each nation in *North America*. The time limited for a cessation of arms between the two companies was likewise expired; and the flames of war began to spread themselves over every quarter of the earth. Notwithstanding the *French* in *Bengal* had treated the unfortunate remains of the deplorable tragedy at *Calcutta* with the humanity and feeling of a civilized and polite nation, yet was it believed, upon good authority, that their intrigues had greatly encouraged the Nabob in this attempt, and that they had even supplied him with ammunition and gunners to assist the execution of his design. All obstruction having been removed on the side of the *Indians*, admiral *Watson* and colonel *Clive* resolved therefore to turn their arms against the *French*, and to attack their fort at *Chandenagore*, their principal settlement in *Bengal*. *Chandenagore* is a regular fortification; it was on this occasion defended by a numerous garrison, composed of 500 *Europeans* and 700 *Indians*; 183 pieces of cannon, many of them twenty-four pounders, three mortars, and a sufficient quantity of stores and ammunition. In this expedition Mr. *Clive* commanded 700 *Europeans* and 1600 black soldiers or *Sipahys*. The admirals *Watson* and *Pocock* commanded the squadron, consisting only of three ships of the line and a sloop. Mr. *Clive* made himself master of all the out-posts before the admiral's arrival, except one redoubt situated between the fort and the river, which mounted eight pieces of cannon of twenty-four pounders, four of which pointed to the river. Admiral *Watson* having ordered the sloop up the river, to cover the boats attending on the camp, followed with the rest of the squadron with all the expedition possible. On the 18th of *March* 1757 he anchored about two miles below *Chandenagore*, and found the *French* had done every thing in their power to obstruct his passage, by sinking two ships, a ketch, a hulk, a snow, and a vessel without masts, all directly in the chanel, within gun-shot of the fort, and that they had laid two booms, moored with chains, across the river. This occasioned some delay, the admiral being forced to cut down the booms, and sound the chanel before he advanced.

Admiral
Watson
and Mr.
Clive take
the French
fort and
settlement
at Chan-
denagore.
Articles of
capitula-
tion.

placed. On the 24th he overcame all those obstructions; and the leading ship having got abreast of the redoubt, soon silenced it, and obliged the garrison to abandon it. The Squadron began to play upon the walls, which was returned with great spirit for the space of three hours, while Mr. Clive was making his approaches, and firing from a battery on the other side. At nine in the evening the enemy hoisted a white flag; and it was agreed that the fort should be surrendered, the garrison made prisoners of war, the *Indian* inhabitants preserved in the full use of their liberties, and the Jesuits, the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the company, to be dismissed with their cloaths, linen, and church ornaments¹. The goods and money found in the fort were considerable; but the chief advantage consisted in their having deprived the *French* of their principal settlement on the *Ganges*. All the operations were judiciously timed; the taking of four considerable forts cost those gallant officers no more than four days; a fifth day defeated the whole power of the Nabob. Such were the happy consequences of foresight, conduct, unanimity, and courage.

BEFORE the *French* were alarmed, and any attempts made on *Chandenagore*, care was taken to repossess all the posts the company had formerly held; to humble the Nabob by some effectual blow; and by a treaty to bind him up from acting against the interests of the company. This prince had shewn himself, from the moment of his signing that treaty, but little inclined to perform the articles to which he acceded. He was liberal indeed of his promises, but dilatory in the execution of them; and upon such frivolous pretences as evidently demonstrated that his affections were not with the company. In fact, he waited but a proper occasion for breaking through all his engagements; and of this Mr. Clive was aware, but resolved to conceal his sentiments till he had reduced the *French* power in *Bengal*, which was more formidable to him, small as it was, than all the power of the Nabob. When, in conjunction with admiral *Watson*, he had accomplished this view, both these officers deliberated together, whether they ought not to re-commence hostilities with *Sulajud Dowla*, and oblige him by force to the performance of the treaty. A resolution in the affirmative had been attended with great difficulty and danger, if a most fortunate incident, improved by the address of the gen-

¹ Id. *ibid*.

men of the council, and especially by Mr. *Watts*, had not helped to insure success.

THE Nabob's delaying the final execution of the peace *The Nabob* was, in effect, the same to the commerce of the province as *refuses to* if none had been concluded. The leading men in his court *comply* and army knew his faithless disposition; they were oppressed *with the* and discontented. He had shewn to his own subjects the *late treaty*. same haughty and perfidious spirit which had lately broke out with such violence against the *English* company, and still continued to distress it. Some of his chiefs therefore, perceiving no probability of a solid peace in the country, while *Sulajud Dowla* held the reigns of government, began first to murmur, and soon after to form a plan for deposing him.

Jaffer Ali Khan, or *Cawn*, one of his principal ministers and *A conspiracy* generals, a man of great weight and power in the province, *formed against* was at the head of this conspiracy. He first communicated the design to Mr. *Watts*, the second in council at *Calcutta*, *the Nabob* by whose letters of the 26th and 28th of *April 1757*, the council was informed of the affair. Here it was debated *by his own officers*. with all the attention and circumspection possible, it being a matter of the utmost consequence, as upon its success depended the fate of the whole commerce of *Bengal*. The Nabob's equivocal conduct, his breach of the articles of the peace he had solemnly sworn to maintain, his refusing to admit a garrison into *Cassembuzar*, and his prohibiting a pound of powder or ball to pass up the river, together with the certain intelligence the council received of his having invited *M. Bussy*, the *French* commandant in *Golkonda*, to join him, with all the troops he could bring, sufficiently evinced, that the Nabob's intention was to begin hostilities, as soon as his designs were ripe for execution. It was therefore deter- *The council* mined to enter upon the project concerted by *Jaffer Ali* at *Bengal* *Cawn*, to assist it by the most vigorous measures, and there- *resolved to* by settle the company's affairs upon a solid and lasting foun- *attack the* dation. The council knew the capacity of Mr. *Clive*, and *Nabob*. had all the reason in the world to confide in the conduct of an officer who had given such repeated proofs of his valour. He was ordered to take the field; the Admiral undertaking to garrison *Chandenagore* with his seamen, thereby to strengthen Mr. *Clive's* little army, by reinforcing him with the former garrison. A detachment of fifty seamen with their officers was likewise added, to serve as gunners; and a twenty-gun ship stationed above *Hugly*, to preserve a communication between the army and the fleet.

ON the 19th of *June*, *Catwa* fort and town, situated on that side the river which forms the island of *Cassembuzar*, were taken by a party detached for that purpose. There the army halted for two days, expecting intelligence from *Jaffier Ali Cawn*; but none arriving, Mr. *Clive* put his troops in motion on the 22d, crossed the river, and next day, with his own forces only, engaged the Nabob. *Sulajud Dowla's* army consisted of 20,000 fighting men, besides 50 *French*, who directed the artillery, and exclusive of the party formed by the conspirators. The event of the battle was agreeable to the good fortune of Mr. *Clive*; it was successful, and obtained in a short time, with little loss. Fifty pieces of cannon were taken, and all the Nabob's baggage. It is probable, indeed, that victory would have been disputed with more obstinacy, had not *Sulajud Dowla* been discouraged with the treachery of his officers, and the cowardice of his troops, who were seized with a panic as soon as they had discovered the conspiracy that was set on foot. After his defeat the Nabob withdrew privately, as did *Montole* his prime minister, and *Mqrnick Chaund* one of his generals, not having sufficient confidence in the fidelity of their troops. *Jaffier Ali Cawn*, now declaring himself openly, entered *Muxadavat*, the capital of the province, with an army of his friends, and victorious allies. It had been previously concerted, that *Ali Cawn*, who was born of a good family, and greatly esteemed in the province, should succeed to the Nabobship: accordingly he was invested on the 28th of *June* by Mr. *Clive*, with all the badges of authority, and received the homage of every degree of men, as *Subah* of the provinces of *Bengal*, *Sulajud Dowla Baber*, and *Orixa*. On the 30th the late Nabob was made prisoner, just as Mr. *Law*, the *French* chief at *Cassembuzar*, was ready to join him with 200 *Europeans*: and on the 4th he was put to death by his successor *Jaffier Ali Cawn*, who granted his allies such generous rewards and immunities as evinced how justly he merited all their assistance. Thus, in the space of about twelve days, this great revolution in the affairs of the company, and the richest kingdoms of *Asia*, was effected by a handful of men; the trade was restored, and even increased beyond what it ever had been; the *English* were strengthened by a powerful ally, whose interest it was to remain firm to his engagements; the sufferers at *Calcutta* compensated for their losses, as far as money could atone for such a calamity; the soldiers and seamen rewarded beyond their most sanguine expectations, for the zeal and courage they had exerted; and the *French* intirely driven out

out of *Bengal*, and all its dependencies. It may indeed be questioned, whether all the great powers of *Europe* engaged in a war, in which rivers of blood have already been spilt, and millions of treasure exhausted, will, in the conclusion, reap so much solid profit as the *English East India* company did, with no more than 2000 men, two-thirds of them *Indians*, under the conduct of Mr. *Clive*, whose martial abilities posterity will read with amazement, and which even cotemporary envy, jealousy, and malignity, are forced to admire.

BUT the joy of the nation, and in particular of the *India* company, was not a little damped by the death of admiral *Watson*, who fell a sacrifice to the unwholsomeness of the *Watson*. climate, in which he had established the reputation of a diligent, faithful, and brave officer, and a good man (D). Besides this real loss, *Vizagapatam* was besieged and soon taken by the *French*, and a garrison of 130 *Europeans*, and 200 *Sipeys*, made prisoners; notwithstanding the governor made all the defence which became a faithful servant of the company, but unskilled in the art of war.

THE following is a translation of the treaty executed with *Jaffier Ali Cawn Bahadar*, written and signed by his his own hand.

" IN the presence of God and his prophet. I swear to abide by the terms of this agreement made with admiral *Watson*, colonel *Clive*, governor *Drake*, Mr. *Watts*, and the *English* council at *Calcutta*."

Signed,

MEER MAHMUD JAFFIER CAWN BAHADAR,

The slave of

ALLAM GEER MOGOL.

" 1. THE agreement and treaty made with Nabob *Sulajud Dowla* I agree to and admit of.

" 2. THE enemies of the *English* are my enemies, whether *Europeans* or others.

" 3. WHATEVER goods and factories belonged to the *French* in the provinces of *Bengal*, *Baher*, or *Orixa*, shall

(D) Vice-admiral *Watson* was buried on the 17th of *August*, his corpse being attended to the grave by all his own officers, who lamented him as a fa-

ther, and the inhabitants of the place, who have erected a handsome monument to his memory.

" be

" be delivered to the *English*; and the *French* never be permitted to have factories or settlements any more in these provinces.

" 4. To indemnify the company for their losses by the capture of *Calcutta*, and the charges they have been at to repossess their factories, I will give one *crore* of *rupees* (E).

" 5. To indemnify the *English* inhabitants who suffered by the capture of *Calcutta*, I will give fifty *lack* of *rupees*.

" 6. To indemnify the loss suffered by *Jentoo*s, *Moormen*, &c. I will give twenty *lack* of *rupees*.

" 7. To inhabitants, the *Armenian Peotts* of *Calcutta*, who suffered by the capture of *Calcutta*, I will give seven *lack* of *rupees*. The division of these donations to be left to the admiral, the colonel, and the committee.

" 8. THE lands within the *Maharatta* ditch, all round *Calcutta*, which are now possessed by the other *Zemindars*, and 600 yards all round without the ditch, I will give up entirely to the company.

" 9. THE *Zemindary* of the lands to the south of *Calcutta*, as low as *Culpee*, shall be in the hands of the company, and under their orders and government; the customary rents of every district within that tract to be paid by the *English* into the king's treasury.

" 10. WHENEVER I send for the assistance of the *English* troops, their pay and charges shall be disbursed by me.

" 11. FROM *Hugly* downwards I shall build no new forts near the river.

" 12. As soon as I am established *Subah* of the three provinces, I will immediately perform the above articles. Dated the 15th of the moon *Ramazan*, in the 4th year of the present reign 8."

FROM the last article it is obvious, that the treaty was signed and sealed before Mr. *Clive* put his troops in motion, or the council took any steps to forward the designs of *Ali Cawn* in deposing the Nabob. Besides the sums stipulated by treaty, the new Nabob presented the fleet and army with

5 Gazette, February 14, 1758.

(E) One *crore* is an hundred *lack*, each *lack* making 12,500 sterling.

fty lack of *rupees*^b, a sum that, with the plunder of the Nubob's camp, has put the meanest seaman and soldier in a state of affluence. As to the late loss of *Fort St. David*, and the engagement between the *English* Squadron under admiral Pocock and the *French* fleet, the public accounts are too unsatisfactory to merit a place in history.

THUS the reader has seen the foundation and origin of the *East India* company and commerce under queen *Elizabeth*; its progress, in consequence of the regulations made, and privileges granted by her successors; the vicissitudes of fortune their affairs have passed through, whether from their enemies the *Indians*, *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, or *French*; or from the negligence, avarice, pride, and misconduct of their governors and servants abroad; or whether from the still more pernicious practices of ministerial craft, by which prodigious sums have been drawn from them for privileges which are ever precarious: he has seen their flourishing state, from the time that their own consequence, and the services done the government, brought the whole body of the legislature to be their patrons and protectors: he has, lastly, had a view of their losses, chiefly owing to their own indolence and parsimony, as well as to the dilatory measures of the administration.

AFTER the restitution of *Madras*, at the general peace at *Aix la Chapelle*, their affairs flourished extremely, till the late unhappy affair in *Bengal*, the particulars of which we have just recited. We have been credibly informed, that after admiral *Watson* and Mr. *Clive* had destroyed *Angria*, and previous to the loss of *Calcutta*, the company shared 10 *per cent.* on their capital; nor is there any reason to imagine that their profits have been diminished since, if we consider the glorious success that has ever attended the arms of the fortunate and brave *Clive*; what effect the late losses in *India* may have had on the actions of the company, it is not our intention to relate. In the war, terminated by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, the loss of *Madras* was more than compensated to the company by the ruin of the *French* marine, and the total stagnation of their *India* trade for the three last years of the war. If the enemy were successful in their attempts upon our head settlement, and in the defence of their own, still their trade gained little by either. The profits of the former went into the pockets of an individual; and the advantages of the latter consisted in

^b Id. *ibid.*

*The bad
state of the
French
trade.*

the mere preservation of a town, at that time of no utility to commerce; since the whole shipping of the company was employed in military affairs. In short, from the time that Mr. *Barnet* took the *Chinamen*, in the *Streights of Banca*, we believe not more than three or four ships returned into *Europe*, or sailed into *Asia*, off the business of commerce, during the last war. Whatever superiority they might seemingly maintain on the coast of *Coromandel*, it is evident, from the actions of the company, that their stock was extremely reduced, and their commerce at the last gasp. Another year's continuance of the war would, in all probability, have made the company bankrupt; and in fact it was little less, since the obstruction to supplies, and remittances from *Europe*, had put a total stop to their credit in *India*. All these circumstances were so many acquisitions to the *English* company, who continued to send out fleets as usual, during the whole course of the war. The markets were entirely open to them; no rivalry, no anticipation there, to oblige them to buy at a great price. In short, it is not to be doubted, but under the protection of the king's squadrons, they might have flourished more in a war than in peace, and have made dividends on their profits, which would astonish all the merchants in *Europe*.

HAVING now deduced the history of the *East India* company from their origin to the present times, in a manner more connected, full, and explicit, than, we believe, has ever been attempted, we shall proceed to lay before the reader an account of the possessions and settlements belonging to this wealthy body. In the mean time, we must beg, that if some part of the preceding narrative appear tedious, the reader will excuse it, by reason of our desire of being complete. If many of the occurrences are languid, yet they are necessary, though incapable of historical embellishment. The history of trade requires a minuteness, a recital of many civil transactions, which would appear superfluous in the general history of a nation. In the present instance, the *India* company is a body separate and distinct, in some respects, from the people; yet in its effects, in its prosperity and adversity, strictly connected with the public good. It is, therefore, little capable of being placed in a striking view: if we have rendered it useful, we shall think we have sufficiently fulfilled our engagements, and merited the applause of every one who reads rather for instruction than amusement.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing a description of all the company's settlements; the nature of the trade of each; the goods exported and imported; the salaries of the governors and other servants; the manners, laws, and religion of the natives; the coins, measures, duties, and customs used or paid by the company; with several other particulars.

TO begin with the settlements of the *East India* company: *Description* the first in order is *Mocha*, a city seated at the entrance *tion of the* of the *Red Sea*, latitude 13 deg. 11 min. north. This place, *city of* from an inconsiderable fishing town, hardly known, is be- *Mocha.* come, in less than two centuries, a flourishing city, and the emporium for the trade of all *India* to the *Red Sea*. The trade was removed hither from *Alan*, in consequence of the prophecy of a Sheyk, much revered by the people. This man, it is said, foretold that it would soon become a place of extensive commerce, notwithstanding some disadvantages in point of situation. Be this as it will, certain it is, that trade flourishes. *Mocha* stands close to the sea, in a large, dry, and sandy plain, that affords no good water within twenty miles of the city. What they drink comes from *Mesa*, and costs as dear as small beer in *England*. The water nearer the town, it is imagined, produces a worm which naturalists call the *Dracunculus*. It generally breeds in the fleshy and muscular parts of the body, appearing commonly in the thighs and legs, accompanied with an extreme inflammation and acute pain. The method of cure among the natives is, by laying hold of it as soon as it appears on the surface of the skin, with small scissars, or pincers, and pulling it gently out, about an inch in twenty-four hours. They then roll it about a wire, hen's quill, or something of that nature, and extract it with the utmost caution, the consequence being dangerous if any part remains in the body. This animal is extremely active and lively, greatly resembling a fine violin string, and about two feet and a half long. We have lately seen one in

the custody of a celebrated naturalist of our own country, corresponding to captain *Hamilton's* account, and, indeed, to that of the celebrated *Linnaeus*.

To proceed; *Mocha* is large, but meanly fortified. The buildings are lofty, and tolerably regular, having a pleasing aspect from *Mecca*. The steeples of several mosques raise their heads into the clouds, and present themselves to view at a great distance. Their markets are well stored with beef, mutton, lamb, kid, camel and antelope's flesh, common fowls, *Guiney* hens, partridge, and pigeon. The sea affords plenty of fish, but not savoury; which some think proceeds from the extreme saltness of the water, and the nature of their aliment. Fruit, such as grapes, peaches, apricots, quinces, and nectarines, the markets are stocked with; although near the town not a shrub is to be seen, nor a tree, except a few date trees. Frequently no rain is known here for two or three years, and seldom more than a shower or two in a year. In the mountains, indeed, at the distance of twenty miles from *Mocha*, the earth is watered by a gentle shower every morning, which makes the vallies prolific in corn and the fruits natural to the climate.

THE religion of the country and city is *Mohammedism*, which they are rigidly superstitious, though their practice hardly reconcileable with any religion; and, indeed, hypocrisy seems the most distinguishing part of the character of an *Arabian* at *Mocha*. Their promises, which they seldom keep, are made with the most solemn invocations on God, and the judge pronounces a grave devout lecture against corruption, at the very time when his arm is extended to receive a bribe. Robbing, thieving, and piracy are vices no less fashionable here, than are fornication, adultery, and drinking in some cities in *Europe*; and yet, from the gravity of the people, you would imagine the integrity of a *Cato* lodged in every breast.

THE *English* and *Dutch* companies have handsome houses, but without the grandeur and state they maintain in some others of their settlements. The *English* are much trafficked, and carry on an infinite trade for coffee, olibanum, myrrh, aloes, liquid storax, white and yellow arsenic, gum arabic, mummy, balm of *Gilead*, and other drugs. One inconvenience, however, they sustain from the violence and extortion of the *Arabian* princes; for the king's customs are easy, being fixed at three per cent. to Europeans.

As to the coins at *Mocha*, the most current is the *camassie*, which rises or falls in value at the banker's discretion. They

are from fifty to eighty for a current dollar, which is but an imaginary species, being always reckoned twenty-one and a half *per cent.* lower than *Spanish* dollars. As to their weights, they are almost infinite, according to the nature of the thing to be weighed. They have the *Banian* weight; the *Magiet*; the *Ambergrise*; the *Agala*; the gold and silver weights; &c. &c. ^a.

GOMBROON, or, as the natives call it, *Bander Abassi*, or *Descrip-*
the sea-port of *Abassi*, is the next settlement. This city, *tion of*
lying in the latitude of $27^{\circ} 40'$ N. owes its wealth and gran- *Gom-*
deur to the demolition of *Ormuz*, and the downfall of the *broon*.
Portuguese empire in the *East Indies*. It is now justly ac-
counted one of the greatest marts in the *East*, was built by
the great *Shah Abbas*, and from him, as some think, obtained
the name *Bander Abassi*, which signifies the *Court of Abbas*.
We shall leave the reader to determine which of these ety-
mons is the most natural. It stands on a bay, about four
leagues to the northward of the east end of the island of *Kisb-*
miß, and three leagues from the famous *Ormuz*. We are
told that it had formerly been a fishing town, and of no con-
sequence till *Shah Abbas* began to build there (A). The
English began to settle here about the year 1613, when, in
consideration of their services against the *Portuguese*, *Shah*
Abbas granted them half the customs of that port. This was
confirmed by a phirmaund, and duly regarded till the *Eng-*
lish began to neglect the services they had stipulated, upon
which it dwindled to a thousand tomans a year, 3,333 *l.*
6 s. 8 d., which was likewise ill paid, if it be true that the
company has any emolument at all from the customs. The
situation is bad, wanting almost every thing that contributes
to the happiness, and even the support, of life. The city is
large, and encompassed by a wall towards the land, which
is ruined in several places through neglect. Against the sea
are three small forts of five guns each; a platform of eight,
and a castle, or citadel, mounting thirty-five heavy cannon, to
secure it and the road from the attempts of an enemy by

^a HAMILTON, p. 143.

(A) Captain *Hamilton* says, number of prawns and shrimps
that it had the name of *Gom-* caught on its coasts. This spe-
broon, or *Comerang*, by way of cies of shell-fish they call *Com-*
lenition, from the *Portuguese*, *be-* *rang* (1).
cause it was remarkable for the

(1). *Vol. i. p. 143.*

sea. The houses in most of the streets are so out of repair, some half down, others in a heap of rubbish, that a stranger would imagine the town had been sacked and ravaged by a barbarous people; not a vestige of the wealth really contained in the place, appearing in view. The bazars and shops round are for the most part kept by *Banians*, whose houses are generally in good order. When the *Banians* are asked why the *Persians* are so negligent in repairing the buildings erected at a great expence by their ancestors, their common answer is, "For the vanity of building new ones themselves." In the walls of the best houses stone is used, but the common method of building is with earth and lime. Many of them have a contrivance at the top for making a draught of air through the whole house, which, in effect, resembles a ventilator, but is itself a wooden machine of a conical form. These they call wind chimnies, which add not only to the elegance of the houses, but to the conveniency of living as well as to health, in the intensely hot seasons of the year.

THE most sickly months of this unhealthy situation are *April* and *May*, towards the close of the vernal equinox; *September* and *October* in the autumnal. In fish and mutton the inhabitants are well supplied. Rice is imported from *India*, and wheat so plenty, that the poor chiefly subsist on bread and dates: as for pilloe it is a dish fashionable only among the better sort. This part of *Persia* abounds in the most delicious fruits. Apricots, peaches, pomegranates, pears, mangoes, grapes, guavas, plumbs, sweet quinces, water-melons, are here in the utmost profusion and perfection. The apricots, however, are small, and extremely dangerous if eaten to excess, for which reason the *Persians* call them *Kill Franks*, because *Europeans*, not knowing the danger, are often destroyed by them.

BUT the fruit peculiar to this country and to *Arabia*, is the date. This tree grows much in the manner of the cocoa-nut tree, only the branches are shorter. The fruit hangs on small twigs, thick about the top of the tree under the boughs; and, when ripe, is esteemed there a delicious and wholesome diet. It is deemed fit for use when it begins to melt on the tree; but the dates intended for sale are plucked sooner, and laid wet in a heap, afterwards packed in bales of 100 pounds weight, their own juice candying and preserving them.

THESE conveniencies are more than over-balanced by the scarcity of fresh water, with which the inhabitants are

supplied

supplied from *Asseen* ^b (B), a place seven miles distance, there not being one spring or well in the town. Persons of distinction keep a camel in constant employment in bringing fresh and wholesome water. Captain *Hamilton* gives it as his opinion, that one cause of the unwholsomeness of this city is the reflection of the rays of light from a high mountain north of it. His expression is, That when the beams are reflected from this mountain, they almost fire the air; and, for two or three months in the year, render the situation intolerable. For this reason the people of condition retire into the country, to pass the heats of *June, July, and August*. The very sea, during this season, is affected; insomuch, that the stench is no less disagreeable than that of putrid carcases; and this is increased by the quantities of shell-fish left by the surgers on the shore, from which an exhalation arises that taints the gold and silver, and less tolerable than the bilge-water of a tight ship.

ABOUT ten miles from *Asseen*, at the foot of the above mountain, is a place called *Minoa*, where are cold and natural baths, reckoned infallible in the cure of scrophulous disorders, rheumatisms, and other diseases, by bathing. As they are rough and powerful emetics if taken in the smallest quantity, their use in this respect is neglected. At *Asseen* the *English* factory have a country house and gardens, to which they retire occasionally. Here they have raised a number of fine *Seville* orange trees, which, though not natural to the country, arrive to the highest perfection. These trees, of which they have whole groves, are always verdant, bearing ripe and green fruit, with blossoms, all at the same time. They have likewise *Tanks* and fountains of fine fresh water, with every thing else that can moderate the heat of the climate, and render life agreeable and pleasant.

To return to the city of *Gombroon*: it is extremely populous, on account of the prodigious commerce carried on by the *Dutch* and *English* factories, as well as the natives. The *French* formerly had a trade here; but they were forced to withdraw their servants upon a revolution that happened in the company's affairs. The *English* factory is situated

^b LOCKYER, ch. 8. HAMILTON, vol. i. c. 9.

(B) Captain *Hamilton* says, *Lockyer* affirms it to be only seven miles from this place is fifteen miles from *Gombroon*; but Mr. *Lockyer* agrees the best geographers.

close upon the sea, at some distance from the *Dutch*, which is a commodious and fine new building. A great part of the company's profit arises from freights. As the natives have not one good ship of their own, and are extremely ignorant of navigation, they freight their goods for *Surat* and other *Indian* marts, in *English* and *Dutch* bottoms, at an exorbitant rate. The commodities of the *Gombroon* market are fine wines of different kinds, raisins, almonds, kismishes, prunellas, dates, pistachio nuts, ginger, silks, carpets, leather, lapis tury, galbanum, ammoniac, assa foetida, tragacanth, with other gums, and a variety of shop medicines. These are in a great measure the produce of *Carmania*, which they bring to *Gombroon* in caravans. The *English* company had a small factory in the province of *Carmania*, chiefly for the sake of a fine wool used by the hatters. Not long since the company had a project of carrying a breed of the goats to *St. Helena*, but what success it has met with we are no-where told. The fleeces of these animals are thick, long, and soft, of a reddish hue, and silky smoothness.

ALTHOUGH the *English* pay no customs, yet the *Shabander* keeps an officer at the factory, who examines every thing brought on shore, and delivered to the merchants, who usually make him a present, to avoid the trouble he has it in his power to give them. All private traders with the company pass enjoy the same privileges, on paying 2 per cent. to the company; one to the agent and one to the broker.

WHEN a ship arrives, the *Shabander* sends his boat on board to know whence she came, what her cargo, and to whom she belongs. Were the *Shabander* applied to, in order to waive the company's privileges, he would hardly fail to extort 8 per cent. on the whole cargo, as is evident from his conduct to the interlopers, during the quarrels between the two companies (C). Hence it is, that most people would

(C) We find the following state of the company's privileges in Mr. *Lockyer's* account of the *India* trade. This gentleman wrote in 1711, since which time no material change in this particular has happened. It is collected from an order hung up in the consultation room, by the agent and council. The honourable Sir *Nicholas*

" *Waitt*, general of *India*, &
" council of *Bombay*, having
" been pleased to appoint
" agent and council to manage
" in *Persia* the affairs of the
" honourable *East India* company;
" ny; we do, by virtue of the
" power given us, and the au-
" thority of our honourable
" masters, represented by us
" appoint and order the follow-

thuse to trade under the company's protection, notwithstanding some inconveniencies attend it. All private trade, either by

"ing rules to be observed by
"all persons whatsoever, sub-
"jects of Great Britain, trade-
"ing under the privileges of
"the East India company, and
"enjoying the advantage of
"their house and protection
"here in Gombroon, until they
"shall be altered or otherwise
"determined by the honoura-
"ble company, or their general
"and council at Bombay.

I. "That if any person in
"the service of the honourable
"company, shall bring any
"goods into their house, or
"ashore to any other place be-
"longing to Armenians, or any
"other natives of this coun-
"try, or foreigners, under col-
"our of his name to defraud
"the king of Persia of his cus-
"toms, he shall be forthwith
"discharged their service, and
"sent to Bombay; there being
"nothing of more dangerous
"consequence, nor more likely
"to occasion the loss of the
"company's privileges, which,
"for so many years, and with
"vast expence, they have been
"obtaining, than such a prac-
"tice. And if any command-
"ers of ships, in the service of
"the company, or private
"ships trading thither, or any
"persons by their leave and
"connivance, shall permit any
"goods to be run or brought
"anywhere else than to the
"custom-house, we declare we
"will protest against them for
"all damages that may there-
"by accrue to the company:
"and we will represent any
"such attempts to the general

"and council at Bombay, with
"as much severity as we can,
"and as the fatal consequences
"of such ruinous actions de-
"serve.

II. "That as the duties the
"company require to be paid
"here on goods exceed not a
"fifth part of what is paid to
"the *Shabander*, so we require
"that when private *English* ship-
"ping come to Persia, to trade
"and merchandize, that they
"bring into the company's
"house in Gombroon, and into
"no other part of Persia, their
"goods, where they must ne-
"cessarily pay customs, which,
"by so ill an example, may oc-
"casion the company to fall
"under the same misfortune.
"In such a case they cannot
"but be esteemed by the gene-
"ral at Bombay, the governors
"of forts, the president in *In-
"dia*, and us here, as open
"enemies to the *British* trade,
"and will be proceeded against
"by the company with all the
"rigour their charter will ad-
"mit of, and to the full extent
"of the act for the exclusive
"trade of *India* to the compa-
"ny. And if any goods be-
"longing to the *English* shall
"not first be brought to the fac-
"tory, we will seize the same,
"and transmit them to Bombay,
"to be there condemned as
"unlicensed and forfeited
"goods.

III. "The consulage hi-
"therto taken by the agents
"on private goods brought to
"the factory, being a *per cent.*
"we in like manner continue

by *European* or country ships, has so long been engrossed by the company's servants, that they now look upon it as their right, and upon their own terms. The agent at *Isfahan* is one-third concerned, the chief of *Gombroon* one-third, and the rest of the factors in *Persia* the remaining third, in all investments. Hence it is, that scarcely an *Englishman* in the place will give a true account of the value of goods against his own interest; yet, that every thing may seem to be done for the benefit of the stranger, the *Chittera*, or broker, acquaints the *Armenian* and *Banian* merchants of what is to be disposed of, and fixes a time for a number of them to meet at the factory. The chief presides as director of the sale; they beat down the price, or let the goods remain, although they can, and do, often sell them the next day at 30 *per cent.* profit. By this collusion, the poor trader is bubbled, and the whole profits flow into the pockets of *English* presidents, agents, brokers, and *Banian* or *Armenian* merchants. Another sensible disadvantage to the private trader is in the advance the broker usually puts on the money he pays. If payment is made in *Abasseees*, he will sometimes charge 10 *per cent.* for the difference in exchange. There is always some

“ the same, and the 1 *per cent.*
 “ granted by them to their
 “ agent, on goods not con-
 “ signed to him. And he is to
 “ be chief in the sale of all
 “ cargoes, if on the place, or,
 “ in his absence, the chief of
 “ *Gombroon*; which 3 *per cent.*
 “ is but one-fifth of 15 *per cent.*
 “ which goods at the custom-
 “ house usually pay before
 “ they are cleared, by over-va-
 “ luing presents to the officers.
 IV. “ If any one load goods
 “ on board any of the compa-
 “ ny's ships without first ac-
 “ quainting the agent, or, in
 “ his absence, the chief, there-
 “ with, the said goods are, by
 “ the company's charter, oblig-
 “ ed to pay, 40 *l.* sterl. *per ton*
 “ freight; besides what other
 “ penalties the general and

“ council of *Bombay* shall think
 “ fit to impose. These man-
 “ ners we have thought fit to
 “ make public, that no person
 “ hereafter may be ignorant of
 “ the same.

“ Given under our hands
 “ at *Gombroon*, &c.

“ Signed,

“ *J. Locke,*

“ *Will. Lee,*

“ *J. Rawlinson,*

“ and

“ *Ed Dennis*” (1)

By this privilege of exacting freight and customs from the *British* private traders the company raises yearly a very considerable revenue.

(1) *Lockyer*, p. 224.

allowance, but the honest broker seldom fails of having two per cent. more than the current price. It is true this is never done by the authority of the company, nor is it countenanced by them; it is only a tax which the avarice, the poverty, and insolence of some chiefs impose on the industrious and fair trader.

TILL of late years the northern provinces of *Perſia*, and moſt of the grand ſignor's dominions, were ſupplied with *Engliſh* cloths by the *Turkey* company. Since then the *East India* company, having taken this branch of trade into conſideration, ſent large quantities of woollen manufactures round the *Cape of Good Hope* to *Gombroon*, and ſo by caravans to the reſpective marts. Some years ago they were very earneſt and intent on the exportation of this article; if they continue it, the advantage will be general, and obviate, in a great meaſure, the clamours we every day hear againſt this monopoly.

AT *Gombroon* all bargains are driven for *Shabees*, and the company keep their accounts in this imaginary coin (for hardly ſuch a piece of money is to be met with), which is valued at four pence. Payments are made in *Coz*, *Mamoodas*, &c. which are the current coin of the country; but horſes, camels, houſes, &c. are commonly ſold or bought by the *Toman*, which is 200 *Shabees*, or 50 *Abasſees*. This is the uſual way of rating eſtates, effects, and a man's wealth; ſuch a man is worth ſo many *Tomans*, as in *England* we ſay he is worth ſo many pounds. Their great weights are *Maunds*, which differ according to the nature of the commodity to be weighed. Sugar, copper, and all ſorts of drugs are ſold by the *Maund Tabrees*, which, in the cuſtom-houſe and factory, is eſteemed at ſix pounds and three quarters *Averdupois*; but in the *Bazar*, reckoned at no more than ſix pounds and a quarter. Eatables, and all ſorts of fruits and vegetables, are ſold by the *Maund Copara*, of ſeven pounds and three quarters in the factory, and from ſeven and a quarter to ſeven and a half in the *Bazar*. Fine goods, as gold, ſilver, muſk, *Achen* camphire, bezoar, coral, amber, cloves, and cinnamon oil, with dyed *China* ſilks, or painted ſatins, are ſold by the *Mifcal*, ſix of which are eſtimated at an ounce *Averdupois*. Its juſt weight is 2 dwts. 23 gr. 24 d. ps. *Troy*. The *Maund Shaw* is two *Maund Tabrees*, uſed in *Iſſahan* (D). To conclude our account of this city, one great

(D) The following table of *Gombroon*, will not be diſagreeable to the curious reader.

great part of the company's profit here arises from passengers with the freight of their effects. They rarely dispatch a ship from *Gombroon* but she is filled with passengers, deep laden with goods, with immense quantities of pearls and treasure on board, sometimes to the value of 300,000 *l*. Upon all these the freight is prodigious, and often rated by the value of the cargo. Although the company has regulated the price of a passage from *Gombroon* to *Surat*; yet the captain of the ship makes a valuable perquisite of it, raising his price according to the wealth and disposition of the passenger. Some gross enormities, and grievous extortions, have been committed in this manner.

THE

10 <i>Cox</i> , or <i>Pice</i> , a } copper coin,	1 <i>Shabee</i> .
2 <i>Shabees</i> — — — —	1 <i>Mamooda</i> ,
2 <i>Shabees</i> and 5 <i>Cox</i> , —	1 <i>Larce</i> .
2 <i>Mamoodas</i> , — — — —	1 <i>Abassees</i> .
4 <i>Mamoodas</i> , or 2 } <i>Abassees</i> , — — — —	1 <i>Surat Rupee</i> .

The *Shabee*, in the company's accounts, is valued at 4 *d*. *Rerl*. The *Saree* is used about *Isphahan*; but *Abassees* are not to be got without allowing 7 and sometimes 8 *per cent*. for the difference of exchange. Yet returns to *Fort St. George*, and other ports of *India*, are commonly made in them. Next to these, *Chequeens* are the most profitable. Of these there are several kinds, of which the *Venetian* are the best by near 2 *per cent*. at *Surat*, and other *Indian* ports. When a parcel of *Venetian* ducats are mixed with others, the whole goes by the name of *Chequeens*; but when separate, one sort is called *Venetian*, and all the rest indifferently by the name of *Gubbas*. As the *Surat Rupees* are overvalued, they seldom pass, few caring to take them at the fixed price (1).

WEIGHTS.

1 <i>Maund Tabrees</i>	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	} <i>Maund</i> is the weight of the <i>Tabrees</i> .
1 <i>Bazar Maund Tabrees</i> , —	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ —	
1 <i>Maund Copara</i> , —	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	
1 <i>Bazar Maund Copara</i> , —	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1 <i>Maund Shau</i> , —	2 <i>Maund Tabrees</i> .	
1 <i>Miscal</i> , 2 dwt. 23 gr. 24 decim. pts.	about one sixth of an ounce <i>Averdupois</i> .	

Charges on the port to those who trade under the company's protection.

2 *Per cent*. on the sale of goods to the company.

1 *Per cent*. consular to the agent.

1 *Per cent*. to the broker.

30 *Mamoodas* per 2000 *Maund Tabrees*, for a boat, or *Traskey*, hired for landing goods.

1 *Cox* of every 20 *Maund Tabrees* for *Hamalage*, or *Cooly*, hire at weighing.

10 Bottles make a chest of wine, each containing five quarts; or two *Carboys* and two bottles to a chest, each *Carby* holding five gallons.

(1) *Lectyr*, p. 242.

THE next sea-port, where the company have a factory, is *Surat*. It is situate in twenty-one deg. and a half north lat. on the banks of the river *Tapee*, and was built in the year 1660. It is the chief trading town in the *Mogul's* dominions, people of all nations generally residing under the protection of the government. Soon after the *English* settled there they removed about two miles farther down the river, on account of some inconveniencies in the former situation. In a little time after, others followed their example; so that in a short space, the spot they had chosen for their residence became a large town. After *Rajah Savajee*, who never submitted to the *Mogul's* authority, had taken and ravaged it, the *European* factories excepted, the inhabitants petitioned *Aurengzeb* to be secured by a wall round their town. Their request was granted, and the city was inclosed with a wall four miles in compass. As trade increased, the people became too numerous for so small a space; to remedy which inconvenience, several large suburbs were added, for the convenience of mechanics. The wall was built of brick, about eight yards in height, with round bastions 200 paces distant from each other, with five or six cannon mounted on each.

*Descrip-
tion of the
town and
English
settlement
of Surat.*

Its flourishing trade was first disturbed by the governor of *Bombay*, an. 1686, the particulars of which we have related. In the year 1695; its trade and tranquility were a second time disturbed by captain *Avery* a pirate. In 1705, when *Aurengzeb* was in his dotage, the neighbouring *Rajahs*, with united forces, besieged *Surat* with 80,000 horse, plundering all the villages in its vicinity. This army being unprovided with artillery, could make no impression on the city, though it extremely straitened it, till this inconvenience was removed by getting provisions by sea from *Guzarat*. While this rabble lay before it, the citizens, under the direction of the *Europeans*, built sconces in convenient places, about half a mile from the walls, to protect the suburbs, which they effectually did, as they were mounted with cannon. In process of time, a high wall between each scone was drawn, by which means the whole suburbs are encompassed. All this inclosure is extremely populous, the inhabitants being computed at 200,000 souls, among which are several merchants of prodigious wealth (E).

THE

Rose water, which is a great commodity at *Gombroon*, is also sold by the chest, twenty-four bottles making a chest. But the sizes of the bottles greatly differ, so that the measure has no certain standard (1). (E) Of this captain *Hamilton* relates a very striking instance, of a *Mohammedan* merchant he

(1) *Lectyer*, p. 247.

THE trade of *Surat* is still very considerable, as appears from the customs and land-rents, amounting to 1,300,000 rupees, or 162,500 l. In *Surat* are a variety of different religions. That by law established is the *Mohammedan*, of *Haji's* sect, the professors of which are called *Moors*. There is one particular sect called *Musey*, who believe both in the *Old Testament* and *Alkoran*, who pay an equal regard to the law of *Moses* and of *Mohammed*. Another sect whom they call *Molacks*, is pretty numerous, and stigmatized with the name of *Heretic* by all the other religions, on account of some detestable rites among them. On an annual festival, the time of celebration only known to themselves, after a great deal of mirth, men and women retire promiscuously into a dark apartment. The women take each a handkerchief, or some token by which they may again be known, before they adjourn to solemnize this rite. Here fathers, daughters, mothers, sons, brothers and sisters, and all without distinction, crouch on mats and carpets spread for the purpose; the women leave their handkerchiefs with persons whom accident has joined to them, and retire from the incestuous embrace. *Aurangzeb* made the solemnization of this festival a capital crime, yet was it never discontinued; and to this day is it practised among the *Molacks*.

OF all the religions in *Surat*, that of the *Banians* is the most numerous. They almost all are merchants, bankers, brokers, accountants, collectors, or surveyors; few or none are bred to mechanical or mean employments, unless we except tailors and barbers. Those who embrace this religion have a variety of sub-distinctions, some reckoning about eighty-five different sects, where the chief articles of belief are the same, and the difference arising only from some ceremonies. The *Brahmans*, or *Bramanies*, are the priests of the greater part of these sects. Another set of priests there is

was acquainted with. This man, called *Abd al Gasur*, drove a trade equal to the *English East India* company. Captain *Hamilton* has known him fit out in one year a fleet of twenty sail from 300 to 800 tons burthen. None of those had a cargo worth less than 10,000 l. and the greater number were valued at 25,000 l.

sterling. This was the stock he exported; what then must his returns have been? His wealth may be judged by this, that, at his death, his estate was divided among four grandsons. Each was wealthy to an extreme; and yet the *Mogul's* court had seized above a million sterling of his effects (1).

(1) *Hamilton's History of the East Indies*, v. i. p. 149.

that declaim against the polity of the former. They are called *Talapains*, and recommend virtue and innocence as the best guides to felicity. A third set called *Jougies* are in great esteem, though less followed than either of the others, on account of the many austerities and mortifications they practise. The *Jougies* condemn riches; they go almost naked, delighting in nastiness, and holy but beastly obscenity, with great shew of sanctity. Some of their austerities exceed belief to those who have not been eye-witnesses of them. Some stand for years on one foot, with their arms tied to the beam of a house or branch of a tree. By this their arms soon lose all motion and use, and often remain so for the remainder of their lives. Others will sit in the sunshine with their faces looking upwards, till they become incapable of altering the posture of their heads, their necks swelling to the breadth of their shoulders. Captain *Hamilton* relates, that he saw a woman in *Surat*, about 30 years of age, who had made a vow to abstain from all food for three months*. The governor, who was a zealous *Mohammedan*, ordered her to be confined in a dark prison, with no other nourishment than water. Before she had remained eighty days in those circumstances, captain *Hamilton*, and several *Europeans* with him, procured admittance to see her. They found her in health and spirits, but low, and her pulse weak. The keepers declared that she had no kind of sustenance but water, nor did she crave for any; and she herself told them that she had once before done the same kind of penance for sixty days. Certain it is, whatever credit we may give to particular relations, that some very extraordinary things are performed by those religious.

THE *Persees* are numerous in *Surat*, and the adjacent country. They are a remnant of the antient *Persians*, who preferred banishment to changing their religion. About the seventh century, when the *Mohammedan* religion overran *Persia*, persecution prevailed, and 500 families were sent to sea in ships and boats, without compass or pilot. This miserable exiled crew, steering eastward, in the southwest monsoons, from *Jasques*, in twenty days fell in with the coast of *India*. As it was night, they were directed to the shore by a fire near the sea-side, by which the fleet steering accidentally put into the river of *Nunfarce*, seven leagues south of *Surat*. When they came on shore the charitable *Indians* flocked round them. Among the *Persians* there were

* HAMILTON; vol. i. c. 14.

some who spoke the *Indian* language; these related the melancholy tale, and the circumstances which had drove them in necessity upon the *Indian* coasts. Their story was heard with humanity, and they were generously invited to settle about *Surat*, at least the place where this city was afterwards founded. The hospitable *Indians* gave them lands to cultivate, and seed to sow their grounds, upon the same conditions and tenure they enjoyed their own farms. They soon multiplied, and have since greatly increased, but without the smallest alteration in their religion. As a particular account of this sect will be found in its proper place in this history, it will be unnecessary to dwell upon it here.

ABOUT *Surat* the fields are all plain, the ground extremely fertile towards the country, but sandy and barren along the coast. Here they have good beef, mutton, and fowls daily exposed in their markets, reasonably cheap. Beef with the bones is sold at three farthings a pound; without them at a penny. Mutton is dearer, but still cheap in comparison of what this country affords; and their best fowls are sold at six pence and seven pence. Fish, wild fowl, and hare, are more than proportionably cheaper. The country affords abundance of wheat, pease, and beans, but no oats or barley. Here there is a species of legumen called *Dole*, which the natives mix with rice. These they boil together, and form a dish to which they give the name of *Kitcheree*, the common food of the country. They eat it with butter and salt-fish, and it is a pleasant nourishing diet, of which the great *Aurengzeb* was particularly fond. In short, no convenience in life is wanting in this pleasant country and city.

THE *Mogul* has always a governor and garrison in a large fort adjoining to the town, and that commands the river. The *English*, *Dutch*, and *French* have their factories here; but the *Moors*, *Banians*, *Armenians*, *Arabs*, and *Jews*, drive a much greater trade than the *Europeans*, although they chiefly use the shipping of the latter in long voyages. Both the *English* companies, before they were united, had houses in *Surat*, of which they are still in possession. The lower servants live in the old house, and the president and council in the new. Both the *English* and *Dutch* directors or agents make a good figure at *Surat*; this appearance of consequence and splendor being unavoidable in the eastern countries, where any degree of reputation must be kept up (F).

ALL

(F) Some years ago the order and oeconomy of the *English* factory was this. A president, accomptant, store-keeper, and purser-

ALL the *English* pay three and a half *per cent.* on merchandize, jewels, gold, and silver, they import or send abroad; whereas the *Dutch* pay but two and a half *per cent.* Here is no book of rates, as in *China*, every thing without distinction being charged *ad valorem*. The custom-house is the most scrupulous and strict in their searches and examinations of any in *India*. *Surat* may be looked upon

putter-marine formed the council. These had a secretary who succeeded in council, on a vacancy. Besides, the company had factors, writers, and apprentices, who served three or five years according to agreement, after which they were gradually promoted. They had their diet and lodging in the factory, as well as salaries, with a liberty of trading to the different ports of *India*. Those of any credit, who were in want of money, borrowed it of the *Banians* at 25 *per cent.* bottomry, which they often converted to a profit of *cent. per cent.* The company had a chaplain, who preached once and read prayers thrice on *Sundays*, and twice on week-days; took place after the second in council, was treated with great respect, having a fine horse caroused, or a coach and handsome retinue always to attend him. The president's salary was 300 *l. per ann.* that of the second in council 120 *l.* the chaplains 100 *l.* each of the senior factors 40 *l.* the junior 15 *l.* the writers 7 *l. per ann.* and the lower servants in proportion.

The factory was rented of the *Mogul* at 60 *l. per ann.* a price not exorbitant, considering it afforded convenient apartments for 40 persons, besides

handsome lodgings for the president, having, withal, cellars, a large warehouse, a *Tanque*, and a *Hummum*. Formerly the president had the superintendency of all the company's settlements on the west side of *India*, and towards the north. The table where the whole factory eat was splendidly adorned, and sumptuously provided. He kept three cooks; and all the dainties the country supplied, with the best of liquors. Every thing was served up in silver, and still more magnificence appeared on *Sunday*. After dinner the president frequently invited the rest of the factory to a small desert in the country. Thither he was carried in his *Palanquin* on the shoulders of *Pæons*, with two union flags before him, and some fine *Persian* or *Arabian* led horses, richly accoutred. The saddles of these, as well as of the horses the factors rode, were of embroidered velvet; the bits of the bridles, stirrups, &c. of massive silver; the captain of the *Pæons*, at the head of 50 men armed, always preceding. The council followed in open coaches, drawn, after the manner of the country, by fine white oxen, and the rest of the company, some in chaises, and some on horseback (1).

(1) *Lockyer, Salmon, Hamilton, ibid.*

as the repository of all the valuable rarities, and jewels and precious stones, of the coasts of *Africa*, *Malabar*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *Indostan*. The *Bazar* is continually replete with *Cambay* stones, as agates and cornelians, from a *pice* or *corge*, to a *rupee* each. The streets on both sides are crowded with rich shops, resembling one of our richest towns. Their artists shew great genius in many branches, particularly in turning and working in ivory, a staple commodity among them, which they polish with infinite beauty and dexterity. Vast quantities of elephants teeth are yearly imported from the coasts of *Africa* and other parts; they are manufactured chiefly at *Surat*; and one would be amazed to think what a consumption of this elegant production there is within the *Mogul's* dominions.

THE current coins of *Surat* are *rupees* and *pice*; yet in accounts they reckon by *rupees*, *anas*, and *pice*: thus sixteen *pice* make an *ana*, four *anas* one *rupee*. *Venetians* and *Gubbers* have no fixed standard of value. As to the weights used at *Surat*, they are different in buying and selling, and adapted to different sorts of goods. *Bezoar* is sold by the *tola*, almost eight penny-weights troy, which is divided into thirty-two *vols*: diamond bolt they sell by the *ruttee*, of seventeen grains and a half: musk by the *seer*: and bulky commodities by the *maund*, and *Candy Borroch*. They commonly reckon forty *seer* to a *maund*, and twenty *maund* to a *Candy Borroch*. Pepper, assa foetida, dry ginger, benjamin, tyncal, and saltpetre, have forty-two *seer* to the *maund*; some goods rise higher, having forty-four *seer* to the *maund*; so that the criterion of weight is uncertain. On this account it is common in all bargains to specify the number of *seers* to be allowed in a *maund*; and strangers are often imposed on, from their ignorance of this. We shall dismiss this account, with observing, that *Surat* is still a flourishing, populous, industrious, and rich town, although the *English* trade thither has greatly fallen off of late years, and since the presidency has been removed to *Fort St. George*^d (G).

We

^d LOCKYER, c. 2. HAMILTON in the table of coins at the end of vol. ii.

(G) The *English*, as well as the *French* and *Dutch* factories sustain numberless inconveniences from being so much in the power of the *Moors*. If any shipping belonging to the latter fall into the hands of pirates, they expect to be reimbursed by the *Europeans*, and when this is refused they sometimes block up the factories with a body of troops. The *Dutch*, however, have

We next come to the island of *Bombay*, the property of the *East India* company, in the latitude of nineteen degrees north, about forty miles north of *Dunda Dejapore*. The *Portuguese*, who possessed themselves of it soon after their arrival in *India*, gave it the name of *Boon Bay*, from the excellency of its harbour, which, it is affirmed, will conveniently hold a thousand ships at anchor. We have already related many particulars of this famous island. To these we shall only add, that it is about seven miles in length, and twenty in circumference. The principal town is near

have found means to procure satisfaction, by blocking up the *Mogul's* ports with their fleets. An instance of the insults sometimes put upon *Europeans* happened, in 1691. This year *Abdel Gaffour*, of whom we have made mention, complained that a ship of his had been taken by *Malmes*, by which is meant *Europeans*. Satisfaction was expected of the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, and their factories were surrounded with a strong body of horse and foot. Upon this the *English* president represented to the governor, that no credit was to be given to *Abdel Gaffour*, having formerly suborned several sailors to depose that one of his ships was taken, although they afterwards acknowledged that they had been bribed to give a false testimony. But that, should the charge appear to be true, it was as unreasonable that they should be obliged to stand to all damages committed at sea, as that the *Mogul* should indemnify all robberies on shore. The pirates at sea were neither authorized, within the power, or in the least known to the company.

Notwithstanding this equitable remonstrance, still the fac-

tories were closely invested, nor were they permitted free egress and regress till it was known that the *Danes* had taken *Gaffour's* ship, by way of reprisal for some injury they had received, the troops continuing four months to block up the *European* houses. On the year following the same *Abdel Gaffour*, to make up his losses, exhibited another complaint of a ship's being taken and plundered at sea. He procured the *English* factors to be confined, the suspicion falling chiefly upon them. Happily, however, the fraud was discovered, it happening that part of the money the *Moor* pretended to have lost was brought by himself, clandestinely, on shore, and lodged in a garden by the river side. This brought infamy on the accuser, and procured liberty to the *English*, but still did not remove the inconvenience of being subjected again to the same usage. Besides, that however palpably the deceit of *Gaffour* appeared, yet great presents must be made to the viceroy, for his goodness in setting the innocent free; for here justice, truth, and every other virtue are bought and sold (7).

(7) *Hamilton*, vol. i. *Salmon* vol. i. p. 244.

a mile long, but the houses are mean, low, and paltry, a few only excepted, belonging to the *Portuguese*. The fort, which stands at a little distance from the town, we have already described. The soil is sterile, and not capable of improvement; nor has the island any good water upon it. The best is what they preserve in cisterns after rain, that which their wells furnish having a brackish disagreeable taste. Those who can afford to keep servants may be tolerably supplied from a spring, some miles distant from the town. What the estates on the island chiefly consist in, are fine groves of cocoa nut trees. Their gardens also produce mangoes, jacks, and other *Indian* fruits. They make salt in large quantities, by letting the sea into the pits, where the sun evaporates the watry part, while the saline is left behind.

As, to the air and climate they are rather unhealthy, although the natives, and persons seasoned to the country, live easily to a good old age. Most persons on their arrival are seized with fevers, fluxes, scrophulous disorders, or a disease they call the *Barbiers*, which wholly enervates the body, and reduces it to a total state of inactivity, and a deprivation of all the loco-motive faculties. After rains a multitude of venomous creatures appear, which grow to an extraordinary size. Their spiders are as large as a walnut, and their toads almost equal a duck in magnitude.

THE inhabitants are a mixture of several nations, *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Indians*, amounting in all to near 60,000, although some diminish this number by 10,000. Formerly the president of *Bombay* appeared with the state, magnificence, and pomp of a crowned head. He was attended, when he went abroad, with troops of *Moors* and *Bandarins*, colours flying, drums beating, and music playing. After the presidency was removed, the governor's splendor diminished; and, indeed, this vanity is kept up among no *European* nations to its former height, unless we except the *Dutch* government of *Batavia*. About two leagues from the fort is a small island belonging to the company, called *Butchers Island*, of no other use besides grazing a few cattle, and hauling ships for careening on shore. At a league's distance from hence is another larger island, called *Elephants Island*, from the image of that animal carved out in a large black stone, seven foot high. As this little island is still the property of the *Portuguese*, we shall defer an account of it to its proper place.

Baroach. THE company has a small settlement at *Baroche*, or *Baroach*, a town situated on a hill fifty miles north of *Surat*. This

This place was formerly walled round, and esteemed of considerable strength; but the fortifications have been long in ruins. However it has still a tolerable trade, carried on chiefly by the *English* and *Dutch* agents residing here. Of late, we are told, the *English* have withdrawn theirs.

THE next *English* settlement we meet with is *Corwar*, *Corwar*. more considerable than the former, though but a small fort. It stands in the latitude of fifteen degrees north, seven leagues to the south of *Cabo de Rama*, or, as the *English* call it, *Cape Ramus*. It has the advantage of a good harbour on the south side of a bay, and a river capable of receiving ships of three hundred tons burthen. It is one of the pleasantest and most healthful settlements the company hath on the *Mz-labar* coast. The country round is fertile and beautiful; in general, indeed, it is mountainous and woody; but the vallies abound with corn and pepper, and the woods with game of various kinds. Here are tigers, wolves, wild hogs, monkeys, deer, elks, and wild cattle of a prodigious size. Mr. *Hamilton* saw a bull kill'd, whose quarters, taken together, weighed a ton, besides the head, hide, and garbage (H). A great variety of beautiful birds, as wild peacocks, pheasants, &c. are found in the woods: nor is the sea less bountiful in all manner of fish.

THE company has here a chief and council to manage the trade, principally valuable on account of the fine pepper, which is the natural product of the country. The factory is fortified with two bastions, each mounting nine or ten cannon, and the garrison consisting of thirty *Topasses*, besides *English*. The president is held in great esteem by the natives. When he hunts, all the people of condition in the vicinage attend him. They bring their vassals and servants with them, armed with fire arms, lances, and other weapons, and preceded by a number of warlike instruments, as drums, hautboys, and trumpets. When the *Mogul's* general had conquered this province, and taken possession of it for *Aurangzeb*, he burnt the *English* house, at the time the factory

(H) So famous is the *Sandab* fion in its utmost perfection. They *Rajah's* country for hunting, spent three years at *Corwar*, that, in the year 1681, two gentlemen, Mr. *Limbourg* and a son hunted perpetually, lived with great splendor, and at last returned to *England*, Mr. *Goring* of lord *Goring*, made a voyage to *Sijapore* to enjoy that diver- dying on the voyage (8).

(8) *Capt. Hamilton's account of the East Indies*, v. i. p. 253.

were at dinner with him. This obliged the company to build the fort they now possess. The architect or engineer has shewn no great judgment in the choice of the situation, which is at least a league from the sea ; an error that appears strongly from the accident we have related to have happened A. 1718.

BEFORE *Aurengzeb* conquered *Visapore*, the country produced the finest *Betteelas*, or muslins, in *India*. At *Corwar* the company had a great trade, employing 50,000 people in that branch of manufacture. When the *Mogul's* licentious army entered the province, all manner of industry was ruined. They plundered the inhabitants, cut the company's cloth from the looms, and used the weavers so rudely, that they forsook the country. Since that time trade has never recovered itself, nor risen to that flourishing height at which it then was. Their coins and weights differ in nothing from those in use at *Surat* °.

Telli-
cherry.

WE proceed to *Tellicherry*, a small settlement belonging to the *India* company on the *Malabar* coast. It stands on the frontiers of *Adda Rajah's* dominions, and is fortified with stone walls and cannon, the company keeping a constant garrison of thirty or forty soldiers in it. The place where the factory is situated was formerly possessed by the *French*. They left the mud walls of a fort they had built standing, which the factors lived in for some time after ; but some years ago the company was at considerable pains and charges in building. We are at a loss to conjecture why they should be at any expence in fortifying a place which affords no protection to the shipping, or even to their warehouse. Behind the fort is the town, surrounded by a stone wall, which is indeed necessary, as the company were for a while at a kind of perpetual war with the *Nayer*. Their quarrel had its rise in the year 1703 ; but if it ever came to blows, the bloodshed was so little, as to deserve no notice here. The *Nayer* demands a kind of duty from every ship that unloads in his ports ; but this is often paid to the *English* chief, which renews the dispute between him and the *Nayers*. The established religion of the town and country round is paganism ; but there are a few black Christians, that live under the protection of the factory. The coins are five *finams* and a half to a *rupee*, three *rupees* to a *chequeen*, or *maggerbee*. *Maggerbees*, *gubbers*, and *venetians*, are all of a weight ; the

° HAMILTON, vol. i. c. 23. and the table above. LOCKYER, c. 9.

former, however, is of a paler, less pure gold, not above three-fourths of the fineness of the others. Their weights are twenty *pollams* to a *maund*, and twenty *maund* to a *candy*. The *maund* is about twenty-eight pounds and a half. Of this, as of the other *Malabar* settlements, the chief trade consists in pepper and cardamoms, ^f.

At *Anjengo* the company have another small fort and settlement, in latitude $8^{\circ} 30'$ north. It is the most southerly possession they have upon the *Malabar* coast. The fort is regular, having two bastions, joined by a curtain, all of them mounted with cannon, as is likewise a platform towards the sea. On the land side it is secured by a deep and broad river, that, after winding round the greatest part of the fort, empties itself in the sea, a little to the south. This river would be useful, if the bar was not too shallow for ships of burden. A chief and three counsellors reside here, who, with a surgeon and a few servants, compose the whole factory. The governor's lodgings are within the walls of the fort: they are thatched with palm-leaves and mats; in other respects they are neat, and even elegant. The chief intention of this settlement is for managing the pepper trade, which is here of a less grain, and not so good as more to the north towards *Corwar*. Some attribute the fault to the manner of gathering it, before it is ripe; others blame the soil and climate. Here *rupees* are the current money. They likewise have *venetians*, *gubbers*, *maggerbees*, and *pagodas*. Their weights resemble those of *Tellicherry* and *Corwar* ^g.

We come now to speak of *Fort St. David*, a settlement of *Fort St.* more consequence to the company than any we have yet mentioned, *Bombay* excepted. It stands in the latitude of $11^{\circ} 40'$ north. Formerly it had the name of *Tegapatán*, which it still retains in some of the best modern maps, particularly in the *Atlas universelle*, par *M. Roberts*. A. 1686 a *Maharatta* prince sold it to Mr. *Elisba Yale*, for the use and benefit of the *East India* company. The price, with its territories, was 90,000 *pagodas*, a sum which the company has had no reason to complain of. Its territory extends about eight miles along the sea-coast, and four miles up the country, which is pleasant, healthful, and fertile, watered with a variety of rivers, that add to the strength and beauty of the fort, and fertility of the adjacent soil. The fort is regular, mounted with cannon, and always well provided and garri-

^f See the cited authors, as above.

^g SALMON, vol. I.

sioned, which is the more necessary, on account of its vicinity to *Pôndicherry*. Besides, ever since the time that *Aurangzeb* conquered *Visapora* and *Golkonda*, numbers of malecontents have kept possession of the mountains, who frequently make dangerous incursions into the open country. Here they ravage, plunder, and destroy every thing in their way; nor can they be repelled, or at least suppressed, by the *Mogul's* forces (1). When the *English* purchased *Fort St. David*, the *Dutch* had a little factory there, which to this day they retain. They find that security and peace under the *English* at *Fort St. David* and *Madras*, which they denied them at *Poleroon* and *Amboina*. It is true, the *Dutch* can possess no open trade here, without paying a certain duty to the *English* company. This colony produces good long cloths, in large quantities. They have either brown, white, blue, or other colours; also *sallampores*, *morees*, *dimities*, *ginghams*, *succatoons*. In short, this colony is the prop of *Fort St. George*, since without it it would make but a poor figure in commerce, notwithstanding its vicinity to the diamond mines of *Golkonda*. As to the coins, weights, manners of the natives, religion, produce, and climate, they differ but little from those we have already described, and more nearly resemble those of *Madras*, upon which we are now going to enter¹.

Madras, *MADRASS*, or *Fort St. George*, as it is usually called, *the head* from the company's fort there, is situated in $13^{\circ} 30'$ north

¹ HAMILTON'S History of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 27.

(1) In the year 1698, before *Fort St. David* was fortified in the manner it now is, they were near becoming masters of the settlement by stratagem and surprize. As the contrivance was a little extraordinary, the reader may be pleased with a relation of it. They pretended to Mr. *Fraser*, then governor, that they were sent from the viceroy of *Visapora* to take charge of the revenue collected at *Porto Novo*, which they were carrying to the treasury at *Visapora*. As they apprehended danger from the *Mabaratta* freebooters, they

requested leave to lodge it for a few days in *Fort St. David*, which they obtained. Accordingly they brought into the fort ten or twelve oxen loaded with stores instead of treasure, each ox having two attendants, and the whole escorted by a body of 200 men. The governor admitted the treasure, but had the circumspection to oblige the guard to remain in a grove without the gate for the night. Thus disappointed, they attempted to enter by force, but were beat back, and then the conspiracy was detected (9).

(9) *Hamilton*, vol. i.

latitude,

latitude, 80° longitude; though some geographers erroneously make it 95°. The natives give it the appellation of *its description*, *China Patani*. It is distant about three miles to the north of *St. Thomas*.

St. Thomas, an ancient place, famous for a number of legends and fabulous tales (K). As it is a settlement of the utmost conse-

(K) *St. Thomas*, or *Melapour*, was once the most considerable city on the coast of *Coromandel*. When the *Portuguese* settled in it, it was almost in ruins, and totally abandoned by the inhabitants. They built it again, giving it the name of *St. Thomas*, whom tradition affirms to have suffered martyrdom here. His sepulchre is said to be on a hill at a small distance from the town, where the *Portuguese* finding some human bones, immediately enshrined them. To this day the black *Portuguese* hold this place in veneration. The cave in which the saint was supposed to have hid himself; till the storm of pagan persecution was blown over, the *Portuguese* covered with a church. Another church they built on the hill where he was killed; and here they keep the lance which put him to death; a relic which is held in pious detestation.

Few people, perhaps, will subscribe to all that tradition relates of this holy man, altho' it is beyond doubt there were Christians in this part of *India* as far back as the time of *Alfred*, as we have already mentioned. The *Portuguese*, on their arrival, found Christians in the place, who held the memory of *St. Thomas* in great esteem, but refused to submit to the pope's supremacy. The missionaries

have since converted them, yet still they keep up some distinctions, and are not entirely united with the *Roman catholic* religion. *St. Thomas's* was erected into a bishopric by the *Portuguese*, having several villages under its jurisdiction. The churches, monasteries, and private buildings were magnificent beyond credit, for that part of the world. It was regularly fortified, and became a flourishing, rich, and populous town; but they were beat out of it by the *Moors*.

In the year 1686, the *French* came before it with a fleet of ten sail, and took it, the king of *Golkonda* being then sovereign of the city and district round it. The *Dutch* who were jealous of their getting a footing in *India*, about four years after, blocked the *French* up with a fleet of fifteen ships, while the king of *Golkonda*, with an army, besieged it by land. The town holding out beyond expectation, the *Dutch* admiral landed 700 seamen, who joining the *Moors*, took it. Upon this the fortifications were destroyed, and the place quite dismantled, in which manner it now remains. The *Europeans* do not think it worth while to have factories here, though it is still inhabited by the descendants of the *Portuguese*, *Moors*, *Jentoos*, and a mixture of other nations, and is a

consequence to the *India* company, on account of its strength, wealth, and great yearly returns in calicoes and muslins, a minute description of it may be agreeable to the reader. Within these few years, *Madras* has received great improvements, equally to the honour and advantage of the company, and satisfaction of their council and governor there.

It is seated in a plain sandy situation, so close to the sea, that its walls have sometimes been endangered by the beating of prodigious furges; for here the ocean rolls higher than on any other part of the *Coromandel* coast. Behind it is defended by a salt water river, which adds to its security, but takes away from its conveniency, by obstructing all fresh water springs. This obliges the inhabitants to send above a mile for water that is drinkable. In the rainy season the sea threatens destruction on the one side, while the river is no less terrifying on the other, from the apprehension of an inundation. The sun, from *April* to *September*, is scorching hot, and without the sea breezes to moisten and cool the air, the place would not be habitable. This may be better understood from a more minute account of its situation on the globe. It is near 4,800 miles to the eastward of *London*, so that the sun visits them six hours earlier than it does us, and sets about our dinner time. There is so little difference in the length of the days, that it is always reckoned to be six o'clock at sun-rising and setting.

THE reason for this bad choice of a settlement is variously related. The person intrusted by the company to build a fort on the *Coromandel* coast, in the reign of *Charles* the 11d, pitched upon this spot as the most likely to ruin the *Portuguese* trade at *St. Thomas*. Others, again, assert, that Sir *William Langhorne*, for he was the founder, had reasons less politic in view, having no other motive than its vicinity to a mistress he had at the *Portuguese* colony. Be that as it will, certain it is, he could not have chosen a place less commodious for a settlement, and the intentions of his employers. About the city the soil is so poor, dry, and sandy, that it produces not a blade of grass spontaneously, nor corn with culture. The roots, herbage, and other vegetables, consumed in the place, are brought from a considerable dis-

bishop's see. The people in general are poor, the whole trade being engrossed by *Madras*, whither many of the *Portuguese* have likewise removed (10).

(10) *Hamilton*, vol. i. p. 260. *Lectyer*, c. i. *Salmon*, vol. i. p. 231.

ante (L). In short, nothing can be more unhappy than the aspect, more disagreeable or less commodious than the situation; yet, under all these disadvantages, it is the company's head settlement, and, next to *Batavia*, the richest European port in *India*.

THE fort lies N. N. E. and S. S. W. in the middle of the *White or English Town*. It is a regular square, about 100 yards on each side, built with a stone they call iron-stone, honey-combed externally, and of the colour of iron. It has no moat; and the walls are arched and hollow within, which greatly diminishes their strength. It has two gates, looking east and west; the latter, towards the land, is large, and always defended by two files of musqueteers, on the right and left: the former, to the sea, is small, and watched only by one file of soldiers. At night the keys are brought to the governor, or, in his absence, to the next in council. In the centre stands the governor's house, in which also are apartments for the company's servants. It is a handsome, lofty, square stone building: the first rooms are ascended by ten or twelve steps, from which another pair of stairs leads to the council-chamber and the governor's lodgings.

THE *White-Town*, where the *Europeans* live, is about a quarter of a mile in length, and near half as much in breadth. Captain *Hamilton* calls it 400 paces long, and 150 broad. To the northward of the fort are three decent, strait streets, and an equal number to the south. The houses are flat-roofed, built with brick, and covered with a plaister made of sea shells, which no rain can penetrate. The walls are thick, and rooms lofty; but few of them exceed one floor, though some are raised a floor above ground. What seems peculiar to this country is, that the upper floors are paved with brick, instead of being laid with boards. From the dimensions of the town it may be concluded, that the

(L) One cannot help being surprized that Sir *W. Langborn* did not make choice of *Cabelin*, about six leagues to the southward, where the ground is fertile, the water good, with the conveniency of a point of rocks to facilitate boats to land; whereas now they are forced to use *Masoola's*, or ill-shaped flat-bottom boats, sewed with *Coyr*

twine, on account of the swelling of the sea, and surges that roll upon the shore. *Policat*, where the *Dutch* have settled, would also have been a good situation; here is a fine soil, navigable river, good water, and the surges broke by banks of sand that run three leagues into the sea.

number of houses is not infinite, any more than the gardens and courts large. Indeed, the former are without the town, and as to the latter they are of little use, the houses for the most part standing close to the street. Opposite to the west gate of the fort is a barrack, where the company's soldiers lodge when off guard: and adjoining to it is a very convenient hospital, whither they are conveyed and carefully attended when sick. At the other end of the barrack is a mint, where the company coin gold and silver. North of the fort stands the *Portuguese* church; and to the south the *English* church, a pretty neat building: it has an handsome altar-piece, a gallery of fine carved wood, and an organ. It is paved with white and black marble, the seats regular and convenient, and the whole light, elegant, and airy. What diminishes its beauty, but adds to its conveniency, is that the windows are not glazed; which would make it insupportably hot. At present the cooling breezes having a thorough passage, make it so cool, that persons may go through their devotions with tolerable ease. A town-house, where the magistrates assemble and a court of justice is held, concludes the public buildings. The whole is encompassed with a strong wall, of the same stone with which the fort is built. It is defended by batteries, bastions, half-moons, and flankers; the whole mounted with near 200 pieces of cannon and three mortars, including the guns on the outworks, besides field pieces. Round it, on the west side, runs the river, by which alone, and a battery, it is defended here, having now all where the river is perfectly deep (*). South of the *White Town* is a little suburb, the residence of the black watermen, by whom it is wholly possessed. It consists of little, low, thatched cottages, hardly deserving the name of buildings. Beyond this is an out-guard of blacks, to give notice of any danger. In short, it cannot well be attacked, except on the south or north sides; for towards the sea the swell and surges of that element are a perfect security.

As to the *Black Town*, called *Madras*, and sometimes *Chinapatam*, it is inhabited by *Jentoos*, *Mohammedans*, and *Indian* Christians, as *Armenians* and *Portuguese*; nor is it without a number of *Jews*. It was walled in to the land side, under the government of Mr. *Pitt*. Apprehending that the *Mogul's* general in *Golkonda* might one day visit them,

(*) What improvements it may have received since it fell into the hands of the *French*, in the late war we have no circumstantial intelligence; that some additions have been made is certain.

he persuaded the inhabitants to secure themselves and their property by a small contribution towards fortifying the place. The wall is of brick, seventeen foot thick, with bastions at proper distances, after the modern rules of fortification. It has also a river on the west, and the sea on the east. To the north a canal is cut from the river to the sea, which serves for a moat on that side. This town is about a mile and a half in circumference, and might be reckoned a place of strength, if the garrison were always proportioned. Indeed, the accident that befel the company in the last French war, has made them more attentive to its security. The fortifications have received great improvements; a body of his majesty's troops, as well as of the company's soldiers, are generally in garrison, at least in time of war: nor are stores, provisions, or any other necessaries, wanting for its defence and security. In the *Black Town* the streets are wide, with trees planted in some of them, which give great beauty and shelter from the piercing beams of the sun. Some of the houses are of brick; the rest miserable cottages, without a window to be seen on the outfides, or furniture within, except the mats and carpets they lie on. They are built with clay, and thatched; and of the same materials are the habitations of the *Indians* of better condition, who generally preserve the same form, with a square hole at the top to admit the light. Before their doors are little shades or porches, further than which they seldom invite strangers. Here they sit morning and evening to receive their friends, and transact business.

THE town is, in general, very populous; one of those little mean cottages containing seven, eight, or ten in a family; yet with all this appearance of poverty, few places abound more in wealth, ready specie no-where circulating with greater rapidity. The *Bazar*, or market-place, is every day crowded, and exchanges of property of immense value made, which they transfer with the same facility with which it is done on the *Exchange of London*. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of this town have nothing poor, mean, or unclean, but the outside aspect: all within is neat, decent, and, if the furniture is not rich, at least the landlord is generally so. In the *Black Town* stands an *Armenian* church, with several little *Pagodas*, or *Indian* temples, to which belong a number of priests, and female choristers. Those girls are early devoted to religion, in which they spend one part of their time, while the remainder is given up to their gallants of any nation, complexion, or religion. They constitute part of the equipage of a great man, upon all public occasions,

occasions, and when he proposes to make a figure. Formerly the governor of *Fort St. George* used to be attended with fifty of them, as well as by the country music, when he went abroad; but the attendance of the ladies has been of late years dispensed with.

BESIDES the town of *Madras*, the company have a property in several of the neighbouring villages, from which they draw a considerable annual revenue; the whole having been purchased of the king of *Golkonda*, before the *Mogul* became sovereign of his country. They have also a house and garden at *St. Thomas's Mount*. Beyond the *Black Town* are gardens that extend for half a mile, planted with *cocoa nuts*, *guavas*, *mangoes*, *oranges*, and the most delicious fruits, which may be bought for a trifle, together with the liberty of walking in the gardens.

To begin with the privileges of the governor: he has, in the first place, the filling up of vacancies in the *Romish* church in the *White Town*, and may, as Mr. *Hamilton* observes, be called the Pope's legate *a latere* in spiritualities. In conjunction with the council, he is supreme director of the company's affairs. They dispose of all places of trust and profit; inflict punishments on all *Europeans* in the service, short of life and member; and, indeed, their power may be said to extend even to life, since they can commit to the *cock-room*, a no less sure, though more slow death than a halter. A court of mayor and aldermen sit twice a week in the town-hall, where the *Asiatic* inhabitants sue for debts, and implead one another. Suits among *Europeans* are generally determined by a jury, in the judge advocate's court, to which belong attorneys, sergeants, and bailiffs. There are also justices of the peace, who hold their sessions periodically in the *Black Town*, and decide criminal matters among the *Indian* inhabitants. They do not proceed to punishment in capital cases; yet there have been instances where they have ordered a criminal's ears to be cut off on the pillory. A court of admiralty there likewise is for maritime affairs; and the governor sometimes permits the head officers to hold courts martial for the trial of offenders. Persons guilty of capital offences are confined, as we observed, to the *cock-room*, dark as a dungeon, and hot as a bagnio, where their only nourishment is rice and water. They are supposed to be sent to *Europe* to take their trials; but a very little of this confinement is sufficient to render that trouble unnecessary.

BUT what constitutes the chief power of the governor is, the dispensing privilege he assumes of annulling the decision of the court of aldermen, and even that of the judge advocate.

cate. As the town is a corporation by charter, the mayor and aldermen are chosen by the free burghers; but the governor, it is imagined, generally determines their choice. Although it has laws and ordinances of its own, a court in form, in which the mayor and aldermen sit in their gowns, with their maces before them; yet a few pagodas well placed, or a message from the governor, turns the scale of justice. In piracy, by an act of *George* the first, the company can delegate a power over life and death to the governor and council: this is frequently attended with unhappy consequences, since other trespasses are often strained into piracy. It gives the governor an undue influence over private traders, and too many opportunities of venting his spleen and resentment, arising from interest, prejudice, and personal views. In short, the government, civil and military, of the fort and both towns, is vested first in the governor, then in the council, and by them parcelled out into the inferior courts, over which they preserve their pristine influence, power, and authority.

THE soldiers are, for the most part, hardly used: scarce a day passes but some of them are punished by some means. Tying them to a post, and whipping them, is the punishment most in use. This makes them dislike and hate the government they should defend. Servile punishments of this nature have been found by experience to enervate the spirit, and sink the courage, of a soldier. Their being cooped up like slaves, and never permitted to go abroad, fits them, indeed, for any thing, however servile, and renders this punishment somewhat necessary. The inconveniencies of this severity of discipline cannot be set in a stronger light, than they appeared at the last siege of *Madras*. When an enemy was without the walls, and the soldiers found themselves necessary to the protection of the place, then they set order, government, and discipline at defiance, breaking out into the most unseasonable and extravagant licentiousness. Another hardship the soldiers justly complain of: it is, that, though they have served forty years, they shall not be released. How widely does this differ from the *Roman* regulations! If they are hardy enough to petition for their discharge, a dungeon will probably be their portion.

THE governor is not only president of *Fort St. George*, but of all the other settlements on the *Malabar* and *Coromandel* coasts, as far as the island of *Sumatra*; for the governors at *Marlborough Fort*, &c. are, in fact, but deputies, who receive their instructions from him. Some new regulations in this particular have been made, we are informed, in respect to *Calcutta*, and the settlements about the *Ganges*. The governor

vernor is also captain of the first company of soldiers, the next in council of the second. Till lately, those who bore the name of captains were, in fact, but lieutenants, and had pay as such : this the company have been forced to alter, as no man of any degree of merit would enter into their service. However, for some time, they denied the captains the advantage of paying their companies ; but this likewise they have been forced to give up ; so that now the pay and perquisites of a company, in time of peace, amount to 700*l. per annum* (M).

ALTHOUGH the governor's salary is but small, not exceeding 300*l. per annum*, yet trade and perquisites make it an extreme lucrative employment. When he goes abroad, he has the respect paid to him of a sovereign prince. The guards are drawn out, the drums beat as he passes, and fifty or sixty blacks run before him. His *Palanquin* is also escorted by a body of soldiers, armed with blunderbusses ; a numerous train of servants follows ; and notice of his march is given by the country music, and the harsh dissonance of their trumpets. But the greatest piece of luxury is his being fanned by persons whose sole business it is to attend him for that purpose, on his visits and excursions. Much of this pomp is now laid aside ; and the governor of *Fort St. George* was ever infinitely short of the pomp seen at *Batavia*.

THE council is composed of the six senior *European* merchants, who have salaries from 100 to 40*l. per ann.* according to their seniority. Every member has a respect shewn him proportioned to his seat in council, and all of them are greatly superior in dignity to any other inhabitant. They are summoned twice or thrice in a week, according to the urgency of affairs, and the governor's pleasure. All orders, general letters, and weekly accounts, as warehouses, sea-gate, storekeepers, &c. are examined, passed, and signed by them, or the secretary by their order.

(M) A lieutenant's pay is 14 pagodas, about 6*l. 6s.* more or less, according to the rate of pagoda, *per month* ; the pay of an ensign is 4*l. 19s. per month* ; a serjeant's 2*l. 5s.* a corporal's and gunner's 1*l. 5s.* ; and a common soldier's 1*l. 2s. 9d. per month*. Upon this a private man lives well, provisi-

ons being exceeding cheap. He always appears in fine clean linen, by reason of the great abundance of callico manufactures. He has his boy to wait on him ; for the *Indians* are glad to have their children attend the *English* to learn the language (11).

THERE are also two senior merchants, who have 40 *l.* a year each, and two junior merchants with salaries of 30 *l.* *per ann.* five factors at 15 *l.* *per ann.* ten writers at 5 *l.* *per ann.* each. These dine at the company's table, and have lodgings provided for them; succeed in course to employments and trade if they can raise a capital; yet withal, no persons in the universe work harder for bread. The company allow two chaplains of the fort 100 *l.* *per ann.* each, and a house. They are not permitted to trade publicly, yet few or none return without large fortunes. The surgeon of the fort has 40 *l.* *per ann.* salary, but innumerable ways besides of replenishing his pockets. The judge advocate's salary is 100 *l.* with which, and other emoluments, he lives with the affluence of a lord chief justice in *England*. The company have also two mint officers, call'd Essay Masters, to whom they allow salaries of 120 *l.* *per ann.* each. Here they coin their bullion from *Europe* and elsewhere, into rupees, which brings a considerable profit. They also coin pagodas; and the current money of the town and country is from the company's mint (N). The rupee is stamped with *Persian* characters,

(N) It must be observed, that here, as in most of the Eastern settlements, the price of gold rises and falls, according to the plenty or scarcity of silver. Thus the pagoda rises from 7 *s.* 10 *d.* to 9 *s.* in value. This coin is of gold, about 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ matts, or 86 $\frac{1}{4}$ touch, or waters fine. It weighs 2 penny-weight, 4 gr. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ mt. Other pagodas there are, such as *Allumgeer*, *Nagapatam*, *Policat*, &c. but they are all $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* worse than the *Madras* pagoda. The *Allumgeer* indeed is the scarcest; but as it wants weight, the other is preferred. As to the fineness, they are not coined by the company; 36 are current to a pagoda; but in the Bazar 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ are allowed, and often more. They are dollar matt, or fineness. The rupees coined in the company's mint are 3 or 4 *per cent.* better than others; and this is allowed in all pay-

ments, being sold at 326, when mixed rupees are 338 *per* 100 pagoda's. At the same time, dollars are 15, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per* 10 pagodas. The *Madras* rupee P. z. 7 dwt. 22 gr. 13 mt. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ standard is 1 rupee. Mixed rupees are most common; but neither sort used in payment at a fixed rate, which varies with the quantity of silver.

Their weights are, 10 pagodas 1 pollam; 40 pollam 1 viss, of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. *Englsh.* 8 viss 1 maund; and 20 maund 1 candy of 500 lb. Liquid measure is as follows; 1 measure is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pint; 8 measures 1 mercal; 400 mercals 1 garfe. As to dry measure, or rather long measure, 1 coved is 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. As to the method of reckoning by aggregate numbers, it is confined. We know of no other, than a corge, which is twenty, in the same manner as a score expresses that number in *England*. with

with the *Mogul's* name, year of his reign, and some of his titles.

CUSTOM on goods imported and exported, is perhaps, one of the most considerable branches of the company's revenue. They have 5 *per cent.* on all goods brought by sea; with 3, 6, or 12 *finams* fee, according to the amount of the import. These fees are divided among the custom officer, the head searcher, and receiver. Run goods are fined at the discretion of the custom officer. We have heard this revenue computed at 50,000 pagodas *per ann.* All goods brought in at the west gate, or country commodities, pay 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*; and those very goods again exported, pay 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ more at the east or sea-gate. These goods, however, paying the full duty here, are exempted at all the company's other ports in *India*. The revenue arising from land goods, we have heard from good authority called 15,000 pagodas yearly. Another branch of the company's revenue arises from anchorage duty on boats, which are rated according to their burthens. *Dutch* ships are exempted from this duty; but for what reason we could never learn. Vessels under 100 tons pay from 18 *finams* to 5 pagodas; from 100 tons and upwards, from 5 to 9 pagodas. Country ships and boats pay the same price for passes as they do for anchorage, which is a perquisite of the secretary; though we believe he now receives but $\frac{1}{4}$, the rest going into the company's coffers.

THE company have besides, a number of other little revenues, such as the rents of *New Town*, *Egmore*, *Old Garden*, *Scavenger*, *Fishing Farm*, *Wine Licence*, *City Quit-rents*, all which they farm out for considerable profits. The duties arising from tobacco and betel are still larger. This and the arrack farm they let to the black merchants at above 20,000 pagodas yearly. As the tobacco, betel, and *Parian* arrack are chiefly consumed in the *Black Town*, the place must be extremely populous.

WE shall close this account of *Madras* with a short view of some useful establishments, though by abuse and mismanagement perverted from the original intention. At *Fort St. George* is a free school, where children are taught to read and write. To this foundation belongs a library of books, chiefly in divinity, reckoned worth 438 *l.* sterling. The church has a stock of 400 *l.* usually put out to interest at 10 *per cent.* which is applied to repairs of the church, and charity. As the interest is seldom wholly taken up with these purposes, the remainder is applied to the capital; which, together with an annual collection, amounts to a handsome sum.

fam. Orphans, the children of wealthy parents, are frequently committed to the care of the trustees for the church. Here they are reckoned more secure than in private hands, tho' we do not find, from experience on this side the globe, that public guardians are a whit more conscientious than private; nay, the contrary has often been imagined. The fortunes of the children are put out to interest; the price of borrowed money at present being 10 *per cent.* out of which they are maintained and educated, the capital and surplus of interest being restored them as soon as they are of a proper age. Where no will is made, the governor and council take upon them the care of the intestate's effects, which they account for to the relations of the deceased, whether in *Europe* or *Asia*. A college they have likewise; but as no art or science is studied in it, it can only be nominal. We cannot but wonder that the company have not cultivated the study of mathematics and astronomy here. Nothing would recommend their agents more to the *Asiatic* princes, and sooner procure them a proper footing in *China*, than skill in these. This the Jesuits have experienced, who have obtained valuable privileges on account of a very superficial knowledge in practical mathematics and astronomy. Nothing can be more favourable to the progress of those studies, than the leisure and peculiar circumstances which attend many of the company's agents. The length of their voyages, the changes of climate, the serenity and clearness of the sky, the necessary knowledge they must have in arithmetic, and the principles of geometry, navigation, and geography, all afford the happiest occasions for promoting science and the arts. But the acquisition of money seems to be the only view of those gentlemen, in which, indeed, they are not to be blamed, considering the value put upon it in the mother country, where it gives honour, esteem, and worth at pleasure.

ALTHOUGH we have extended this history of *Madras* to a great length, we must not close it without touching upon the trade. Their commerce is carried on to all parts eastward of the *Cape of Good Hope*. That of *China* used formerly to be the most cultivated, on account of the returns of gold and fine goods; but this the company have reduced to nothing, by sending ships directly to *China* from *England*. *Manila*, under *Armenian* colours, is a profitable voyage. *Batavia*, the coasts of *Java*, *Janore*, *Malacca*, *Bengal*, *Quedah*, *Pegu*, and *Arracan*, together with the ports of *Achen*, *Priaman*, *Bencoolen*, *Bantall*, and *Idriapore*, are visited annually. The largest ships go to *Mocha*, *Surat*, and other ports of *Persia*

and India (P), with Bengal and China commodities, touching at several ports on the Malabar Coast, for pepper, coco kernels, corn, cardamoms, nux vomica, turmeric, &c. &c. But the distinguishing advantage to Madras, and what first brought a conflux of inhabitants here, was its vicinity to the diamond mines of Golkonda. They lie at the distance of a week's journey from the town. The custom is, when a person goes to the mines with a design to trade, he acquaints the Mogul's officers with his intentions, after he has made choice of a piece of ground to dig in. Having paid the money for this spot, the ground is immediately inclosed, and centinels placed round. All stones above sixty grains belong to the emperor; and frauds in this particular are punished with death. Some acquire fortunes, while others lose their money, their time, and their expectations (Q).

By

(P) Indeed the Madras trade to Persia must first come down the Ganges, at least in the shortest manner: and this is now engrossed by the English factories in the bay of Bengal. It never had any trade to Mocha, in the manufactures and produce of the Coromandel coast, before the year 1713. Fort St. David now supplies that port. In short, the trade is thought to be on the decline, which some attribute to the disappointments and oppression the trader is subjected to. The influence of the governor, even at public sales, is obviously pernicious. Here it is criminal to bid higher than his commission; and those who have courage to do it, generally find reason to repent their temerity (1).

(Q) The following account of the diamond mines may not be unacceptable to some of our readers. Those on the coast of Coromandel, in the kingdom of Golkonda, are generally in the vicinity of the craggy hills and mountains. In, among, and

about these hills, are the places where this precious natural product is sought for. Golkonda and Visapore are known to have mines sufficient to furnish the whole world; but the sovereign, to keep up the price, permits only certain places to be dug. In Golkonda are about 23 mines. That of Quolure was the first opened. The earth here is of a yellowish cast, abounding with smooth pebbles. The diamonds lie scattered two or three fathom deep in this earth; altho' some falsely imagined, they are found in a vein, or continued clusters. That it is not so, is evident from their sometimes digging a quarter of an acre, without having discovered one bit of the precious stone to compensate their labour. Where the surface is covered with great stones, the diamonds found here lie deep, but are valuable on account of their size, pointedness, and lively white water. The common size is about a sixth of a Mangelin (a Mangelin is four grains); some are found weigh-

(1) Hamilton's Voyage to the East Indies, vol. i. p. 370.

By the last estimate that was made, there appeared to be between eighty and ninety thousand inhabitants in *Madras*, and

ing from one to twenty *Mangelins*; but they are extremely rare. The diamonds found in *Qyolure* mine, have generally a bright and transparent lustre, inclining to a greenish colour; but the inside of the stone is perfectly white. This mine is nearly, if not altogether exhausted.

The mines of *Malabar*, *Pattepallān*, and *Codawillikāll*, consist of a reddish earth, inclining to orange, which stains the cloaths of the labourers. Here they dig about four fathoms, and find stones of an excellent water, and chrystalline coat; but smaller than those of the former mine. But of all the mines in this kingdom, that of *Currure* is the most famous. The soil is reddish, a good deal resembling the last we have described. In it have been found diamonds weighing of assize weight, *i. e.* 9 ounces troy, or 8 $1 \frac{1}{2}$ Pagos. In general it affords well spread stones, of a pale, greenish surface, but white within. The stones are seldom so small as those in the other mines; and they are all kept for the use of the sovereign; at least so they were of late years.

Not far from hence are the mines *Lattawaar* and *Ganjeconto*, in the same soil as *Currure*, and affording similar stones. Those of *Lattawaar*, however, are deficient in shape, being thick at one side, and thin on the other, like a gun-flint. In other respects, they are at least equal to any in size and beauty. The mine is almost now wore out, and *Ganjeconto* solely preserved

for the use of the *Mogul*. *Sonagerie*, *Pirai*, *Anantapelle*, *Paggalli*, *Parwilli*, all of them consisting of red earth, and now employed, afford many large stones, frequently of a green water. They are, however, much in request, on account of the soundness, shape, size, and freeness from blemishes. But the most absolute mines, and what alone deserve that name (the others being more properly pits) are those of *Wazzergerre* and *Manuemurg*. Here they sink through rocks of a great height, digging sometimes 40 or 50 fathom below the base. The superficies of the rocks is composed of a hard, firm, friable stone, into which the miners cut a pit about six feet deep, before they arrive at a crust of mineral stone, resembling iron ore. Their method is, they fill this pit with wood, which they keep three or four days burning with the utmost violence. When they think it sufficiently heated, they quench the fire, by suddenly pouring in quantities of cold water. By this means, they imagine they crack the stone, and mollify the mineral crust. When it is cold, they dig away all they can, and repeat the same operation till they come to a vein of earth, that usually runs for two or three furlongs under the rock. The earth they dig away, and if this has not satisfied expectation, they proceed deeper, till they are prevented from going farther by water. They search the earth, and break all the crust and mineral off carefully.

and the towns and villages in its territory, and under the jurisdiction of the company. Five hundred of these are
Europeans

In these the diamonds are found, most of them large, and few weighing less than six Mangelins. Connoisseurs complain of the shape of diamonds found here; but they admit the water to equal any. As the miners are entirely ignorant of the use of engines for drawing off the water, they are almost always prevented from pursuing their success.

Maddeburg far exceeds any of the other mines in diamonds of a delicate shape, elegant water, and bright pellucid skin. Many of them are, notwithstanding, veiny and cracked; yet these cannot always be discovered, unless by a jeweller and nice artist. This mine produces stones of various magnitudes, from 10 or 12 in a Mangelin, to 6 or 7 Mangelins each. The water round is so bad, that to all, excepting the neighbouring nations, it occasions fevers and other acute disorders, terminating in sudden death. In other respects, it is the most valuable, the vein lying near the surface of the earth, and pursued with little expence and labour. It is likewise thought, that besides the unwholesomeness of the water, the situation of the town, in a low, marshy ground, environed with hills, may contribute to the unhealthiness of the place.

Other mines there are at *La-wagamboot*, where they dig in the same manner as at *Waxergerre* and *Manuemurg*. The rock is not so hard or solid; but the earth and stones it produces, altogether similar. *Wootore*, a

place near *Currure*, affords stones of a like size, shape, and water with it. This mine is employed solely to the emperor's use; and singular in this, that the diamonds are found in a black earth.

Melwillie produces stones from five or six in a Mangelin, to 15 or 16 Mangelins each. They are found in a very red earth, which adheres so closely to the diamond, that it seems to tinge, and even indent it. This circumstance would seem to prove Mr. *Tournesfort's* hypothesis of their vegetation, or rather, that they had once been in a liquid form. Most of the stones found here have a thick, dull coat, inclining to a yellowish water, less stony and lively than those of the other mines. Few or none produced at *Melwillie* have a pure chrystalline skin. Another fault they have, that they are apt to split in working, or to fly off in flaws in splitting. Some of the diamonds that flatter the most from their whiteness, no sooner pass the mill, than they discover the deceit, and present a yellow hue, to the disappointment of the proprietor. What, however, they want in quality, is made up in number; for no mine in *Golkonda* produces larger quantities of diamonds.

In *Vishapoure* or *Vishaperi*, another province belonging to the *Great Mogul*, are fifteen or twenty diamond mines employed. These produce stones equal in size, shape, water, and every point of beauty to the mines of *Golkonda*. The large diamonds

are

Europeans living in *Madras*. The town is supplied with rice from *Ganjam* and *Orixa*, on the same coast; with wheat from *Surat* and *Bengal*; and with fuel, from the island of *Dise*, near *Massulipatam*. This island the viceroy of the coast offered to present to the governor of *Fort St. George*, and the inhabitants were desirous of being under the government of the company. But the president and council not immediately accepting of the proposal, both the viceroy and natives altered their sentiments, and refused to let the company erect a factory there^k.

We now proceed to the company's other settlements. Formerly they had a factory at *Massulipatam*, and another at *Narsipore*, for long cloths, both which we are told are withdrawn, as indeed are most of the *European* settlements on that coast, on account of unreasonable exactions of the neighbouring *Rajahs*. The *English* had likewise a settlement at *Angerang*, a place situated upon a deep river, and famous for the finest long cloth in *India*. But the establishment was soon abandoned for some particular reasons.

At *Vizagapatam* the company had a fortified factory, taken by the *French* about two years ago, and soon after the unhappy affair at *Calcutta*. It has four bastions, and mounts twenty or thirty pieces of cannon. This settlement is upon the

^k SALMON, LOCKYER, *Memoires pour BOURDONNAIS*, vol. i. HAMILTON, &c.

are indeed less common; and their countrymen at *Madras*, the precious stones in general *Surat*, *Goa*, and other maritime found in a less quantity. The ports. The governors of the matrix, or surrounding earth, the mines are also idolaters. In differs in different mines, as the province of *Golkonda*, they does likewise the method of were rented by a *Feulinga* Bra- working the mine, and washing min, whose agreement with the the matrix. In both provinces, the adventurers is, that all the stones the miners, the employers, and exceeding a pagoda weight, (or the merchants, are in general nine *Mangelins*) shall be his, *Ethnics*, not a *Mussulman* fol- for the king's use; the rest their lowing either branch of the own. In general, the severity business. The merchants are with which frauds and conceal- generally the *Banians* of *Guz- ments* are punished in *Golkonda*, rates, who, for some genera- makes those who have possessed tions, have deserted their themselves of a large stone, fly country, to follow an employ- to some other country, where ment attended with immense they may with safety dispose of profits. They correspond with their property (1).

(1) *Salmon*, vol. i. *Hamilton*, vol. i. *Lockyer*, *passim*. *Abbe de Guyon* sup. i.

Coromandel coast, about 18 degrees, 40 minutes north latitude, having the advantage of a river, the bar of which is somewhat dangerous. The surrounding country affords cotton cloths of all degrees of fineness, together with the best doreas or striped muslins in *India*. The only thing that can prevent this settlement from flourishing, is too narrow a capital: most of the inhabitants being greatly distressed to procure specie.

In the year 1709, this factory was engaged in a petty war with the Nabob of *Chizkacul*, Mr. *Holcomb*, chief of the factory, had borrowed money from the prince on the common seal. He dying, the succeeding chief refused the Nabob payment. Upon this, the *Indian* prince applied to the governor of *Fort St. George* for redress; but meeting with no satisfactory answer, he had recourse to arms. At last the company compromised the affair, and terminated the war, which had been drawn out to a great length without hardly any bloodshed (R).

In the country round *Vizagapatam* are many ancient pagods or temples. One in particular, upon a little mountain near the factory, is remarkable. Here the natives worship monkies, who live and breed in great numbers within the temple. They are maintained by priests, whose devo-

(R) The following incident deserves notice. After the war was ended, and the Nabob returned to his own dominions, he began reflecting upon the usage he had received from the settlements of *Fort St. George* and *Vizagapatam*. Finding that he was not likely to revenge himself by force, he had recourse to the following stratagem. Without giving notice, he came attended by a hundred horse to *Vizagapatam*, and was got into the factory with twenty or thirty followers, before the chief was apprized of his coming. The alarm being given, Mr. *Horde*, a resolute young fellow, in the service of the company, ran down stairs with a fusce and screwed bayonet.

Meeting the Nabob at the bottom of the stairs, he presented the gun to his breast, telling him in the *Gentoo* language, that he was welcome; but if any of his attendants should offer to advance, his (the Nabob's) life must answer for it. Disconcerted and astonished at the young gentleman's spirit and bravery, the Nabob sat down to weigh the affair, Mr. *Horde* still keeping the muzzle of his piece to the breast of the *Indian* chief, while one of the Nabob's attendants held a dagger's point close to his back, in which situation the conference held for half an hour, and at last broke up with the Nabob's resolution peaceably to depart.

(1)

(1) *Hamilton*, vol. i. p. 380.

tions consist in boiling rice for this tribe of deities. At meal times, the little gods assemble at the pagod, eat what their votaries have prepared for them, and then retire in good order into the groves and fields. Killing a man is a crime infinitely less heinous than destroying one of those animals.

ABOUT 12 leagues north of *Cunnaca*, stands the town of *Ballafore*, situated about four miles from the sea, on a river, and placed in about 20 degrees 45 minutes north latitude. There is a dangerous bar in this river, sufficiently known to those who navigate the coast, from the many losses and wrecks occasioned by it. Between *Cunnaca* and *Ballafore* rivers there is one continued sandy bank, where vast numbers of tortoises resort to lay their eggs. A very delicious fish, called the *Pamplée*, is caught in great plenty in this bay, and sold for two-pence the hundred. Two of them are sufficient for a meal. The adjacent country is admirably fruitful, producing, almost spontaneously, rice, wheat, grain, dolo, callavances, a variety of pulse, anise, cummin, coriander, and carraway seeds, tobacco, butter, oil, and bees wax. Their manufactures are chiefly of cotton, in fannis, cassas, dimmities, and mulmals: then of silk, and silk and cotton mixed, they make romals, gariahs, and lungies; and of herba, or a species of tough grass, they manufacture gingham, pinafroes, and several other sorts of cloth for exportation. The *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, had all their factories here; though they are at present of little consideration, since the navigation of *Hugly* river has been so much pursued.

THE town of *Ballafore* still pursues the *Maldiva* trade, supplying that island with rice, and other productions of the country. In return, they take cowries and cayar, or coyr, for the use of shipping. From *April* to *October*, the proper season for entering the bay of *Bengal*, this town furnishes all the shipping with pilots up *Hugly* river, who are kept in constant pay by the *Europeans*. We shall close this relation of *Ballafore* with a custom peculiar to the natives of this place. They fashion a piece of soft clay into the form of a suppository, which they harden in the sun, till it acquires the consistence of soft wax, and then introduce it into the *intestinum rectum*. This they imagine serves to cool the part; and every morning they renew the operation.

THE *English* company had formerly a factory at *Piply*, seated on a river supposed to be a branch of the *Ganges*. It is now withdrawn, for the same cause as the preceding.

The country differs in none of its natural productions from *Ballafore*¹.

*Descrip-
tion of
Bengal.*

ADVANCING eight leagues on the western bank of the river *Hugly*, you meet with the river *Ganga*, another branch of the *Ganges*. It is broader but shallower than the *Hugly*, and more incommodious, on account of sand-banks, for shipping. A great variety of villages and little cottages appear below the opening of this river; and still greater numbers on those vast plains which extend along the *Hugly*; but no town of consequence till you come to *Calcutta*, a market for corn, butter, oil, coarse cloth, and other commodities. *Calcutta* and *Juanpardas* are both seated on deep rivers: that by the former runs eastward; by the latter, by the back of *Hughly Island*, and is in fact a branch of the *Ganges*. This river leads up to a place called *Ruduagar*, famous for manufacturing cotton cloth and silk handkerchiefs. *Bussindri* and *Trafinddi*, or *Gorgat* and *Cotrong*, are situated on this river, and well known for their furnishing the best sugars to be met with in *India*. A little higher up on the east side of *Hughly* river, is *Ponjilly*; and about a league farther up stands *Calcutta* or *Fort William*, where the company has a settlement, and that the largest of all, *Fort St. George* alone excepted. The factory removed hither, A. 1690, from *Hugly*, Mr. *Channock* being then agent in *Bengal*. Having the liberty of settling an emporium in any part of the banks of the river below *Hugly*, he fixed upon this spot, perhaps the most unhealthy he could have chosen (S). The fort is an irregular tetragon, built with bricks, and a kind of mortar they call *Puckah*, a composition of brick-dust, lime, melasses, and cut hemp or oakum. This, when thoroughly dry, is as hard, firm and strong, as any stone, closely adhering to the bricks. The town is not more regu-

Fort Wil-
liam, or
Calcutta.

¹ HAMILTON, vol. i. c. 31.

(S) For three miles to the north-east is a salt-water lake, that overflows in the months of *September* and *October*. In *November* and *December*, when those floods are withdrawn, the fishes are left dry in prodigious quantities. Their putrefaction is supposed to affect the air; which, together with the fetid

putrid exhalations from the ooze and slime, is conveyed by the north-east wind to *Fort William*, causing a yearly mortality. Captain *Hamilton* relates, that one year when he was there, out of no more than 3000 inhabitants, 460 died in less than one year (1).

(1) *Hamilton*, vol. ii.

lar than the fort ; the houses seeming, by their situation, to be rather a work of chance, than of design. Every man built as he thought proper, and best suited his convenience and taste, without regard to the disposition of the whole. Some stand on a line with the street ; others separated from it by a garden ; and not two houses bear any resemblance to each other in situation or architecture.

ABOUT fifty yards from the fort stands the church, erected by the pious charity of merchants residing here, and the benevolence of mariners. When a minister dies, which frequently happens, from the unwholesomeness of the air, one of the young merchants officiates in his room, for which he is allowed fifty pounds *per ann.* added to his other salary, during his apostolical service. The governor's house in the fort is esteemed the neatest and most complete piece of architecture in *India*. Besides, the factors, writers, and other servants, have commodious apartments within the fort ; together with storehouses, magazines, &c. There is also a good hospital at *Calcutta* ; a necessary precaution, considering the frequent occasions there are for it. The company has also pretty gardens, which furnish the factory with all kinds of vegetables. In the garden is a pond, well stored with carp, mullet, calkops, and other kinds of fish. All the other inhabitants of *Calcutta* enjoy the same conveniences ; every sort of provision being plentiful and good.

ON the opposite side of the river are docks for careening and refitting the shipping. Here the *Armenians* have a good garden. We cannot but admire that this spot was not chosen to build the settlement in, as it enjoys almost every advantage in a superior degree to the present situation. The garrison of *Fort William* generally consists of three or four hundred men. Not many years since, the chief use of the soldiers was to escort the fleet from *Patana*, with the company's salt-petre, piece goods, raw silk, and opium. Afterwards, as they held the colony in fee-tail of the *Mogul*, they apprehended no enemies ; but dear-bought experience has lately taught the company how little stress is to be laid on this particular, on which they founded their security. Upon whatever terms they stand with the *Mogul*, they cannot be too vigilant and circumspect in watching the designs of the neighbouring Rajahs. These petty princes, who inhabit the banks of the river, pretend to exact a certain duty on all merchandize passing by their territories, or through their dominions on the river. They have been known to levy forces to compel payment ; but never successfully, till the year 1757, when this unhappy

unhappy colony was taken, sacked, and several gentlemen of fortune and merit miserably stifled in the *Black Hole*.

IN *Calcutta* there is hardly any sort of manufacture. The government, which is pretty arbitrary, imprudently discourages industry and ingenuity in the populace, founding their security partly on the poverty of the wretched natives. By the weight of the company's authority, if a native has the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the meanest *British* subject, he is liable to punishment by fine, imprisonment, or corporal suffering.

ALL religions are tolerated here, the Presbyterian excepted; for of all persons, a sectarist is to them the most odious. The Pagans are permitted to carry their idols in procession; but a Presbyterian is not suffered to worship God, unless in a surplice. The company's colony is limited by a land-mark at *Governatore*, and another near *Baruagul*, about six miles distant; the salt water lake bounding it on the land-side. It is reputed to contain about 15,000 souls. The revenues arising to the company are considerable, and well paid: they proceed from ground-rent, and consular on all goods imported or exported by *British* subjects; for all other nations are free from all customs.

THE *English* gentlemen and ladies live splendidly and pleasantly in *Fort William*. The forenoons are dedicated to business, afternoons to rest, and the evenings to recreation. They make excursions into the fields or gardens in chaises or palanquins; or by water in budgeroes, a convenient boat, that rows swiftly. Here they fish, and shoot teal, widgeon, and other wild fowl. At night they visit in a friendly manner, except where pride and ostentation, which too frequently happen, spoil society. The ladies in particular are in a perpetual state of hostilities, founded upon emulation of dress, table, and rank. In short, neither men or women are unanimous in any thing, besides oppressing the natives, enlarging their fortunes by any means, and yet maintaining the appearance of expence and grandeur^m.

The city of **ALTHOUGH** the company has properly no factory at *Hugly*. *Hugly*, yet being the great emporium of the trade of *Bengal*, a short account of it may not be impertinent. It is a town of large extent, but ill built, stretching for two miles along the river. It carries on a prodigious trade; all foreign goods being brought hither for import, and those of the produce of *Bengal*, and the neighbouring provinces, for exportation.

^m HAMILTON, vol. ii. c. 33, 34. SALMON, p. 256.

Fifty or sixty rich ships take in cargoes here yearly, besides what is carried by small vessels to several adjacent countries. The vessels that bring saltpetre from *Patana* hither, are frequently fifty yards in length, five in breadth, and two and a half in depth, carrying 200 tons. They fall down in the month of *October* with the stream; but are carried back in tow, and by the strength of men, bullocks, and horses, for above a thousand miles. To enumerate all the goods exported from this port, would swell into a great length. Many of them may be seen at the company's sales; but opium, pepper, piece goods, tobacco, and several other kinds of merchandize, are chiefly taken up by the *India* shipping. We shall conclude this account of the bay of *Bengal* with observing, that since the revolution in *Siam*, and the expulsion of the *English*, from their own imprudent conduct, the company's affairs have been fully reinstated; and they now enjoy the benefit of the commerce of the gulph of *Bengal*, from the mouths of the *Ganges*, to the extremity of the promontory of *Malacca*, without any disbursements for settlements, forts, or factories.

On the island of *Sumatra*, the company have two valuable settlements, viz. *Fort Marlborough* and *Sillebar*, besides *pany's settlements* residing in *Achen*. Their trade with this island is of early date, as may be seen by the commercial treaties between queen *Elizabeth* and the queen of *Achen*. Since then their privileges have been considerably enlarged by the judicious conduct of Mr. *Grey*, chief of the *English* settlements in the island: This gentleman obtained the following terms.

1st. THAT the *English* have free leave to buy, sell, barter, tarry at, or depart from, *Achen* at their own pleasure.

2d. THAT they pay no other custom on goods imported or exported besides the ordinary duty of the *Chap*; a ceremony used on a ship's entering the river.

3d. IN case of shipwreck in the dominions of *Achen*, the subjects shall assist, and restore whatever is saved to the owners; and none of the men be enslaved, according to the laws of the country.

4th. THEY shall have ground for a house, warehouse, and other conveniencies, and liberty, at their departure, to make the most of them.

5th. IN case of death, the goods of the deceased shall be at the disposal of the chief of the factory.

6th. THE laws of the kingdom shall have no power over an *English* offender; but he shall be tried and punished at the discretion of the chief. And in case any native or subject

ject whatsoever abuse the *Englisb*, present justice shall be insisted on him, as he deserves.

7th. THAT their goods shall not be forced from the *Englisb*; nor returned to them after they are sold. Present payment shall be made, and they assisted in recovering debts, by such powers as shall be requisite.

8th. THAT no seizure be made in the sovereign's name; but current money paid for every thing bought for his or her use.

9th. THAT they exercise the *Christian* religion without molestation; and if a subject ridicule them on that account, he shall be punished.

10th. THAT no *Englisb* refugee be protected; and on the other hand, that the *Englisb* give no sanctuary to a native who flies from the law.

11th. THAT according to custom, they bring their annual presents.

12th. THAT, as formerly, they shall have all the sapan wood in these dominions, at tale, 1. 4 M. S. *per Baban*.

13th. THAT such merchants as bring goods on any of their ships, be free from paying *Savoa*, or the 5th part of the customs, provided the number of ships exceed not three every monsoon.

14th. THAT all ships bring a letter from the chief of the place from whence they came, to the governor of the town, certifying, that they belong to the company, &c. ⁿ.

THESE articles are a confirmation and extension of the original privileges granted to the *Englisb*, which we believe are retained to this day.

Description of the city of Achen.

THE city of *Achen*, metropolis of the kingdom of that name, is situated in the north-west end of *Sumatra*, in five degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and is by much the most considerable port in the island. The city stands in a place surrounded with woods and marshes, about the distance of half a league from the sea. It is an open town, without wall or moat; the king's palace, with a ditch drawn round, seated in the centre. There are about 8000 houses in the city, most of them built on wooden pillars, to secure them against inundations and damps. The company had formerly a factory here, but finding it did not answer, they withdrew it. The chief produce of the kingdom of *Achen*, are some gold dust, camphor, and sapan wood, which they barter for opium, of which they are exceedingly fond, rice, saltpetre, cotton

and silk manufactures, &c. The quantity of gold dust, however, merits little consideration.

ON the arrival of a ship, the *Shabander* must be applied to for the liberty to trade. At the *Great Quala*, or river's mouth, the persons who go first on shore are examined by the officer of the guard, who presently gives notice of their arrival to his superiors, whose province it is to adjust the preliminaries, which consist of a formal oath, agreed upon between the company and the sovereign, under the mediation of Mr. Grey. The current price of gold at *Achen*, in June 1704, was tale 7. 2. *per buncal*, of 1 oz. 10 dwt. 21 gr. The current exchange is 2 pagodas *per buncal*, about 24 finams less than the gold will produce in the mint.

IN money, 1400 to 1600 cash are a mace, or one-third sterling; 1500 is allowed in accounts; one-fourth of a mace is a copang; 16 mace 1 tale, an imaginary money.

THE provisions in the bazar, or market, are goats flesh, fowls, buffaloes flesh, fish, &c. The camphor sold in this country is brought from the *Sunda Islands*. It is in general good, but the best sort appears in small scales, white and transparent, worth about 4 s. 6 d. *per ounce*. The common sort resembles large sea sand, and is sold at 2 s. 6 d. an ounce.

THE bezoar found here is taken from the hog deer, as they call them. It is an animal something larger than a rabbit, the head like a dog, legs and feet resembling a deer. This bezoar is valued at ten times its weight in gold. It is of a dark brown colour, smooth on the external coat, and that taken off, the colour is still darker, with small fibres underneath. It will swim on water. There are said to be stones bred in the maw of the *Nicobaw* pigeon, not inferior to the best bezoar. Another sort of bezoar there is, said to be taken from the porcupine, from which animal it has its name. It is of a reddish colour, full of small transparent strias or veins. It has not the bitter taste of the *Siaca* bezoar we have spoke of, nor will it like it swim in water. The monkey bezoar is of a light green tinge, and of a finer polish and lustre than the goat bezoar. Some of them weigh half an ounce, which is valued at 40 or 50 rupees, about 3 l. 12 s. 6 d. But the bezoar from *Surat*, which is commonly termed monkey bezoar, is sold for 6 or 7 rupees an ounce. Some indeed have imagined that what comes from both places is a composition, no way meriting the high price put upon it; and this indeed seems to be the opinion of the ablest physicians, who make no difference between it and several succaneums now substituted in its stead.

THE

THE pepper plant is a production of this island, and a great part of the company's trade arises from this commodity, which the natives cultivate with great care, though without all the success which is found in other places on the *Indian* coast. As to the gold produced in this country, it is affirmed by many writers, that, *Japan* and *China* excepted, it is nowhere found in greater quantities. The *Dutch*, by being possessed of the neighbouring island of *Java*, have had the address to fix themselves likewise on *Sumatra*, where they are said to be in possession of a gold mine. However, it turns out but of small account to the proprietors^o. It is not to be doubted, but the company act with more prudence in neglecting the search after the precious metal, well knowing, that commerce is of itself the richest mine; a maxim which the empires of *Japan*, *China*, and *Spain* sufficiently evince. The two former have neglected to dig for gold, which they can more securely draw by trade; the latter has impolitically neglected trade to dig in *Potosi*; though, of all the kingdoms in *Europe*, *Spain* retains the smallest share of that immense wealth it yearly brings from *Mexico* and *Peru*. Industry and parsimony are always the best mines; and they alone have raised to the highest pitch of affluence every nation cultivating them.

THE company know, that the mines of *Sumatra* must be worked at a prodigious expence, and the hazard of incurring the aversion of the natives. The *Dutch* have proved the justness of their reasoning. The only certain method then of acquiring the benefit of the gold trade, is what they have taken; settling colonies on the island, using the inhabitants with gentleness and affability, observing the most severe justice in all dealings with them, and this by degrees conciliating their esteem to the *European* manners. This we take to be the true method of inducing them to use or take off *European* commodities. Thus the inconvenience and danger of securing the obedience of so many barbarous nations with a handful of men, will be avoided; a correspondence will be maintained, which will draw vast quantities of gold into *Europe*, will afford bread to infinite numbers of poor at home; the real and solid wealth of a state. Navigation and naval power, the arts, the sciences, and the true knowledge of life will be promoted.

Sillebar.

PROCEEDING through the *Streights of Sunda*, to the west coast of *Sumatra*, and thence northward, we meet with the *English* settlement at *Sillebar*. It lies in a bay, at the mouth of a large river of the same name. There is nothing belong-

^o HAMILTON, vol. ii. c. 41—43. SALMON, p. 256—275.
ing

ing to this little factory, established chiefly for the benefit of the pepper trade, worth notice. Ten miles farther to the northward is *Bencoolen*, where was the chief *English* colony, till it was removed at a small distance to *Fort Marlborough*. *Bencoolen* is known at sea by a high slender mountain, called the *Sugar* *Leaf*, that rises twenty miles beyond it in the country. Before the town lies an island, within which the shipping usually ride, and with this, the point of *Sillebar* extending two or three leagues southward of it, forms a large and commodious bay. The town is almost two miles in compass, inhabited chiefly by natives, who build their houses on bamboo pillars, as at *Achen*. The *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Chinese*, had each a separate quarter. The *Chinese* build all upon a floor, after the fashion of their country. The *English* and *Portuguese* built after their own model; but they found themselves under the necessity of using timber, instead of bricks or stone, on account of the frequent earthquakes with which the country is alarmed. As the town stands upon a morass, the noxious vapours, elevated by the heat of the sun, made the air extreme sickly to *European* constitutions. Shoals perished yearly, and had not a more healthy spot been fixed upon for the factory, it must probably have been intirely abandoned. We already have given a minute account of the new fort; it will therefore be unnecessary to enlarge farther upon it.

THE last place belonging to the company is the island of *St. Helena*, so called by the *Portuguese*, who were the first discoverers of it on *St. Helen's* day, in the year 1502. This island ought, in geographical order, to be described among the *African* islands; but as it is the property of a company, and so necessary to the refreshment of our ships, exhausted with so long a stretch as that from any of their settlements on *Coast and Bay*, as it is called, we have here given it a place. It stands in sixteen degrees of south latitude, about six hundred leagues north-west of the *Cape of Good Hope*, almost half-way between the continents of *Africa* and *America*; but nearer to that of the former, from whence it is distant about twelve hundred miles; and thence is accounted one of its islands (A).

As

(A) *Mandefloe*, in his voyage to *India*, says, that *St. Helena* stands sixteen degrees twelve minutes south, and is distant from *Angola* 350 leagues, from *Brazil* 510 leagues, and from the *Cape of Good Hope* 550 leagues.

Pirard de la Val places it in sixteen degrees, and 620 leagues from the *Cape*; whereas, on the contrary, that sensible mariner *Roggewin* affirms, that it lies in sixteen degrees fifteen minutes south latitude, 350 leagues from

Augustin,

As the winds always blow a moderate gale from the south-east, there cannot be a more pleasant voyage than from the *Cape of Good Hope* to *St. Helena*, which is generally performed in less than three weeks, without shifting a sail, or giving the least apprehension or trouble to the mariners. However, it must be reckoned one of the greatest inconveniencies attending the situation of this island, that the outward-bound *Indiamen* cannot touch upon it, and are forced to proceed at one stretch from *Madeira*, or at least from the *Canary* or *Cape de Verd* islands, where they seldom put in, to the *Cape of good Hope*. The winds blowing constantly from the south-east in these seas, there is no sailing directly from the northward hither; and a ship sent from *England* to *St. Helena*, must first sail as far southward as the *Cape*, and return from thence to the island: it is indeed to be questioned, whether *St. Helena* has ever been three times made in a direct course from *Europe*, though we have been told of such accidents arising from storms, or some extraordinary causes^a.

WHEN the *Portuguese*, those great founders of trade and navigation, first discovered *St. Helena*, they stocked it with hogs, goats, and poultry, and used to touch at it for provisions, water, and refreshments, in their return from their *India* voyages, then deemed infinitely more hazardous and long, than experience and improvement in the sciences have now rendered them: but there is no certainty whether they ever established a colony in it, though it is highly probable they did, for the conveniency of preparing all things against the arrival of their shipping. What seems to strengthen this opinion is, the observation of the celebrated commodore *Roggewin*, who affirms, that the *Portuguese* having one of their *India* ships cast away here, they built a chapel afterwards of the wreck, which, though now intirely decayed, has given its name to the finest valley on the island, and one of the most beautiful in the world^b. This judicious seaman

^a PIRARD DE LA VAL, apud Harris, t. i. p. 702.

^b HARRIS, p. 312.

Augustin, which is the nearest land. *William Funnell*, in his voyage, lays it down in sixteen degrees south latitude, and twenty-two degrees longitude west from the *Cape*; whereas the famous *Candish* lays, that it stands in fifteen degrees forty-

eight minutes south latitude. The situation we have given is, however, not only the medium between these discording opinions, but the degree as determined by that excellent mathematician the great *Dr. Halley*.

further says, that, besides quadrupeds, the *Portuguese* brought hither fowls, partridges, pheasants, &c. which now run about the mountains in prodigious numbers, and planted a variety of fruit-trees, as lemons, oranges, and pomegranates, all of which, from the excellency of the climate, have increased so amazingly, as to make many people imagine they were the indigenous and native growth of the island (B). But, whether they planted a colony in it or not, certain it is, that it was totally abandoned when the *Dutch* first took possession; and that not a *Portuguese* was found on the island, when, in the year 1600, the *English* became its masters (C).

AFTER the *English* had once got possession of *St. Helena*, they maintained it without disturbance till the year 1673, when the *Dutch* took it by surprize, but did not long enjoy the fruits of their conquest; for it was retaken a short time afterwards, by the brave captain *Munden*, with three *Dutch East Indiamen* in the harbour, all of which became prize, the *Dutch* wholly driven out of the island, and quiet possession kept from that time. Upon this occasion the *Hollanders* had fortified the landing-place, and erected batteries of great guns there, to prevent a descent; but the *English* having knowledge of a small creek, where only two men abreast could creep up, climbed to the top of the rock in the night, and appearing next morning behind the batteries, the *Dutch* were so terrified that they threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion. This creek has been since fortified, and a battery of large cannon planted at the entrance of it; so that now the island is rendered perfectly secure against all regular approaches or sudden attacks.

THE island of *St. Helena* is about twenty-one miles in circumference (twenty according to *Lockyer*, and eight leagues in length, says captain *Funnel*), and the land so high, that it may be discerned at sea above twenty leagues distance. It

(B) There had formerly, says the same gentleman, been a hermit, who took up his residence here, and killed a number of goats, with the skins of which he traded with the *Portuguese* shipping; but they removed both him and some blacks that had settled in the mountains (1).

(C) *Cavendish* relates, in his curious voyage, that, when he

put in here, he found a chapel, with a handsome causeway leading to it. Within it was hung with painted cloths, having an altar, a frame with two bowls, and a free-stone cross adjoining to it. On the altar was the picture of the Virgin *Mary*, the story of the crucifixion, and some other religious paintings, not ill executed, upon a large table (2).

(1) *Reggwin*, p. 312.

(2) *Harris*, p. 29.

consists indeed of one vast rock, perpendicular on every side, like a castle in the middle of the ocean, whose natural walls are too high to be attempted by scaling ladders; nor is there the smallest breach, except at the bay called *Chapel Valley Bay*, which is fortified with a strong battery of fifty large cannon, planted even with the water, and farther defended by the perpetual dashing of prodigious waves against the shore, which, without farther resistance, makes the landing difficult; and a little creek we have just mentioned, where two or three men may land from a small boat, but now rendered inaccessible by a battery. As there is no other anchorage but at *Chapel Valley*, touching here is extremely precarious; for the wind always setting from the south-east, if a ship once overshoots it, 'tis a matter of great difficulty again to recover the harbour.

NOTWITHSTANDING *St. Helena* appears on every side to be a hard barren rock, yet on the top it is covered with a coat of fine rich mould, about a foot and a half deep, which produces all manner of grain, grass, fruits, herbs, roots, and every kind of vegetable, in the utmost perfection and plenty, did the industry of the people co-operate with the bounty of nature. In the year 1585, when *Cavendish* was there, it was one of the most delightful spots in the universe. The valley, says he, where the church stands, is exceedingly pleasant; so full of fine trees and useful plants, that it appears like a fine well cultivated garden, where are long walks of lemon, orange, citron, pomegranate, date, fig, and other trees, charged with fruit, green, ripe, and in blossom, all at the same time. Nothing can exceed the pleasure afforded by this delightful shade, not to be exceeded by paradise itself; a chrysal spring rising at a distance, that diffuses itself into a number of small rivulets, watering the several parts of the valley, and refreshing every plant and every tree. In the whole, there is hardly a space empty; for what nature has left unoccupied, that art has supplied, by a happy imitation of her works: Such was the appearance of this admired scene, when *Cavendish* performed his voyage round the world; and such it still might be, were the *English* to bestow half the labour in cultivating it that the *Dutch* do at the *Cape of Good Hope* (D). AFTER

(D) This island, next to *Ti-*
man, would undoubtedly be the
 pleasantest spot in the universe,
 and afford the happiest retreat
 for a speculative mind, wearied
 with the cares and hurry of the

great world, were its dimen-
 sions greater, better inhabited
 with sociable beings, and some-
 what nearer the continent, or
 at least more frequented by
 shipping. The climate is
 amazingly

AFTER ascending the rock which borders it to the sea, the country is prettily diversified with rising hills and vallies, the first covered naturally with a great variety of herbs, and the latter adorned with elegant plantations of fruit-trees and gardens, among which are dispersed the houses of the natives; while herds of cattle low about the fields, some of which are fattened for the supply of shipping and of the islanders, and the rest kept for milk, butter, and cheese, and to afford a prospect equally rich and delightful. Al-

amazingly temperate, equal, and wholesome; the fresh water pure, the soil prolific, and fruits of all kinds in the utmost profusion. The land abounds with flesh and fowl, and the sea with fish; nor is any thing wanting that might not easily be procured by art, were the proper means followed. When the *Dutch* first settled on the *Cape of Good Hope*, imagination cannot paint a scene more the reverse of what it now is than what it was; but that prudent people, perceiving its importance, determined to improve it with that indefatigable industry for which they are famed, and deservedly esteemed. The difficulties they encountered were innumerable; but resolving not to be overcome, they persevered with such diligence, as, from a barren, despicable desert, they have, by force of human labour, rendered it incomparably the finest settlement on the globe; and have proved a number of maxims, then received with regard to planting, to be absolutely false. Among others it had been often declared, and indeed abandoned, as impossible, that vines should grow in such a climate, at least in such perfection as to produce wine; but they have shewn that the *Cape* is capable of producing vines not only equal to those of *Spain*,

Portugal, and *France*, but greatly superior in quality to many of their wines, and equal in the opinion of some to any. Their red and white wines are both of them rich, pleasant, and wholesome, if kept to a due age; and particularly the last, which is highly prized by the curious. The industry of this nation, and their great improvements, invite the *English* and *French* shipping to the *Cape*, which is possibly the reason that the company bestows less pains, and reaps a smaller advantage from *St. Helena*, than they probably might. It at the same time points out the different genius, and characterizes the natural dispositions, of the *English* and *Dutch*; for had the *Cape* been in the hands of our company, it is scarce probable it would have received half the improvement it has; and were *St. Helena* in the hands of the *Dutch*, they would hardly suffer the inhabitants to want bread, and depend upon the precarious supply of ships for wine, as they at present do. In a word, they would at least have put an end to those vermin that eat up all the produce, and are an equal disgrace and loss to the company; we mean rats, which are found here in such plenty, as cannot be described or hardly conceived.

though no country under heaven produces finer crops of wheat, yet such is the indolence and ignorance of the inhabitants (for we cannot attribute it to the quality of the climate), that amidst affluence they are starved, and their crops totally consumed by rats, which breed in incredible numbers, and destroy every thing with all the desolation occasioned by locusts in some other countries. This, however, is an evil to which certainly a remedy might be applied, as well as to the scarcity of wine, with which commodity they are now supplied by the company's ships, and also with flour and malt.

As the island is too sandy, and the soil too thin for large trees to take root, it is extremely deficient in wood; and their very houses are sent ready framed from *England*: but with regard to underwood, they have as much as is wanted in this warm climate. There are upon the island between two and three hundred *English* families, or at least descended from *English* parents, or some way allied to them. Some *French* refugees were likewise encouraged to settle, in order to propagate vines and make wines, a point in which they have by no means been successful. Every family has its house and plantation on the higher part of the island, where they look after their cattle, hogs, goats, and poultry, fruit and kitchen gardens, without scarce ever descending to the town in *Chapel Valley*, unless it be once a week to church, or when the shipping arrives; at which time almost every house in the valley is converted to a punch-house, or lodgings for their guests, to whom they sell their hogs, poultry, and fruits, receiving in exchange flour, wine, and whatever necessaries they want, but they must first come into the company's warehouse. The merchandize usually laid in by the company are *Cape* wines, brandy, *European* or *Canary* wines, *Batavia* arrack, beer, malt, sugar, tea, coffee, china-ware, *Japan* cabinets, &c. linnen, calicoes, chints, muslins, ribbands, woollen cloths, and stuffs, with a variety of other particulars, which it would be unnecessary to recite.

THE complexions of people born in this island differ from those of all warm climates besides; for here their faces look fresh and ruddy, with all the bloom of health and robustness of constitution, without that fallowness peculiar to those born within or near the *Tropics*, where white people look pale, sickly, and wan, without any of that mixture of red and white to be found in the natives of *St. Helena*, which may be ascribed to the following causes. Here they live on the top of a mountain, always open to the sea breezes, that blow constantly, and refresh the air. They

are wholly employed in the healthful occupations of husbandry and gardening. Their island has no fens to annoy it, and no rivers which overflow their banks, and leave a stagnating water to be exhaled by the sun's beams, which renders the air gross, and charged with malignant vapours: besides, the atmosphere is greatly cooled by charming refreshing showers, that agreeably temper the warmth of the climate. To this may be added, the constant exercise the inhabitants undergo, from the very nature of the island; for in going from the town in *Chapel Valley* to their plantations, the road is so steep, that they are forced to climb a great part of the way, and in one place to use a ladder, which from hence is called *Ladder Hill*; nor can this be avoided, without going two or three miles round (E).

As to the genius and disposition of the natives, most writers describe them to be the happiest, the most inoffensive, and hospitable people to be met with in any country. Upon their being asked if they had not a curiosity to see the world, of which they must have heard so much, and how they could confine their whole lives to a spot of earth scarce seven leagues in circumference, apart from the rest of mankind? Their general answer was, that they enjoyed all the necessities of life in profusion; they were neither parched with excessive heat, or pinched with intense cold; but enjoyed a happy medium between both; they lived in perfect security, in no danger of enemies, robbers, wild beasts, rigorous seasons, the tumults of ambition, and were blessed with an uninterrupted flow of spirits and health: that if they had no exceeding rich men among them, they were also happy in having no poor, the oppression on the one hand, or the feelings of humanity on the other, that must necessarily attend so unequal a distribution of the gifts of fortune.

(E) Most voyagers who have touched here have soon experienced the healthfulness of the climate, and the salutary effects of the refreshing vegetables and wholesome water of this island. The most sickly and scorbutic crews have been restored to full vigour and strength, in a time incredibly short. *Francis Pirard de la Val*, who was afterwards shipwrecked on the *Maldivia* islands, touched at *St. Helena* in the year 1601, with his crew

in the most deplorable situation that imagination can picture to itself, hardly a man on board being fit to hand a sail or walk the deck, so eat up and weakened were they with the scurvy; yet in the space of nine days they all recovered their former health, acquired an additional vigour and cheerfulness to what they possessed naturally, all owing to the climate and salubrious native vegetables of *St. Helena* (3).

(3) *Vide his voyage. p. 52.*

There was, among them scarce any planter worth more than a thousand dollars, and hardly any who did not possess four hundred; and consequently not obliged to undergo more labour than was necessary to preserve his health. Such was the just manner in which this happy and primitive people reasoned. They added, that should they transport themselves into any other country, their small fortunes, which enabled them to live here with affluence, would there scarce preserve them from want; and they should be exposed to innumerable hazards, difficulties, and hardships, of which they were now ignorant, but from the report of their countrymen. And indeed there is but one inconvenience that can be objected to their situation; viz. the oppression of their governor, which has sometimes happened, though seldom, considering the opportunities he has, and that natural malignity of the human mind, which thinks itself exalted by debasing others, and measures its own greatness by the means of all around. As the inhabitants of *St. Helena* have no opportunity of making known their grievances to those who are able to redress them, it is amazing that they are not more oppressed than even they have been, under their most despotic governor. This may probably be attributed to the very causes which offered so many occasions of destroying the felicity of those beneath him; for, cut off from all communication with the rest of mankind; he is naturally led into a train of reflections, which shew him that happiness is preferable to greatness, and the former to be acquired only by preserving the affections of those over whom he presides. As far as we are able to learn, they have been for generations back governed by an equal and impartial hand, and, while they continue to enjoy this felicity, *St. Helena* may be looked upon as the paradise of the world.

It is true, that the females of this island have been stigmatized by a certain diminutive writer, who would shew his ill-natured wit at the expence of candour, truth, and charity, with a looseness of morals, and turn for gallantry with the officers of the *East India* ships who put in there, which greatly obscures the picture we have above drawn: yet we will venture to affirm, that however true this may be of individuals, in general, female modesty, chastity, and simplicity of manners, are no-where more strictly observed than at *St. Helena* (F). One thing, however, must be acknowledged; it

(F) "The chief town," says "fifty houses contiguous, of
Lockyer, "is in *Chapel Valley*, "which the punch-houses are
 "where there may be forty or "the most remarkable, especially

it is, that admitting the gallantry of the ladies, they are notwithstanding strict in all other principles of honour; nor does the latitude a female allows herself in one part of her conduct, at all influence the rest. Unlike the ladies of pleasure in *Europe*, they are here strictly honest, without that rapacious disposition that characterizes a truly fashionable prostitute. They seem to share in the joy they give, and to regard their pleasure without a view to their profit; the only circumstance that can palliate the violation of the most shining female ornament.

To conclude this account of *St. Helena*. Near *Chapel Valley* is the fort, where the governor and garrison reside, which is but inconsiderable, the situation of the island forming its chief strength. The governor has always sentinels on the highest part of the island to the windward, who give notice of the approach of all shipping, upon which guns are fired, as a signal for every man to repair to his post. Thus it is impossible for a ship to come in the night, but preparations have been made the day before, when she cannot fail of having been discovered. This precaution, so well known to all nations, renders the natives secure against all attacks, and gives this satisfaction to our mariners, that as soon as they appear in the offing, they are sure to find every thing ready for their reception as friends. The reader we hope will pardon us, if we have dwelt so long upon this inconsiderable place, which we think might be improved greatly to the honour and advantage of the *East India* company. We rather expect this indulgence, as it is inhabited by one of the best colonies of our countrymen, who still retain the old *English* hospitality and sincerity, the un-

cially where there is a hand-
 " some girl or two in the fa-
 " mily to humour the sailors.
 " These, when they appear in
 " their white aprons on the
 " hills, are very agreeable ob-
 " jects to their *Johus*, as they
 " come into the road. They
 " have many of them pretty
 " begging faces, and are dres-
 " sed tolerably well while ships
 " are there; but as soon as
 " they are gone, the scene is
 " altered, and they can run up
 " and down the country bare-
 " foot, as if they never had
 " been shod." The same au-
 " thor acquaints us, " that the
 " natives keep a number of
 " blacks, whom they employ
 " in all servile occupations.
 " These, upon hard usage, run
 " away from their masters, and
 " hide themselves for whole
 " months among the rocks,
 " keeping secure by day, and
 " roving about in the night in
 " quest of provisions; which,
 " though a hard life, they pre-
 " fer to slavery (4).

(4) *Lockyer's account of India*, p. 305.

affected simplicity and benevolence of our ancestors, un-
mixed with that narrow pride and selfish prodigality of
their posterity, that squanders away princely estates in gra-
tifying the passions and vanity of one worthless individual,
without a single action useful to the community, or becom-
ing the dignity of human nature.

To conclude, the company were formerly in possession of
divers settlements on the coasts of the *Chinese* empire, as well
as in the kingdom of *Tonquin*, all of them now withdrawn.
They still trade largely to those parts; but without having
any established factories. Their house was formerly in the
Island of *Chusan*, when the trade was carried on at *Amoyor*.
From thence it was removed to *Canton*, where, for about
forty years, it flourished with such vigour, that they were
in expectation of wholly engrossing this beneficial branch of
commerce. What defeated those expectations, were the high
duties laid upon tea, and other *Chinese* commodities. This
tax gave an encouragement to smuggling, which soon reduced
the *China* trade far below its natural standard. As a part
of this tax has been taken off, it is probable that the trade
is now again upon a proper footing; though if we may judge
from the late extravagant price of tea, there is still some de-
fect, either in the commerce itself, or in the conduct of it.
One thing is certain, that the government will always find it
an imprudent measure to tax this commodity high; as the
revenues will constantly rise in the proportion in which the
price of tea falls. Whether this be a natural advantage, in-
cluding all circumstances, it is not our business to enquire.

The Eng-
lish pro-
hibited to
trade to
the Ma-
nila or
Philippine
Islands.

THE company are in a manner wholly excluded from the
Manila or *Philippine* Islands, at least in a public man-
ner. The *French*, indeed, allege that they trade there
under *Irish* colours; but they best know what colours
these are; or whether they would afford any protection
to the shipping. Our opinion is, that any commerce car-
ried on with those islands, is in fact done under *Morisco*,
Armenian, or *Portuguese* flags. The custom of the *Spanish*
nation in this particular is without example: the trade is
laid open, and no people on earth excluded, except the
Dutch and *English*; a precaution of little consequence, where
the inhabitants find it their interest to overlook it. In *Japan*
there is not the faintest trace of *English* commerce; all the
commodities of that vast empire, with which our company
is supplied, being furnished at second-hand by the *Chinese*
and *Dutch*.

WE shall sum up the whole of our account of the *English*
East India company with a few remarks, by way of intro-
duction

daction to the commercial histories of other *European* nations, as they follow in this volume. And first, it is observable, that no country was more famous and celebrated among the antients, and none less known, than the *Indies*. Nothing could be more perplexed and chimerical than the notions of this quarter of the globe, although they were founded on the nature of a country, whose wealth and profusion of the luxuries of life, had rendered it above all others remarkable. Common report had magnified every thing into the marvelous; the land produced men that were giants, and the rivers were replenished with monsters: fables that were believed in the most enlightened ages of *Greece* and *Rome*. The antients were sensible that nature afforded not a more abundant source of wealth than the *Indian* commerce, having bestowed on this happy climate not only every necessary, but every luxury of life, in the most profuse manner; and this it was that drew thither the first sons of fame. *Bacchus*, in the fabulous period, is supposed to have first penetrated into *India*; *Hercules* exercised his valour on this theatre; *Sesostris* visited these countries, as far as the coasts of *Japan*; and *Arabia* acquired the name of *felix*, or *happy*, from her commerce with *India*. But there are no older monuments of an established maritime trade thither, than that which the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* afford, chiefly the latter, the most antient commercial nation that exists in the annals of human affairs. *Solomon*, the most prudent of monarchs, esteemed this traffic the brightest gem in his diadem; and hence drew such immense treasures, as rendered his government the admiration of mankind. During the *Persian* empire, the *Phœnicians* sent their fleets into the eastern ocean; but when the despotism of that enslaved people had chased commerce from *Phœnicia*, then *Alexandria* became the mart of *Indian* merchandize; in founding which noble city, *Alexander* proposed laying the foundation of commerce; a project worthy of the conqueror of the world.

AFTER the reduction of *Persia*, this monarch set on foot three designs, of the utmost consequence to his empire and glory; the first was the perfect discovery of the *Hyrcanian* or *Caspian* sea, the greatest part of its shore being hitherto unknown. The second was a project no less great and useful, the establishing a powerful maritime force in the *Indian* ocean; for which purpose he ordered forty-seven large ships

* Vide Anc. Hist. vol. ii. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. passim. HURT histoire du commerce et de la navigation des antiens, c. 55.

to be built by the *Phœnicians*. With these he proposed examining the *Indian* coast more accurately than hitherto had been done: to take an account where convenient ports might be made: and lastly, to procure perfect intelligence as to the nature and value of *Indian* commodities. His third design was the conquest of *Arabia*, with the motives for which we have nothing to do. To these designs of this hero and statesman, the best geographers, the most accurate historians, and the ablest philosophers of antiquity, own themselves indebted for almost all their knowledge of this part of the world. However, of all his expeditions, the voyage of *Nearchus* his admiral, from the mouth of the river *Indus*, above the coast of *Persia*, through the gulph, and to the mouth of the *Euphrates*, was the most remarkable and useful to the purposes of commerce and navigation (G). But the conqueror did not live to reap the fruits of these extended views, which were afterwards carefully pursued by some of his successors, especially the *Ptolemies*, who raised *Alexandria* to the highest pitch of commercial greatness (H).

THE wealth which this commerce drew into *Egypt*, and which, by means of this city, it continued to enjoy for ages, was at once the cause of its prosperity and ruin; the *Romans* being invited by the former to share in a trade which brought with it such immense treasures, and so great an augmentation of their maritime force. We may judge of

(G) This voyage *Nearchus* not only conducted in person, but also wrote a very accurate and distinct account of, which is in a great measure preserved by *Arrian*, in his history of *Alexander's* expedition. It is frequently quoted by *Strabo* and *Pliny*; and was indeed considered by the greatest writers of antiquity as the most authentic and curious piece of its kind then extant.

(H) Besides this, *Ptolemy Philadelphus* having considered the difficulties that attended the commerce of his subjects in *Arabia* and *India*, for want of proper ports in the *Arabian Gulph*, resolved to remove that inconvenience, by erecting a

new city nearer the mouth of the gulph, on the side of the isthmus or promontory that projects itself into the *Red Sea* (5). This turned out to be rather a fine city than a convenient port for trade; for the harbour, called *Myos Hormus*, was distant one thousand eight hundred stadia from the new city, called *Berenice*, from his mother. This wise prince directed likewise various towns to be built between *Berenice* and *Coptos*, upon the *Nile*, distant from it about 260 miles; but *Myos Hormus*, Port of the mouse, afterwards called the Port of *Venus*, was the staple of *Indian* merchandize, and from thence the trade was carried on to the *Indies* (6).

(5) *Ptolemy* places it in 22 d. 30 min. Vide Tab. xlii. p. 815.

(6) *Strabo*, lib.

the value the ancients put on this trade, by the avidity with which they guarded it against all encroachments. The *Romans*, after numberless victories, and establishing the most universal empire mankind had ever seen, were for a time deterred from entering on the *Indian* commerce, by the frightful tales related by the *Arabian* merchants, at that time the carriers of this prodigious treasure; but at length the love of gold triumphed over every other passion, and *Augustus* made some attempts to open a communication with *India*. Neither the attempts of this prince, nor of any of his successors, were successful, in establishing an immediate trade.

WHEN the *Romans* first became masters of *Egypt*, the navigation was prosecuted by sailing down the *Arabian Gulf* to a port near the promontory of *Siagrus*, which *Ptolemy* places in the latitude of fourteen degrees forty minutes. This, beyond controversy, is the point of the *Arabian* coast now called *Cape Fartak*, laid down by the best modern geographers in the same latitude. Hence they sailed to the mouth of the river *Indus*, that is, to the island of *Pattala*, so often mentioned by *Arrian*. Afterwards the navigation was changed, one *Hypalus* discovering a shorter route, under the reign of the emperor *Claudius*. This person, by observing when the trade wind blew, was enabled to pass at once through the streights, and across the *Indian* ocean, directly to *Pattala*; which was deemed a navigation so extraordinary, that the south-west wind was afterwards called by his name*.

In progress of time, the *Romans* made still farther discoveries, in which, however, they met with perpetual interruptions, from the piracies of the *Arabians*, which obliged them, besides their ordinary complement of seamen, to carry a certain number of soldiers in each ship; a circumstance that greatly enhanced the charges of the voyage. At last the great profits it was observed this traffick might produce, if rightly cultivated, increasing the number of adventurers, all difficulties were surmounted, and an annual trade from *Alexandria* to the mouth of the *Indus* was established, by the following route. All merchandize intended for the *Indian* markets were shipped at the port of *Alexandria*, from whence they were carried to *Julio polis*, two miles from thence, and so up the *Nile* to *Coptos*, in twenty-five deg. twenty min. latitude, according to *Ptolemy's* tables, and 303 miles up the river. If the wind was fair, this voyage was commonly

* *PLIN. nat. hist. l. vi. c. 23.*

performed in twelve days. At *Coptus* the vessels were unloaded, and the goods transported on the backs of camels in eight days to *Berenice*, at the distance of 258 miles, where they remained in warehouses till the proper season of the year for continuing their voyages, which was about the rising of the dog-star; when the goods were embarked for the last time, the vessels steered directly for the *Arabian* coast, and in thirty days arrived at *Ocelis*, which *Ptolemy* the geographer places in twelve degrees, though probably that situation is greatly too far to the southward. Sometimes the fleet sailed to *Gana* or to *Mirza*, both of them ports on the opposite coasts of *Arabia*, though only frequented by the merchants of the country, who here bought frankincense, and took in exchange for this commodity arms, knives, and toys. *Ocelis* was however the principal port, because here they met with *Indian* merchants, and it lay commodiously for prosecuting their voyage to the continent of *India*, where they usually made the port of *Maziris* in forty days (1). This port being found inconvenient, from the depredations of certain pirates in its neighbourhood, they sought a better station, and with this view fixed upon the port of *Becaba*, whence with *Indian* proes they transported their goods up a navigable river, to a great trading town called *Madusa*. Having completed their affairs here, they seized the opportunity of the trade wind back, by the assistance of which they usually returned to *Alexandria* towards the end of *December* or beginning of *January*. The *Indian* commodities, thus brought into *Egypt*, were transported by land to *Coptus*, thence by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, and thence to *Rome*, by the annual fleet; from *Alexandria*, which was first appointed by *Augustus*.

THE expence, or rather the stock annually invested by the *Romans* in the commodities fit for this commerce, amounted in *Pliny's* time to fifty millions of sesterces, or about four hundred and three thousand pounds sterling money; the profit on goods being *cent. per cent.*: an immense stock and profit, considering the early period, and the strange expensive traffick of this traffick.

THIS short recital of the commerce of the *Romans* with *India* we imagined would not be disagreeable to many of our readers, especially as it is but slightly touched upon by modern writers, and to be found only in a confused and scattered manner in the remains of antiquity.

¹ Ibid. c. xxiii. l. 6. Etiam *PERIS* maris *Erythræi*, p. 14.

(1) If *Ptolemy's* tables have this port fixed in the latitude of 14° not received some alteration, fourteen degrees.

AFTER *Constantine* had translated the seat of empire to *Byzantium*, the eastern trade still subsisted; *Alexandria* continued to be the principal emporium; while *Seleucia* of *Syria* was the route of the more inland commerce: and the barbarians dwelling on the bleak borders of the *Euxine* sea felt the charms of the wealth that poured into the *Greek* empire through this chanel. At length commerce shared the fate of learning, arts, and government, and the provinces through which it flowed. The military genius of the *Arabs*, the successors of *Mohammed*, extinguished every spark of the spirit of commerce and science. Fury, mad zeal, ignorance, and barbarity, seemed to be let loose to waste every thing, to debase the human genius, and confound mankind in a cloud of impenetrable darkness and obscurity. But no sooner had the grandson of that monarch, who dismembered *Africa* from the descendants of *Mohammed*, founded *Grand Cairo*, and furnished protection to the merchants, than the rich flow of eastern wealth once more returned to its antient chanel, and with it liberty, learning, science, arts, and every thing valuable and dear to men. The new-built city became at once the chief mart of the western world, rich, populous, and the seat of a new empire, of which we shall have occasion to treat in a particular manner in the ensuing volumes. The *Venetians*, *Genoese*, *Pisans*, *Florentines*, and some other free states of *Italy*, raised themselves on the ruins of the *Grecian* empire; and, profiting by the general confusion, seized part of its dismembered dominions; succeeding at the same time to the trade of the *Indies*, by the chanel of *Egypt*; the commodities of which being distributed all over the north, were to them a mine of infinite wealth and power, that soon raised the *Venetians* in particular, from a mean, despicable handful of refugees, to the most respectable state of all *Italy*, and the chief maritime power of *Europe*, perhaps of the whole world.

APPENDIX.

THAT nothing in our power may be wanting to satisfy the curious reader in a point of so much consequence to every *Briton*, as the commerce of this nation to the *East Indies*, we shall here subjoin, by way of appendix to the foregoing history, some proposals of that sensible, though frequently ideal writer, *Mr. Malachy Postlethwayte* *.

This ingenious gentleman gives it as his opinion, that, were the charter of the royal *African* company transferred to

* *Dict. of trade and commerce, vid. East-Ind. comp. t. i. p. 685.*
the

the *East India* company, that part relating to the slave trade only excepted, the traffick might, by this opulent corporation, be pushed to the very center of *Africa*, to powerful and rich countries now wholly unknown, and thence produce an abundance of wealth, and consumption of manufactures, of which at present we have no idea. It would besides increase the demand for *Indian* commodities, some of which are at present sent to our settlements on the *Gold Coast* and river *Gambia*; a circumstance that alone would induce them to cultivate this commerce to its highest pitch, and extend their discoveries as far as the manners of the people, the rights of other nations, and the nature of the country, would permit. His words are, 'That whereas it is allowed, on all hands, that the inland trade to *Africa* hath hitherto been very negligently cultivated by any or all the *European* powers interested therein; and whereas the principal obstruction hereunto seems to be the great attention these powers have chose to give to that unnatural, unjust, cruel, and barbarous commerce, commonly called the slave trade, and the little regard that has been given to just, humane, and civilized commerce with those people; and whereas the trade to *Africa*, with respect to these kingdoms, seems even yet to remain unsettled; it is humbly proposed, 1. That every branch of the trade to *Africa*, excepting that which is commonly called the slave trade, shall be given to the *East India* company by act of parliament, with an exclusive privilege for — years; with such other immunities and encouragements, as to the wisdom of the legislature shall seem meet. 2. That the forts and castles in *Africa*, and every thing thereto appertaining, which belong to the publick, be vested in the *East India* company; and the 10,000 *l. per ann.* which is now allowed by parliament to the present *African* company, shall be granted to the *East India* company, in order the better to enable them to support and maintain these forts and castles, already erected in *Africa*. 3. That any one or more of these forts upon the coast of *Africa*, except *Cape Coast Castle* upon the *Gold Coast*, or *James Fort* on the river *Gambia*, be vested in the private and separate *British* traders, in order the better to accommodate them in their carrying on the slave trade; which forts shall be duly maintained and supported by the *East India* company, at the stated sum of 10,000 *l.* 4. That the whole slave trade be left in the hands of the separate *British* traders; and that the *East India* company shall have no toleration whatsoever to interfere therein, with the interest of the separate *British* traders. 5. That every other branch of the *African* trade shall be solely under the controul, direction, and

and management of the said *East India* company. 6. That the *East India* company, when possessed of these additional powers and privileges, shall be distinguished by the name of the royal *East India and African* company, or by whatever other appellation the wisdom of parliament may judge the more eligible. 7. That one half of the commodities, *ad vana*, to be vended in *Africa*, by the said royal *East India* company, shall consist of *British* produce and manufactures; and the other half of the produce and manufactures of the *East Indies*. 8. That the said royal *East India and African* company shall be obliged to erect — inland forts and factories at their own expence, in order to facilitate trade between the interior countries and the sea coasts.

To this scheme of Mr. *Postlethwayte's* there can possibly be no other objections than the injury the present proprietors in the *African* trade might receive from such a deprivation of their rights; the scruples which the *India* company might have to launch out in a new branch of commerce, at present incapable of supporting itself, without the aid of parliament, although excluded by the slave trade, from which it is proposed they shall be excluded; and the clamours of the private traders, who might think themselves aggrieved by being confined to the slave trade alone. It would, however, be no difficult matter to remove all these objections, and prove the utility of the scheme, in a method both consistent with speculation and justice, were we at liberty to change the character of historians for that of projectors. At present we shall hint, that the present *African* company might be redressed, either by an equivalent, or by incorporating them with the *East India* stocks, each proprietor holding a share proportioned to what he now enjoys, and receiving proportionable dividends, as we have been done in the union of the two *English East India* companies, and as we shall have occasion to mention of the *French East and West India* companies. As to the scruples the *East India* company might have to accept of a coalition, or engage in a new branch of commerce, we imagine they might easily be surmounted, by shewing them, that it must necessarily open new markets for the reception of imported commodities from *India*, and likewise in a short time save the nation and them a great sum, now laid out in spices and some other commodities purchased from the *Dutch*, and by them only imported. The negroes are no less vain, fickle, and addicted to dress and fashion, than the *Europeans*. They are particularly fond of callicoos, chintzes, and other *Indian* cloths, which are indeed admirably adapted to the climate, and might soon be brought universally to wear them, at least the women of
kings,

kings, nobles, and other persons of distinction, which also would occasion a prodigious consumption. Besides it is obvious, from the relations of voyagers, that pepper, nutmeg, and other spices, will grow in many latitudes of *Africa*; if such testimonies were wanting, reason dictates the probability of it, from the analogy between the soil and climate of these parts, and the countries where they are now produced. As to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, it may admit of debate how far it might be pursued here, without injury to our *West India* colonies. Could the use of sugar and rum be introduced among the negroes, it is not possible to say how great the demand might be for both commodities, or what returns of gold, ivory, gums, &c. they might produce. It is even probable, that the key to those gold mines, of which the voyagers speak so much, and which the natives conceal carefully, is the palate, for the sake of which a negro will sell his father, wife, or son. In a word, the greatest might be expected from the influence of a wealthy and strenuous in the pursuit of enlarging their sphere of commerce, capable of supporting their authority with dignity, cajoling, soothing, and wheedling, the appetites of those barbarians, or, where necessity required it, of constraining them into obedience and submission. Lastly, to the grievance of the private merchant, confined solely to the slave trade, there may be a sufficient answer, that they gain more by the commerce being excluded from this trade, than they lose by the restriction laid upon them. If this were insufficient, we might add the old proverb, that of two evils the least is to be chosen; better the profits of the private trader should be diminished, than that the whole trade be lost, the government freed with an unnecessary burden, and the *India* company deprived of a branch of commerce, which would soon render them the most powerful, wealthy, and respectable body of merchants in the universe. These arguments, which we have submitted to Mr. *Postlethwayte's* project for enlarging the *East India* commerce; the reader is at liberty to admit or reject: our endeavour is to improve his understanding, without laying any constraint on his judgment; but no one ought to entertain prejudice against them, merely because they are new. If they are false, they will soon follow the ideal schemes of all the other projectors of the age.

In vicum vendentem thus & odores.

CHAP. VII.

*Conquests, Settlements, and Discoveries, of the
Netherlands in the East Indies, comprehending the History
of the Rise, Progress, and successful Establishment,
of their East India Company, the Nature of their
Constitution, the Extent of their Dominions, the
Importance of their Commerce, the Form of Rule
established in their Colonies, as also the domestic Oeco-
nomy of the Company, and how they are subject to
the States of the United Provinces.*

SECT. I.

*Causes which induced the Merchants in Holland
to seek of opening a Trade to the East Indies. The
Search of discovering a new Passage, by passing
the North-east of Europe and Asia. Three
Attempts made with this View, which prove all of
them unsuccessful.*

The commerce which the subjects of the states general *The great importance*
of the United Provinces have carried on for about a century and a half in the *East Indies*, hath been so *of the*
important to them in every respect, hath brought such *Dutch*
treasures into their country, has supplied such pro- *commerce*
fits to their government, and hath contributed so *in the East*
much to that mighty naval power to which this republic owes *Indies, and*
its domestic freedom, as the figure she has made in *the scope*
of this *chapter.*
can be found, than to explain the rise, to trace the pro-
gress, to set in a clear light, the present situation of that
important trade of which they are in possession, and which
it is so expedient and necessary, especially to the subjects
of every maritime power, should be thoroughly understood.
A clear and candid representation of these points is what we
shall endeavour in this chapter; and though it be true, that
to handle them in their utmost extent would require a very
large, by comprising matters of fact within as

du Commerce, par SAMUEL RICARD, p. 6.
Essay on the East India Trade, addressed to the
Parliament. There is actually a Dutch hi-
story in folio.

narrow a compass as possible, and interspersing our narrative with a few just and well grounded observations, we hope to place this matter, and all its principal circumstances, in such a point of view, as that they may be thoroughly comprehended, and afford the reader all reasonable satisfaction.

The true original of this trade.

As the tyranny which the *Spaniards* exercised over the inhabitants of the seven provinces, while under their dominion, gave being to that republic; so the same arbitrary measures with regard to the inhabitants of the remaining parts of the *Low Countries*, which still continued in subjection to the crown of *Spain*, was the real source of that wealth and power to which this new commonwealth rose in a manner so sudden and so surprising, to such as had not an opportunity of knowing, or a capacity of conceiving, how this extraordinary change was brought about^d. Amongst other advantages they furnished them with this, of trading to the *East Indies*; it is true, they meant nothing less, yet the methods they took were such as actually produced it; and, though much may be attributed to the wisdom and spirit with which those entrusted with the administration in *Holland* cherished, conducted; and protected, this traffick in its infancy, yet still must be allowed, that the foundation was laid by the mismanagements and mistakes of the *Spaniards*, without which the industry of the *Dutch* would have had nothing to work upon. So much of what is generally ascribed to human policy being in reality produced by the dispositions of Divine Providence, which sometimes counteracts the best concerted projects, and crowns them at other times with more extensive success than they who formed them could either expect or foresee.

Most of the rich merchants driven out of the Spanish Low Countries by severities.

THE *Portuguese* had been near a hundred years in possession of the only direct correspondence with the east, which, together with the dominion of their country, was now transferred to the Catholic King *Philip* the second^e; and, as his subjects of *Spain* and *Portugal* enjoyed the exclusive trade of both the *Indies*, so his subjects in the *Low Countries* reaped the greatest part of the profit that arose from the disposition of their produce through the more distant parts of *Europe*. This had rendered *Bruges* and *Ghent* rich and populous; this had made *Antwerp* the great mart of *Europe*, had lodged

^d Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, ch. ii. • Histoire des Province-unies, par A. H. DE SALLENGRE, p. 60.

^f Remarks on the Rise and Progress of the Dutch naval power. • MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. v. c. 3. ^h DE WITT's Maxims of Holland, p. i. ch. xii.

her citizens in palaces, and filled her port with such incredible quantities of shipping, that it is reported four hundred vessels have come to an anchor there at one time¹. But as property begets the love of freedom, and furnishes also the means of resisting what may induce slavery, so the ministers of that great monarch very wisely informed him, that, to render these people obedient, their wealth must be diminished. These counsels, once received, were soon carried into execution; and, after *Antwerp* was reduced by force of arms, the inhabitants were so treated, that they chose rather to retire with what little they had left, than to remain in a place where they had no security of keeping it². The same kind of usage had the very same effect upon the rich merchants and industrious manufacturers in the neighbouring cities; and, to avoid slavery and persecution, they fled where-ever they had a reasonable prospect of living in peace, and worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences (A). Such were the effects of *Spanish* policy in the first instance!

THE vicinity of the *United Provinces*, joined to the mild-*Retire into*
ness of the government; freedom from impositions, and a *the domi-*
general toleration, drew numbers of them thither, and, of *nions of*
these, many of the wealthiest and most experienced traders *the states*
settled at *Amsterdam*, where the states gave them all imagina-*general;*
ble encouragement, and shewed the greatest willingness to *and are*
further any designs they might form for augmenting their *there re-*
fortunes³. These knowing and industrious persons, well *viewed,*
acquainted with each other, and having correspondence in *protected,*
most of the trading parts of *Europe*, began to fit out ships, *and encour-*
and to revive, as well as they were able, that general traffick

¹ MARTINI SCHÖCKII *Belgium Foederatum*, lib. vi. cap. 1.

² EMANUEL METEREN *Histoire de Pays bas*, l. xii. ³ GRO-
TII *Annal. & Historiæ de rebus Belgicis*, lib. v.

(A) We have this point very clearly stated by one of the ablest writers, as well as one of the greatest statemen, that nation ever produced. He shews the reasons which induced the principal merchants of *Antwerp*, when they found themselves constrained to abandon their own country, rather to make choice of *Holland* than of *England*, *France*, or *Zealand*, for the place of their retreat; and rather of *Amsterdam* than of any other place in *Holland*, because there they might enjoy intire liberty of conscience, pay no higher duties than the natives, and be very conveniently situated both for receiving and distributing merchandize of all sorts from and to the most distant parts of *Europe* (1).

(1) *De Witt's Maxims of Holland*, P. i. c. 12.

which they had formerly carried on. But as they found this a thing impracticable, without dealing in the commodities of *India*, they soon fell upon a method which answered that end tolerably well, by sending vessels, under neutral colours, to purchase those commodities in the port of *Lisbon*^m. It was not long before the *Spanish* ministers were made acquainted with this correspondence; and, persisting still in their former resolution of propagating poverty to the utmost extent of their power, they immediately resolved to put an end to what they called an illicit trade, without considering either the present consequence of depriving their master's subjects the *Portuguese* of a market for their goods; or, that which was more remote, the forcing those, that were now content to purchase them at *Lisbon*, to find a way of coming at them from the first hand. Confiscating their ships, and imprisoning their seamen, quickly cured the merchants of *Amsterdam*, and thereby answered the ends of the *Spanish* politicians, which was, preventing their acquisition of *Indian* commodities by that channel, which very naturally put them upon considering if they might not be obtained some other way, since, without them, experience had shewn their general assortments would be incomplete (B).

ONE

^m Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts, in the third volume of Churchill's Voyages. ⁿ Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement et aux Progres de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

(B) The scheme of those great merchants, who had fixed themselves at *Amsterdam*, was, to revive there that very commerce which had rendered *Antwerp* so rich and so famous. The *Dutch* writers unanimously allow, that in doing this, the *Spaniards* concurred, without designing it, to the very utmost of their abilities; which is no great wonder, since they had the same views with the *Dutch*, tho' directed to different ends. They were afraid the trade of *Antwerp* should recover, and the citizens become insolent thro' prosperity; and, to prevent this, they never attempted to re-establish the navigation of the *Schelde*, which

was precisely what the *Dutch* wanted. They were also desirous of humbling the *Portuguese*, which was one reason for their laying so many restraints on the port of *Lisbon*, and this was also favourable to the *Dutch* designs; with great reason, therefore, one of their own writers remarks, in reference to the pains taken to prevent the *Dutch* from trading to *Portugal*, that, if the *Spaniards* had not seized their ships, and exposed their persons to the rigour of the inquisition, probably they had never extended their navigation beyond the *Baltic* sea, the northern countries, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and its dependencies, the *Mediterranean*,

ONE would have imagined, that the shortest and most natural resolution, in this case, would have been sitting out ships for the *Indies*; and so, very probably, it was; but, upon a little consideration, it appeared to the warmest, as well as the wariest of those able merchants, a very dangerous, if not impracticable scheme. In the first place, it was objected, that the passage was long, dangerous, and difficult, and they had no seamen that were acquainted with the coasts, or factor that understood the method of carrying on the trade: next, that their enemies had a vast naval force, which would be infallibly employed to intercept their ships; and that, if they were fortunate enough to reach the *Indies*, they would find the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* stronger there than in *Europe*, and more capable of distressing and destroying them. Upon mature deliberation, therefore, the setting out a few ships, at the expence of private men, to sail to the *Indies* without any cover, commission, or protection, against those who were already possessed of a vast empire there, and were known to spare no pains to maintain and support it, was rejected as a thing well designed, but obstructed in its execution by insurmountable difficulties. This being admitted, the next point to be considered, was, whether some other route might not be found, which might serve as effectually for supplanting the *Portuguese*, as that by the *Cape of Good Hope* had availed them in carrying away this lucrative trade from the *Venetians*; which, being a project free^e from those difficulties that embarrassed the former, appeared, in their judgment, to be infinitely more eligible, provided, upon experiment, it should be found practicable (C).

THE

• History of the Voyages made for the Discovery of a North-east Passage to China, p. 3.

Mediterranean, and the *Levant* (2). But, finding this commerce not to be maintained without the commodities of the *Indies*, they were compelled to search out some way of obtaining them.

(C) It may not be amiss to observe here, that though the *Dutch* were driven to think of finding a passage by the north-

east to the *Indies* from the distress they were under, and the desire they had of sailing thither in such a way as to avoid meeting with the *Portuguese* or *Spaniards*, yet they were far from being the inventors of this design, since, so early as the reign of *Henry the eighth*, the *English* had in view the discovering a passage into the south sea by the

(2) *Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.*

*Reasons
which in-
duced the
merchants
in Holland
to look on
this disco-
very as ad-
vantage-
ous.*

THE seamen and mathematicians, being called into this consultation, proposed attempting something without delay towards the discovery of a passage to China and Japan by the north-east; which appeared to them a thing both probable and practicable; notwithstanding the disappointments the English had met with in their voyages on that side. The advantages that might be expected from this discovery were very obvious, as well as very great; it would shorten the time in going and returning to the Indies one half; the navigation would be much wholsomer and much easier for the seamen; they would by this means avoid all enemies in their passage; they would arrive first on those coasts, which, to the Portuguese, were the most remote in the Indies, where they had the least strength, and from which, notwithstanding, they might bring the most valuable returns^p. All these particulars being considered, the expence of the trial not being very great, and the expedition requiring but a small space of it was agreed that no more time should be lost in an undertaking of such importance. To say the truth, there is much more reason to wonder that they were so soon discouraged by their want of success in a very few attempts on that side, than that, all circumstances considered, they should venture upon such an expedition which promised so fair, and the prevailing in which seemed to depend intirely upon the skill and courage of the persons employed; and this at a time when they wanted not for as able seamen as that age produced, as well foreigners as their own subjects^q.

^p Discours sur le Passage par le Nord-Est de l'Europe dans les Mers des Indes.

^q GROT. ANNAL. LE CLERC, BASNAGE.

north-west, the falling into the Indian ocean from the north-east, or passing into either at their pleasure, through the open sea lying under the pole, as manifestly appears from Mr. *Thorn's* address⁽³⁾ to that monarch upon that subject. Besides, the famous *Sebastian Cabot* had, thirty years before the Dutch attempt, published his instructions for the discovery of the north-east passage, which were delivered to

Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who perished in attempting to find it⁽⁴⁾; which however did not hinder many other voyages for the same purpose⁽⁵⁾, and from these the Dutch received their best, and indeed their only lights. The single difference, in respect to the two nations, was this, that what the English did was from choice, and that the Dutch were driven to make this trial by necessity.

(3) *Hackluyt's Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 250.

(4) *Voyage au Nord*, vol. i. p. 20.

(5) See particularly those of *Stephen Burroughs*, and of *Perr and Jackman* in *Hackluyt and Purchas*.

A SUFFICIENT stock being raised by a small number of *Three* traders, *Balthazar Moucheran*, a *Zelander*, who was at the *fruitless* head of the company, petitioned *Prince Maurice* and the *States* for leave to discover a passage to *China* by the north-^{expeditions} east; which was readily granted him^{for the}. Four vessels were ^{finding this} presently fitted out; and the chief direction was given to ^{passage by} *William Barentz*, a very able pilot, a man of good sense and ^{the north-} great courage. He sailed with his small squadron *June* the 5th, 1595, and proceeded to the latitude of seventy-eight degrees north; and then, not being able to prevail upon his company to continue any longer in those parts, returned to *Amsterdam* on the sixteenth of *September*¹. Though this voyage was unsuccessful, yet, upon the report of *Barentz*, and of others who accompanied him, the probability of discovering a passage through the streights of *Wygatz* appeared so great, that the prince and the States ordered a fleet of six sail to be fitted out the succeeding year, with a bark to bring advice of their having passed the streights; which fleet, commanded by *James Heemskerck* and *William Barentz*, sailed *June* the second, 1595; but this fleet, of which there were so great expectations, performed little or nothing, returning to *Holland* in less than five months, with an account that the savages had informed them, that there was a great sea to the eastward of *Tartary*, into which they might enter². This discouraged the States from attempting any thing farther at the public expence, and therefore they contented themselves with offering a reward of twenty-five thousand florins to any private persons that should attempt and make the discovery. Upon this the city of *Amsterdam* fitted out two vessels, in which *Heemskerck* and *Barentz* went, the former for the second, the latter for the third time, which sailed on the eighteenth of *May*, 1596. These were more unfortunate than the former, the biggest of the two ships being lost upon the coast of *Nova Zembla*, where the crew were obliged to winter, and consequently to endure prodigious hardships; by which many of them perished, and *Barentz* among the rest, who died, notwithstanding, in a full opinion that there was a passage. *Heemskerck* and the rest returned, in two shallops they had fitted up out of the wreck of their ship, in the

¹ Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. i. p. 57. ² Discours Preliminaire au Recueil de Voyages au Nord, p. xxiii. ³ Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. i. p. 85.

month of *October* 1597; and this put a stop for a time to all thoughts of prosecuting discoveries on this side " (D).

S E C T.

■ SALLENGRE *Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces unies*, p. 63.

(D) The most extraordinary passage that happened in this unfortunate voyage was an astronomical discovery, which, being in itself very curious, and at the same time perfectly consistent with the modern accounts of the true form of the earth, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to find it as recorded in their journal, written while they wintered in *Nova Zembla*. It runs thus (6): " The 24th of " *January* 1597 was fine and " clear; *Hiemskerk*, *de Vier*, " and another, took a walk " along the shore, on the south " side of *Nova Zembla*. *De* " *Veer* perceiving one side of " the globe of the sun, returned " full of joy to bring these " glad tidings to *Barentz* and " the rest. *Barentz*, who was " a skilful pilot, would not believe it, for, according to all " computations, the sun could " not be seen till a fortnight " after. The rest assured him " they saw it; and that dispute made them lay a wager " they were right. On the " 25th and 26th there was so " great a fog that they could " not see one another, so that " those that laid the negative " wager thought they had won; " but the 27th, the weather " being clear, the whole ship's " company saw the intire circle of the sun upon the horizon; from whence it was " concluded that they had seen " a part of it the 24th of the " same month. However, that " discovery being contrary to " the opinion of both ancient " and modern writers, and, as " some pretend, to the course " of nature, and being inconsistent with the rotundity of " the world, they thought many " would be of the opinion that " they were mistaken; alleging, that, since they had been " so long without seeing daylight, they had not kept an " exact account of the number " of days, but had skipped " over some in bed, or in their " sleep; and, in fine, that by " some accident or other there " was absolutely an error in " their calculation. But, being " certain of what they had seen, " to convince the world of it, " they set down every thing in " writing. They saw then the " first time the sun in *Aquarius* " in $5^{\circ} 25'$; and, according to " their former computation, it " should have been in the $16^{\circ} 27'$ before it could appear in " the latitude of 76° , where " they were. However, they " studied to reconcile what appeared so contrary, and to " discover the truth about the " computation of time. They " examined the ephemerides, or " astronomical tables, of *Jeseph* " *Scala*, printed at *Venice*, which " began in 1589, and continued " to 1600, wherein they found, " that, on the 24th of *January* " the same day they saw the " sun; the moon, and *Jupiter*, " were in conjunction at one of " the clock in the morning at

(6) *Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company*, p. 38.
" *Venice*.

S E C T. II.

The Accident by which they were first introduced into the Indies; the Consequences of this Introduction, and the Vigour with which their Merchants prosecuted this new Trade.

WHILE they were thus employed in Holland in concert- Cornelius
ing means to open a passage to the *East Indies*, which Houtman,
Providence did not favour, a new and unexpected accident ^{in the}
fell out, which turned their thoughts quite another way. ^{mean time,}
Amongst the *Dutch* seamen who were seized, as we have ^{discovers}
shewn, at *Lisbon*, in 1594, there was one *Cornelius Houtman*, ^{the Portu-}
who, with a sound head and stout heart, had a bold enter- ^{guese}
prising genius, which both inclined him to undertake great ^{route by}
things, and enabled him to execute them. This man, hav- ^{the Cape}
ing some liberty allowed him, employed it in conversing with ^{of Good}
the *Portuguese* seamen, making the best inquiry he could into ^{Hope.}
the course they held in their *East India* voyages, the places
to which they traded, and the manner of their dealing with
the natives; in all which, by dint of his liberality, and that
admiration which he expressed at all he heard, he procured

" *Venice*. Upon this remark
" they were curious in observ-
" ing what hour of the night
" these two planets should be
" in conjunction at the place
" where they then were; and
" found they were in conjunc-
" tion five hours later than at
" *Venice*, that is to say, about
" six in the morning; and then
" were in conjunction, the one
" being directly above the
" other, in the sign *Taurus*. This
" conjunction was exactly, ac-
" cording to the compass, north-
" north-east, and the meridian
" of the compass was south-
" south-west, the moon being
" then eight days old; by which
" it appeared, that the sun and
" moon were eight runbs di-
" stant from one another. The
" difference, then, between the
" place where they were, and

" *Venice*, was five hours in lon-
" gitude; and, supposing that,
" one may easily reckon, how
" much further they were to
" the east than *Venice*, viz. five
" hours, every hour being 15°,
" which makes 75°, whence it
" appeared they were not mis-
" taken in their calculation;
" for, by these two planets,
" they found the true longitude,
" *Venice* lying in 37° 21' longi-
" tude; and the declination be-
" ing 46° 5', it followed that
" the hut in *Nova Zembla* was
" in 112° 25' of longitude, and
" 76° of latitude. All which
" circumstances were put down
" to convince the world there
" was no error in their calcula-
" tion." It appears from hence,
" that the difference between the
" computed and real difference of
" seeing the sun was a fortnight.

much

much information before the government had any notion of what he was about ; which they no sooner received, than they committed him to prison, and laid a heavy fine upon him for his pains *. *Houtman*, in these melancholy circumstances, applied himself to a company of merchants at *Amsterdam*, to whom he proposed, that, if they would pay his fine, and enable him to return home, he would communicate to them all that he had discovered. This offer, coming after the first disappointment in their endeavour to find a passage by the north-east, was very well received; and, after being thoroughly canvassed, they determined to close with him; and accordingly remitted a sum sufficient to pay his fine, and to bring him home *. It may be justly wondered, unless some indirect method was practised, that those, who were so quick in entertaining suspicions when they heard of *Houtman's* conversations with the seamen, and had recourse to precautions so proper upon that occasion, should yet entertain no jealousy upon his paying a large fine, but set him at liberty, as they did, and suffer him to return home, where he punctually discharged his promise †.

A new company erected for carrying on this trade, with whom the merchants of Amsterdam likewise associate themselves.

AFTER sufficiently considering what he had offered, they resolved to erect another company, called *The Company for remote Countries*; the directors of which were *Henry Hudden, Reiner Pauw, Peter Hasselaer, &c.* who, after mature deliberation, came to a resolution, *Anno Domini 1595*, to send four vessels to the *Indies* by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. *Houtman*, and some others, who had the command of the vessels employed in this expedition, were ordered to observe the course they steered very exactly, and to settle with the *Indians* a commerce for spices, and other goods, especially in those countries where the *Portuguese* had no settlements ‡. These ships returned to *Holland* in two years and four months; and though they had made no great profit of the voyage, yet their success animated their owners, and several other merchants, to carry on the design with all imaginable vigour (E); and, a member of that company being dead,

* Avertissement à la tête de *Recueil de Voyages de la Compagnie, &c.* p. 27. † *SALLENGRE* Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies. ‡ Succinct Account of the Dutch Commerce in the East Indies, p. 35. § *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. i. p. 265.

(E) The person chiefly intrusted in the management of this voyage was *Cornelius Houtman*, to whom they were under great obligations for the lights he had procured them, as well in

dead, they presently put into his place *Gerard Bicker*, a very considerable merchant^a. Then they had advice that some other merchants of *Amsterdam* designed to set out ships for *India*; upon which, to avoid animosities, they thought it necessary to unite with those merchants; and accordingly the two fleets, consisting of eight vessels, joined under the command of *James Van Nek*, their admiral, and sailed from the *Texel* A. D. 1596^b.

A DESIGN of the same nature was likewise set on foot in *The success* *Zealand*, where *Balthasar Moucheron* before-mentioned, *Adrian* of their *Hendrickzen Haaf*, with some other partners, fitted out ships' expeditions for the *Indies*. The inhabitants of *Rotterdam*, excited by encourage

^a *Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, &c. p. 29.* ^b Journal or daily Register of this Voyage, London, 1601, 4°.

in respect to the course the vessels were to steer, as the manner in which their trade was to be managed in the *Indies* (7). In the execution, however, of this enterprise, his conduct was not altogether so laudable or so fortunate as might have been expected; for, by his rash discourse at *Bantam*, in the island of *Jawa*, he brought himself into confinement, and the whole squadron into great danger (8); and, in their return home, he was strongly suspected of poisoning the master of the ship on board which he sailed, and for which he was confined, but at length acquitted and released, though still held in great suspicion (9). If it had not been for these mistakes, and certain acts of extravagance committed by the seamen, that squadron might have returned intire in less time, and with a better cargo. As it was, they failed

April the 2d, 1595, from the *Texel*, and returned *August* the 12th, 1597, having lost the *Amsterdam*, which they burnt, being leaky, and they not having men enough to navigate all the four vessels (10). It was the loss of this vessel that abated the value of the goods which they brought home, the most considerable of which were cloves, nutmegs, mace, and pepper. The last of these spices they purchased at *Bantam* from the natives, the rest they took from the *Portuguese* at the same place. The report they made was to this purpose: that the natives were everywhere ready enough to trade; that the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* were excessively hated; and that there was no danger at all in going with a competent force to the *Maluccas*; which news, with the sight of the spices, raised the hopes of their countrymen prodigiously (11).

(7) *Salenore Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies, p. 63.*

de la Compagnie des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 190.

(9) *Voyages de la Compagnie des Isles Orientales, tom. ii. p. 102, 103.*

(10) *Græc. Annal. lib. vi. Le Ciel Histoire des Provinces-unies, vol. i. p. 191.*

(11) *Avertissement à la tête du Recueil de Voyages de la Compagnie, &c. p. 29.*

(8) *Histoire*

de la Compagnie des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 190.

(9) *Voyages de la Compagnie des Isles Orientales, tom. ii. p. 102, 103.*

(10) *Græc. Annal. lib. vi.*

(11) *Avertissement*

other mer-
chants to
form new
societies.

such examples, formed a company also, and fitted out five ships, under the command of *James Mahu*, with orders to sail to the *Molucca Islands* by the strait of *Magellan* and the south sea^c. In the mean time the *Amsterdam* merchants grew more and more sanguine; and the company before-mentioned, without staying for the return of the fleet they had sent already, fitted out three ships more, which put to sea *May* the fourth, 1599, under the command of *Stephen Vander Hagan*^d. On the 8th of *July* the same year four of the eight ships that went out first arrived in the *Texel*; and, after they were unloaded, were immediately sent back again under the command of *James Willekens*^e. About this time also the merchants, who had retired from *Brabant* to *Amsterdam*, formed a new company upon the same design, and fitted out four vessels, which put to sea *December* 1599, together with four of the old company's ships^f. Two years after all these ships came home with rich cargoes. But, before their arrival, this new company had sent out two ships more, which were joined by six of the old company's, putting to sea *A. D.* 1600, under the command of *James Van Neck*; and in process of time all of them returned to their respective ports. Upon this happy success, more ships were fitted out from *Amsterdam*, *Zealand*, and elsewhere; among others, thirteen from *Amsterdam*, viz. four belonging to the old, and four to the new company, under the command of *James Heemskerck* and *James Grenier*; and five more of the old company, bound for the *Moluccas*, under the command of *Wolfhart Harmanfz*; all the thirteen sailed from the *Texel* *April* 1601^g.

Reasons
which led
the Dutch
merchants
to promote
this new
trade with
such suc-
cess.

AN ardor like this could not fail of producing prodigious effects, and of diffusing itself daily amongst all the traders that had taken shelter in the dominions of the States, and even of attracting others to come and settle there likewise. They foresaw that all the commerce which enriched *Antwerp* must necessarily retire by degrees, and that no places bid so fair to engage it as *Amsterdam*, and the rest of the *Dutch* cities, more especially now they had gained the great point, and opened themselves a direct passage to the *Indies*. They comprehended also how much further this important trade might be improved in a free country, and under a mild government, than hitherto it had been under arbitrary monarchs, who va-

^a Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 29.

^d Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 91.

^e Avertissement à la tête de Recueil de Voyages, &c. p. 30.

^f Ibid. ubi sup.

^g EMANUEL METELEN Histoire de Pays-bas, fo. 495.

lued it chiefly as furnishing the means of carrying their ambitious projects into execution, and grudged their subjects those little emoluments, which, with infinite toil and hazard, they procured by their own labour and industry. But what impelled them more than any other consideration, was, their desire of having an early share in the *Indian* commerce, before the value of it was universally understood; and such numbers interested therein, as greatly to diminish the profits. Some or all these motives operated on not a few; and their example with still greater force on many more, which increased the adventurers continually. The *Spaniards*, on receiving this news, were enraged with anger, partly from the affront in seeing such petty merchants as they stiled the *Dutch* compass their ends in spite of their power, and partly upon account of the loss they had already sustained, and were likely to sustain hereafter^b. To prevent which, they saw no better method than to employ a superior force to intercept their outward-bound fleets; with this view they fitted out a strong squadron, to surprise the next *Dutch* ships that should be sent to the *Indies*. This squadron, consisting of thirty men of war well manned, fell in with eight of the *Dutch* ships in the month of *May*, in the latitude of fourteen degrees. The *Dutch* perceived the inequality of their number and forces, notwithstanding that they had some soldiers aboard: however, they fought bravely; and the *Spanish* admiral was so warmly received, that he found it expedient to let them passⁱ (F).

IN

^b LE CLERC Histoire des Provinces-unies, vol. i. p. 216.

ⁱ Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 31.

(F) There is little reason to doubt that the wonderful activity and surprising success of the *Dutch* filled the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, at this time under the dominion of the same crown, with the strongest apprehensions, and put them upon contriving every method to free themselves from these new and dangerous rivals, who, in the space of five years, had sent near forty ships into the *Indies*,

and, of these, one squadron had passed by the streights of *Magellan*, through the south seas, had insulted the *Philippines*, and sunk a galleon that carried the king of *Spain*'s flag as admiral, as the rest did by the *Cape of Good Hope*, but sooner and better equipped than the ships from *Portugal* (12). It is true, the first *Dutch* fleets made no establishment, neither did they concert their measures well toge-

(12) Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 41.

ther

*Disputes
with the
king of
Achen, on
the island
of Suma-
tra, which
at length
are com-
promised.*

IN the next year, which was 1602, three ships came from the *Indies* richly laden. They brought advice that the king of *Achen* had attempted to seize two of *Moucheron's* ships that sailed from *Holland* in 1599; and that *Cornelius Houtman*, the commander, had lost his life in the adventure; in which, however, the ships escaped, though some of the *Dutch* continued prisoners in the hands of that monarch^k. But, before this news arrived in *Holland*, *Paul Van Caerden*, having sailed for the *Indies* that same year, arrived at the port of *Achen*, without knowing what had passed; and was exposed to the like danger; for that king, being urged thereto by a *Franciscan* monk who resided there in quality of the *Portuguese* envoy, and had come from the *Moluccas* on purpose to cajole him, set all instruments at work to seize *Caerden's* ship^l. But his attempts proved abortive; and the king, being reconciled, owned afterwards that he was seduced by the *Portuguese*, promising better usage for the future; and accordingly he gave a very good reception to the fleet commanded by *Laurence Bicker*, which had been fitted out from *Zealand* in 1601; and when that fleet had taken in its loading, which was very considerable, he sent some ambassadors on board it. This fleet, putting into *St. Helen's* to take in fresh water, happened to meet with a *Portuguese* carrack richly laden, which they took, and brought home with them. This same year also *George Spilbergen*, and the ships he commanded, coming to *Achen*, were by the same king as favourably treated^m (G).

THE

^k GROT. *Annal.* l. xi. ^l Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 194. ^m GROT. *Annal.* l. xi. Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 32.

ther to prevent the natives from raising their prices upon them. However, their eagerness in trading enabled them to carry large cargoes home, which raised the credit of this new trade exceedingly; and their being very expert in the sea-service rendered them capable of making such resistance, as cured their enemies of the vain hope they had conceived of oppressing them at

once by numbers; as the zeal and courage they expressed against the common enemy endeared them to the inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, and many other *Indian* nations (13).

(G) These facts are precisely set down from the *Dutch* historians; but, however, it is necessary to remark, that as the *Portuguese*, by their money and intrigues, prevailed upon the king

THE *Spaniards*, now finding themselves inferior in strength, *Methods* endeavoured to ruin the *Dutch* by all manner of stratagems. *practised* They sent emissaries to all the *Indian* kings, to decry the new *by the Spaniards to* adventurers, and to represent them as pirates, and men of no *prejudice* faith, whom therefore they ought to distrust and destroy. *the Dutch,* The States General and Prince *Maurice*, having received ad- *and how* vice of all this, resolved for the future to give commissions *th-se were* to the captains of all ships that sailed to the *Indies* (and in- *defeated.* deed the commanders of those ships stood in very great need of them) to refute the many calumnies of their enemies^a. By these commissions they were empowered not only to defend themselves, but to attack all who should disturb their commerce. The vallant *James Heens Kirk*, being vested with this authority, sailed with two ships from *Bantam*, in order to load at *Jabor*; and, falling in with a rich carrack, upon her return from *Macao*, with above seven hundred men on board, attacked, and forced the *Portuguese*, after a slender defence, to strike, and ask quarter, which was granted^c. This was a thing of great importance in itself, and rendered of still greater consequence by the skill and address of the *Dutch* admiral, who not only treated his prisoners well, but sent most of them, except the captain and the chaplain, without ransom, to the *Portuguese* governor in the *Indies*, foreseeing that this would naturally produce a letter of thanks and acknowledgements, to facilitate the deliverance of those two pri-

^a SALLENGRE *Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces unies*, p. 67.

^c Avertissement à la tête de *Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie*, p. 33.

of *Achen*, at *Sumatra*, to attempt seizing the *Lion* and *Lioness*, two ships belonging to the *Zealand* company, and to detain *Cornelius Houtman*, who commanded them, prisoner; so it was very unbecoming in another *Dutch* officer, who came thither with a superior force, from the hopes of entertaining trade with the subjects of that perfidious prince, to put that unfortunate person again into his hands, when he had once made his escape, and by whom, after the departure

of those *Dutch* ships, he was, with several others, basely murdered (14). It must be allowed, that Admiral *Spilberg* demanded ample satisfaction for this, but it is no less true that he was satisfied with fair words; and thus *Cornelius Houtman* lost his life unprotected and unrevenged, who first conducted the *Dutch* into the *Indies*, and whose last misfortune was intirely owing to an over-forward diligence in the service of his country (15).

(14) *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 177. (15) *Græc. Annal.* lib. xi.

foners of rank. This had its effect; Admiral *Heemskirk* received a couple of letters filled with compliments, which he produced in every port where-ever he came; and thereby wiped off the aspersion of pirates, and men without humanity or honour, for ever. Besides this, the cargo was immensely rich, consisting of the most valuable commodities from different parts of the *Indies*; and the papers on board gave them likewise more light into the nature of this commerce than they had hitherto received ^P.

S E C T. III.

The Causes which led the States to erect the present East India Company, the Terms of their Charter, the Methods taken by them to establish themselves in the Indies, and their Disputes with the Spaniards and Portuguese, who laboured their Expulsion.

*Occasion
on which
the present
East India
company
was erected
by the
States
General.*

BUT, while they met with all this success in the *Indies*, their affairs at home were in great danger of taking a wrong turn, to which this success of theirs did not a little contribute. In short, the spirit of sending ships to the *Indies* grew so strong, and prevailed so generally, that new companies were formed every day. This at the beginning had a very good effect, both in *Holland* and in the *Indies*, as it occasioned the building a great many large ships, employing a vast number of industrious people, raising and hiring great numbers of seamen, and keeping such a force in that part of the world as prevented the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* from oppressing this trade in its infancy, as they would otherwise have done. In process of time, however, these new companies, having no right understanding, fitted out many ships for the same port, which sunk the value of their goods, and produced other inconveniencies ^Q (H). The States General, being

^P GROT. Annal. l. xi.
Histoire des Provinces-unies, p. 69.

^Q SALLENBRE Essai d'une Hi-

(H) There is no doubt that the starting up of so many companies was attended with various inconveniencies, as well in *Europe* as in the *Indies*; and that there was great prudence and sagacity in the measure taken by the States to provide an effec-

tual remedy for these mischiefs, by granting a charter to a single company. But, after all, one cannot help perceiving, that to this event, which some ascribe to chance, wiser people, to that thirst of gain which success in every new commerce naturally excites,

being informed of this, exhorted these companies to unite, and promised them a charter, or, as it is filed in *Holland*, an edroy. This was an affair of very great consequence, as well to the public as to the persons interested in the several companies; and therefore it took some time to settle matters, and bring them under a just regulation; which however was at length adjusted, to the general satisfaction of all concerned; and a charter granted for twenty-one years, to commence from the twentieth of *March* 1602; the capital to consist of six millions six hundred thousand florins, divided proportionably amongst the several chambers; which was a provision invented to satisfy those interested in the private companies that were now dissolved¹. The rest of the subjects of the United Provinces were forbidden to send ships to the *Indies*, either by the route of the *Cape of Good Hope*, or the streights of *Magellan*. The State had, by way of gratuity for this charter, twenty-five thousand florins in the new capital, and a duty of three *per cent.* upon all goods exported, bullion excepted; the number of directors, the method of managing, the times and places when and where general assemblies were to be held, the manner of making sales, and of stating general accounts, were all fixed in such methods as might best provide against frauds, and for the emolument of the proprietors; so that the capital was very soon full, and the spirit

¹ GROT. Annal. l. xi. GROOT Placaet Boek, tom. i. p. 529.

excites, and the wisest of all to the secret workings of Providence, that the *Dutch* stand indebted for all that they possess in the *Indies*; since, if Squadron after Squadron had not followed in this manner, but the return of one, waited for, before another was sent, the *Spaniards* had unquestionably crushed this trade at its very beginning; and, by destroying a few ships, and a small number of men, frightened private merchants, or it may be disabled them, from pursuing it any further (16). This is the more probable, since a great historian tells us, that the first ships were for the most part

manned by vagabonds, malefactors, and desperate persons; for this plain reason, that none but such could be brought to run the hazard (17); which shews that nothing but the great success, owing, as we have said, to this accident, that, by bringing numbers of ships into different parts of the *Indies*, distracted the *Portuguese*; could have animated the *Dutch* merchants to subscribe, in the manner they did, to the first incorporated company which enabled the directors to carry on their trade with a high hand and a great naval force, as well as with much prudence and dexterity.

(16) *Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies*, p. 67, 68. (17) *G. d. Annal. lib. xi.*

of adventuring rather increased than abated by this salutary establishment; which could not but give great pleasure to the States, more especially as they found that it attracted large sums of money, and brought many eminent merchants from the neighbouring countries to settle in their dominions¹.

The first grand fleet fitted out by the new company, under Admiral Wybrant van Waerwyk.

UPON this bottom, the proprietors promised themselves still greater things than had been hitherto achieved; and fitted out a fleet of fourteen large ships, which put to sea in June 1602, under the command of Admiral *Wybrant van Waerwyk*. The next year, in the month of February, the yacht *Wachter* returned, with advice, that five of the other ships would very speedily arrive². By this yacht an account was brought of what had passed before *Bantam*, between *Wolphart Harmanfz*, and his Vice-admiral *Bouwer*, on one side, and Don *Andreas Furtado de Mendoza* on the other, who had formed a design of no less consequence than to drive the Dutch out of the Indies³. In effect, Don *Andreas* was beat, and the Dutch vessels pursuing their course for the *Molucca's*, arrived there at several times, one after the other. The same yacht brought the news of an engagement at the *Molucca's*, between Admiral *Van Neck* and three Portuguese ships, not at all to his advantage; for, after the loss of eight or nine men, and having some of the fingers of his own right hand shot away, he was obliged to sheer off. Upon the arrival of this news, another fleet of thirteen ships was diligently fitted out, which sailed December the 18th, under the command of *Stephen Vander Hagen*, to prevent this profitable correspondence from being interrupted or lost⁴.

The Spanish court issue a new declaration, which, instead of intimidating, invigorates the company.

IN the year 1605, the king of Spain issued another vigorous declaration; in which, he prohibited the inhabitants of the United Provinces to trade to the dominions of Spain, or to the East and West Indies, under pain of corporal punishment. But the company was so far from being dejected by this edict, that it rather inspired them with fresh courage, and animated them to pursue their design with more spirit and diligence. They presently fitted out, as a proof of this, a fleet of eleven vessels, which were not only equipped for traffic, but for war, and gave the command of them to *Cornelius Matelief*⁵. This fleet had scarce put to sea, when the directors gave orders for preparing another squadron, of

¹ LE CLERC Histoire des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 221.

² Advertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 37. ³ Histoire de la Conquête des Îles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 49, 50.

⁴ SALLENGRE Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 69. ⁵ GROTIJ Annal, l. xiv.

eight ships, which were manned not only with their full complement of seamen, but with soldiers, that were engaged to stay, and keep garrison in the *Indies*, if occasion required. This third squadron was commanded by *Paul van Careden*. Soon after, two ships, of the first of these three squadrons, came home, with a rich cargo of cloves, and other spices. They brought advice, that Admiral *Vander Hagen* would follow very quickly; and accordingly he arrived in *July*, after taking several *Spanish* and *Portuguese* vessels, possessing himself of the fort of *Amboyna*, demolishing that of *Tidore*, and, in a great measure, dislodging those two nations out of the *Molucca* islands¹. This expedition gave rise to a dispute between the *Dutch* and the *English*, upon account that the latter favoured the *Spaniards*, and, by supplying them with powder, enabled them to hold out longer. The next *October*, three other vessels arrived in *Holland*, with intelligence, that *Wybrandt van Waerwyk*, being homeward-bound, was obliged to put in at the island of *Maurice*, because his ship was leaky, and that he had taken a carrack at *Patanà*. This admiral arrived in the spring of 1607; but, in the preceding winter, the company had sent two ships more, under the command of *John Jansz Noldie*, who soon reduced the fort of *Tidore*; the news of which gave the company, and indeed the whole *Dutch* nation, very high satisfaction; the monopoly of spices being a thing they had long had in view, and which they have at length compassed, by all sorts of means² (I).

AT

¹ Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. v. p. 103. ² SALLÈGRE Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 71.

(I) It was at this juncture that their affairs in the *Indies* were brought into a very critical situation, so that it seemed to depend upon a single action, whether they should be able to maintain themselves in the *Indies*, or not. This arose from *Cornelius Matelief's* being directed to besiege *Malacca*, which while he performed to no purpose, Don *Pedro d'Acuna*, in 1606, with a *Spanish* fleet from the *Philippines*, recovered the *Molucca's*. Which conquest, tho' it scarce lasted a year, gave occasion to *Argensola's* history; so much was that action esteemed and admired at *Madrid* (18). On the other hand, to so great a degree are the eyes of all mankind dazzled by success, that the *Dutch* affairs declining, the natives almost every-where declared in favour of their old masters, and would have con-

(18) *Conquista de las Islas Molucas*, lib. x.

Their prudent measures, in order to keep the States steady to their interests in the negotiation for peace.

AT this time, a negotiation was set on foot for concluding a peace between the Republic and *Spain*, or, at least, a truce for a considerable number of years; which was become a thing equally necessary to both nations. Upon this occasion, the *East India* company took a wise and vigorous step, equipping a fleet of thirteen large ships, at once, under the command of Admiral *Verhoeven*; that the world might take notice, the States did not mean to give up this trade. The *Spanish* ministers were, however, very warm upon this head; and sometimes went so far, as to declare, that they could yield to nothing in this particular *. On the other hand, the company presented several memorials to the States General; setting forth, what numbers of persons, of both sexes, they employed, and maintained; what immense sums had been

* Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 39.

curring very heartily in driving these new comers as suddenly out as they came in, if victory had not once more declared on their side, and thereby occasioned an alteration in the sentiments of the *Indians* in their favour. Here, once for all, let us observe, that the ablest historians of all nations agree, that these sudden and singular revolutions were not so much brought about by the courage and conduct of any of the competitors, as by the mistakes and bad management of them all. The *Portuguese* abhorring their subjection to the *Spaniards*, and, persuaded of their intention to deprive them of the *Molucca's*, under colour of protecting them, never concurred with them sincerely in their endeavours to preserve them (19). On the other hand, the *Spaniards*, in the *Philippines*, in *America*, and even in *Europe*, grudging the enormous expence

to which they were put, for the defence of those islands from whence little or no profit resulted to them, slackened their endeavours precisely at the time they should have redoubled them; by which all the advantages Don *Pedro d'Acuna* had gained were speedily lost (20). Lastly, the *Dutch*, carried away by their too high sense of the good fortune they met with at the beginning, thought of nothing but extending their conquests, and looking upon the *Molucca's* as their own, turned their views to the reduction of *Malacca*; but, being roused from this dream, by seeing themselves dispossessed of all they had acquired, they soon corrected their error, and, in proportion as they subdued these islands, erected fortresses, introduced garrisons, and stationed ships, for their protection (21).

(19) *La Clede Histoire generale de Portugal*, tom. vi. p. 386. (20) *See this subject largely treated in the preceding chapter, concerning the Spanish dominions in the East Indies.* (21) *Histoire de la Conquête des Iles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 159.

brought in, by their sales; and how fair a prospect they had of extending their commerce, and augmenting their profits: all which made such an impression on their High Mightinesses, that they promised never to abandon them. When therefore the negotiation was in danger of breaking upon this single point, the States proposed, that one of these three expedients might be accepted; first, to allow of a free trade, in general terms, under which this should be comprehended; secondly, to permit it for a stated number of years certain; and lastly, to regulate things in *Europe*, and to leave matters beyond the tropic of *Cancer* to the decision of arms ^b. The *Spaniards*, finding from hence that nothing was to be done, consented to a truce; and agreed, not to disturb the *Dutch* trade in the *Indies* with other nations; excluding them, however, from all the ports in their possession ^c.

In the mean time, the company went on, sending every year fresh squadrons to the *Indies*; and, before the news of the truce, which was sent by a bark, with a passport, of the archduke's, reached that part of the world, they had made themselves masters of the island of *Machaian*, and had possessed the *Spaniards* of all the *Molucca* islands, except *Ternate*. Yet, feeling some inconveniences from the great length of the voyage, they were still very desirous of finding some shorter passage to the *Indies*; in order to which, they contracted, in the year 1609, with a famous *English* pilot, *Henry Hudson*, who promised them great things in that respect; but performed nothing more, than attempting a passage first by the north-east, and then by the north-west, in one voyage, without success in either ^d. This was the same person that, the year following, in the service of his own country, discovered that famous bay, which still bears his name; and in which, by the malice of some of his crew, he was exposed in an open boat, and was either swallowed by the waves, or perished by hunger. After which, it was a long time before the *Dutch* resumed the thoughts of attempting the search of any new passage; and, at length, came to change their sentiments as to its expediency ^e (K).

THE

^b GROT. Annal. l. xvii. ^c Negotiations de President Jeannin, p. 135. ^d Avertissement a la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 40. ^e HARRIS'S Voyages, vol. ii. p. 391.

(K) The conduct of the directors of the *Dutch East India* company, after it was once established by charter, was so prudent, and so well considered, that we may rest satisfied they

Some alteration in the company's conduct, in the management of their affairs in the Indies.

THE victories which had been obtained by the *Dutch* fleets, in the *Indies*, had already altered their dispositions, and taught them to exchange that modesty and moderation, which had so highly recommended them to the potentates of the east, for that haughty air, and arbitrary temper, which had rendered the *Portuguese* insupportable. They had, at this time, fifty ships, of the burden of eight hundred tons, or upwards, in this service, and were so secure of carrying all before them, that they gave out, the war would be carried on in that part of the world, whatever might be stipulated in *Europe*. But things suddenly changed their face, Don Juan de Sylva, the *Spanish* governor of the *Philippines*, being informed that a *Dutch* squadron, after having sunk a rich ship upon the coast of *China*, was cruising at some distance from *Manila*, in hopes of intercepting the homeward-bound fleet from *Japan*, fitted out, immediately, what vessels were in his port; and, having embarked the few regular troops under his command, sailed in quest of the *Dutch* squadron, which he attacked, and beat; Admiral Wittert, who commanded it, having his head shot off, in the beginning of the action, in which three ships out of four were taken, with a considerable number of prisoners, and plunder to the value of two hundred thousand crowns^f.

Don Juan de Sylva, with a fleet from the Molucca's, recovers the Molucca's from the Dutch.

DON Juan resolved to push his success to the utmost, and immediately attacked the *Molucca's*, where he met likewise with the same good fortune. And now the *Spaniards*, in their turns, pretended, that the peace was not to be observed

^f ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. xii.

undertook nothing but upon just and well grounded motives. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that, in fitting out *Hudson* for the discovery of a northern passage to the *East Indies*, they had chiefly in view the sending forces thither sooner, with greater safety, and in larger proportions, than their enemies; and if we consider, that they made their efforts at the very extremity of the *Indies*, and visibly aimed at the conquest of the *Philippines*, as well as the *Molucca's*, one cannot help seeing, that the scheme was very well laid; for as their

fleets, if they had found this passage, would have traversed the sea of *Japan*, and fallen upon the *Philippines* from that side, at the same time that they were pushed by what strength the *Dutch* had in the *Molucca's*, they must have been in great danger of being subdued. But when, in process of time, the *Dutch* began to extend their conquest, by rooting the *Portuguese* out of their settlements, the finding any such passage became less necessary, and, in the end, repugnant to their interests, as we have hinted elsewhere.

on the other side the line. However, when a *Dutch* squadron, of thirteen sail, commanded by Admiral *Peter Borth*, arrived in those seas, things, once more, altered their aspect. The *English* also in *Ternate*, who had hitherto favoured the *Spaniards*, finding them very insolent, upon this favourable turn of their fortune, quitted their party, and reconciled themselves to the *Dutch* ^a (L). An embassy was also sent, in the name of the prince of *Orange* and the States, to the emperor of *Japan*, where, through the folly of the *Spanish* management, rather than any great wisdom in their own, they procured all their requests to be granted; when the *Spanish* ambassador was allowed an audience only to affront him, and was sent away without any answer given to the proposals made by him, as they were, to speak impartially, equally impertinent and unreasonable ^b. Both parties being in this disposition, the reader will easily apprehend, that the truce was but ill observed on either side; the *Dutch* complaining of breach of faith in the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* echoing the same complaint against the *Dutch*, with an equal degree of reason on both sides ^c. But it is now requisite to speak of their disputes with a third nation in the *Indies*.

^a SALLENGRE Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 73.

^b P. CHARLEVOIX Histoire du Japon, vol. ii. p. 108. 119, 120.

^c Hist. de la Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 152, 153.

(L) There is no great wonder that the *Spanish* historians are very loud in the praises of Don *Juan de Sylva*, since, if we except these political equivocations and intrigues, too frequently regarded by men of his rank, as matters made to be so treated, he was certainly an active and able officer (22), one who gained great reputation at the expence of the *Dutch*, by killing one of their admirals, and taking *Paul Caerden*, another of them, twice prisoner; but, for all this, he found it impracticable to perform the

great things he had designed, in which he was chiefly hindered by the *Portuguese*, who neglected those supplies they had promised; which had such an effect upon this great officer's temper, that he fell sick, and soon after died at *Malacca*; an accident not at all displeasing to the *Dutch*, to whom he was become very formidable, as well from the secrecy with which he projected his designs, as for the diligence with which he provided every thing that was requisite to carry them into execution (23).

(22) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, por Hernan. de los Rios Coronel, &c.

(23) Relac. de las Filipinas y Malucas,

S E C T. IV.

Project of establishing a South-Sea Company, by Isaac le Maire, and his Associates; and how they came to fail. Disputes with the Natives, and with the English, in the Island of Java. The Dutch expelled from that Island.

George Spilbergen's voyage round the world, in the service of the Dutch East India company.

THE directors of the Dutch East India company having still very much at heart the making an effectual voyage through the streights of *Magellan* to the *East Indies*, they, in the spring of the year 1614, granted a commission, for this purpose, to *George Spilberg*, or *Spilbergen*, a man of established reputation for his knowledge in maritime affairs; and ordered six ships to be equipped for that purpose; viz. the *Great Sun*, the *Full Moon*, the *Huntsman*, a yacht called the *Sea Mew*, all four from *Amsterdam*; the *Æolus*, of *Zealand*; and the *Morning Star*, of *Rotterdam*. They were all equipped in the best manner possible; and the admiral had, in a great measure, the choice of his own officers; which, in long voyages, is a thing of the utmost consequence, in order to prevent unnecessary disputes^k. The ships were ready a little after *Midsummer*; but, the admiral having declared his opinion, that they should, in case they failed then, arrive at an improper season in the streights of *Magellan*, the directors thought proper to postpone the voyage till the month of *August*; and on the 8th, the fleet sailed out of the *Texel*, with a strong gale at South-east^l. It was believed that the States General were also concerned in this expedition; the true design of which was, to examine, and if a fair opportunity offered to weaken, the strength of the *Spaniards* in the *South-Seas*, and to make some trial of the advantages which many speculative people thought might result from taking this route to the *East Indies*. The fleet very happily passed the streights, engaged, defeated, and destroyed, the *Spanish* navy in the *South-Seas*; and, after a short and prosperous navigation, arrived on the coasts of *Java*, after visiting, and supplying, the Dutch settlements in the *Molucca's*^m.

^k SALLENGRE *Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces Unies*, p. 73.

^l *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. viii. p. 1.

^m *Ibid.* p. 109.

A VERY little time after this fleet put to sea, a new project *The project* was formed in *Holland*, for supplanting, in some measure, the of *Isaac le East India* company, at least so that company would have it *Maire for* understood, though the parties concerned affirmed the direct *erecting a* contrary. *Isaac le Maire*, a rich merchant, was the author of *South-Sea* the project, and *William Cornelison Schouten*, an able and ex- *company in* perience seaman, who had made three voyages to the *Indies*, the person who undertook to carry it into execution". Their true design was, to discover the unknown southern continents, and islands, by some other passage than that of the streights of *Magellan*; believing, that as those streights were named in the *East India* company's charter, so, if they could find another passage into, and out of, the *South-Seas*, they should do an acceptable service to their country, without incurring any of the penalties threatened to such as should interfere with the trade granted to that company°. Several rich merchants joined with them in this enterprize; and two ships being fitted out, the command was given to *Schouten*, and the direction of the trade to *James le Maire*, son to *Isaac*, who was a young man of great courage and capacity. They sailed from the *Texel*, *June* the 24th, 1615, passed through those streights between *Cape Horn* and *States Island*, which have since borne the name of *Le Maire*; and, after making many important discoveries, agreeable to their own project, found themselves under a necessity of returning by the *East Indies*; where, putting into a port of the island of *Java*, their vessel was confiscated by the *Dutch East India* company, and both *Schouten* and *Le Maire* sent home prisoners, on board of the fleet of *George Spilbergen*, in which passage *James le Maire* died p.

It has been truly and justly observed, upon this subject, *Strange* that the treatment given to these adventurers, has, in all pro- *infatua-* bability, been sufficiently punished by its consequences; since *tion, in* all that rich trade, that might have been derived from the dis- *suffering* coveries, and the pursuit of the discoveries, of *Le Maire*, has *the com-* been totally lost, by neglect, which, perhaps, has done as *pany to* much damage to the *Dutch*, as their *East India* company *ruin and* has done them good°. Of this *John de Wit* was aware; and *suppress* has very wisely remarked, that though the pursuit of such *this com-* merce. a commerce might have been beyond the strength and power

° Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 43.

° Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. 8. p. 115.

P SALLENGRE Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 74.

° HARRIS's Voyages, vol. i. p. 62.

of the *East India* company at that time, yet there was no good reason why the States should have abandoned it, or should not have encouraged the setting up a new company, in order to have made a trial of what this new trade would have produced; for if new trades do not prosper, they occasion only a temporary loss to private persons, and none at all to the state; whereas, if they thrive, and turn to good account, they not only produce immense riches to such as are concerned in them, but also prove a mighty advantage to the public: for new trades, especially under such a government as that of *Holland*, bring new people, and increase the subjects of the state that encourages them; for wealth is a powerful attractive, and where men are sure to be rich, and free, there will never be any want of people (M).

ABOUT

† *GRONDEN en Maximen van de Republieck van Holland*,
I decl. cap. xix.

(M) In a history of this kind, we do little or nothing, if we barely set down facts, without discovering to the reader their motives, and the consequences with which they were attended. In the histories of great monarchies, this is frequently difficult, and almost always uncertain, which makes it in many cases excusable, and in some necessary, to omit them. In the history of commerce, it is otherwise; because there, a little industry will supply the materials, and the very design of such histories makes reflections requisite. It has been observed, that the very best reason in favour of an exclusive company, is also an unanswerable motive, in a trading country, for giving all possible encouragement to such as are willing to attempt new discoveries: for if it be a good ground to establish an exclusive trade, to prevent private merchants from overstocking distant countries with the commodities and manufactures of

their own, it is still a stronger reason, that new discoveries should be promoted, that those commodities and manufactures may be taken off, which the exclusive grant would otherwise keep upon the nation's hands. It was therefore a sufficient favour that the *East India* company obtained, by its exclusive charter; and that company had no reason to expect, that the navigation through the straits of *Magellan*, to countries short of the *Indies*, should be prevented; because, at the same time it did their country great hurt, it did the company no good. This was justly observed then, and the observation retains the same propriety still; neither is the force of it restrained to *Holland*, but extends to every government that derives its whole, or its chief support, from commerce, in which the interests of companies are to be regarded only so far as they are consistent with those of the nation; and consequently, those

of

ABOUT this time, the company sustained great losses, and Different their trade was much impaired, by means of some powders *success* attending the that were imported, and mixed with the spices, by the re- *company's* tail merchants, which lessened their consumption and value. *affairs,* This the company represented to the States; and thereupon *and signal* a placard was issued forth, for preventing the like abuses for *savours* the future *. The States also having perceived, that some *granted* neighbouring potentates, alarmed at the company's prosperity, *them by* did their utmost to oppose it, particularly, by inveigling their *the States.* best and most experienced seamen, and drawing them off from their service, published an edict, by which the desertion of seamen was prohibited, under severe penalties †. In the years 1618 and 1619, the company had very good fortune; for they received from the *Indies*, at several times, no fewer than ten ships, with rich cargoes, valued at six or seven millions. This new and extraordinary success inspired them with fresh courage, not only in resisting the attempts of the *Spaniards*, but in concerting their ruin, by way of reprisal; which was carried a great way, by the diligence and resolution of *Laurence Reael*, a very knowing and prudent man, who served nine years in the *Indies*, where the company honoured him with the most considerable post, and then he returned to *Holland* ‡. By this time, the abuses, and unwarrantable practices, relating to the sale of the company's stock, began to revive; upon which the States found themselves obliged to renew the placard of 1610, with a few amendments, suitable to the circumstances of the time, and the artifices, which, to elude former provisions, had been newly invented §.

It is easy to perceive, from these particulars, which are all taken from *Dutch* authors, 'as indeed we have none but theirs to take them from, that the company had all the favour and countenance shewn them, by the States General, that could be desired; so that whatever they asked was granted, whatever they called a grievance removed, and whatever narratives they published of their transactions in the *Indies*, was received, and insisted upon, as authentic. Yet, from the time

Their jars in the Indies with the servants of the English company, and consequences of these disputes.

* Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Com-

* Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 43. † Ibid. p. 44. ‡ SALLENGRE Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-Unies, p. 75. § Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 45.

of the nation are never to be sacrificed to the interests, and much less to the whim, the humour, or the pride, of any company, how potent, or how

beneficial forever; which lesson, until it be sufficiently regarded, can never be too often repeated.

they

they became powerful in that part of the world, they had been continually picking quarrels with the *Engliſh*; notwithstanding the many obligations they owed them, and that the first pilots they carried out in these long voyages were *Engliſh* ^a. The captains, and other servants, of the *Engliſh* company, employed their time chiefly in trade, and in procuring as quick ladings as might be for the ships of their masters; but the *Dutch* following the example of the *Portuguese*, and, to speak the truth, being compelled thereto, from their knowledge, that, if they did not fortify, their enemies would soon drive them out of the *Indies*, took pains to erect, in the most convenient places, strong fortresses, well furnished with cannon, military stores, and competent garrisons ^γ. As their power increased, their pride augmented; and they could not bear to see the *Engliſh* beloved by the natives, and trading with them, without making use of force; so that, prompted partly by avarice, partly by ambition, they often hindered, and sometimes oppressed them. The *Engliſh* company, as we have shewn in its proper place, applied to King *James* for redress; upon which two treaties were set on foot in *Holland*, for compromising these differences, but without success; and though, at length, in the year 1619, a treaty was concluded, by which the concerns both of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* company were regulated, and certain measures agreed upon for preventing new disputes, yet this had very little effect ^z. The *Dutch*, soon after, making them sensible of their superiority, treating their complaints with contempt, and aggravating the sufferings of the company's servants, by telling them, they had a better interest than they at the *Engliſh* court; and that, while they had plenty of money in *Holland*, they knew very well how to make, or purchase, friends in *England* ^a. What truth there was in this, cannot, at so great a distance of time, be, with any degree of certainty, determined; but, from circumstances, and succeeding events, it should seem, that these suggestions were not altogether void of foundation ^b. But, without dwelling longer upon so invidious a topic, let us proceed to shew, from the *Dutch* writers, how they became masters of one of the principal places in the large and fruitful island of *Java*; and how they laid there the basis of that great empire, which they at present enjoy, by founding that vast and famous city, which speedily became, and has ever

^a HARRIS's Voyages, vol. i. p. 37. ^γ Conquête des Îles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 193. ^a RYMER's Foedera, tom. xvii. p. 170. ^a PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 665. ^b Histoire de la Conquête des Îles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 225.

since continued, the capital of their conquests and settlements in the *East Indies*; which, if we relate more fully than any transaction we have hitherto mentioned, the nature and importance of the subject will justify us to the reader.

WHEN the *Dutch* first visited the coasts of *Java*, they found, on the north side, a commodious port, with a town adjacent, then called *Kalappa*, but, about the year 1607, the inhabitants changed that name for *Jacatra*. It was built, according to the manner of that country, with a pretty good wall, composed of rough, red, and durable stones, but indifferently put together; the houses were built with a sort of reeds, each surrounded with wooden pales. Though it was far from being large, and as far from being populous, yet it had a king, as well as the rest of the towns upon the coast. The palace of this monarch none of the most splendid, and yet, the soil and climate considered, convenient enough, and not contemptible, was built of canes. His power was small, and his wealth not great; notwithstanding which, he endeavoured to make a figure in war, as well as trade. His maritime force consisted in four large galleys, in the bottom of which sat the rowers, and on the decks stood the soldiers; and as for his commerce, it consisted intirely in the sale of the little pepper his small territory produced. The *East India* company contracted with him for the whole; but, either finding him guilty, or suspecting him, of breach of faith, they thought proper to build a fort, to keep him in awe. This enterprize gave some umbrage to the *Englisb*, who corresponded likewise with the people of *Jacatra*; and this jealousy between the two nations broke out, before it was long, into an open war^d. Their fleets, to end the dispute, engaged, at a small distance from the port, and fought gallantly for several hours, till at length the *Dutch*, who, as they say, were much inferior in force, were thoroughly beaten, retired to *Amboyna*, in order to refit, and procure a reinforcement. Moved by this event, *Vidark Rama*, king of *Jacatra*, immediately renounced his treaty with the vanquished, and entered into a close and solemn alliance with the *Englisb*: but our writers affirm, that he made a treaty with them long before that with the *Dutch*^c.

AT this time the *Dutch* had two fortresses in the neighbourhood of the town, one on the south side, called the *Lodge of defeat of Nassau*, the other on the north, which they called *Fort*

^c NEUVILLE Hist. van Holl. 1 deel. p. 201.
de la Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 195.
Chas's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 676.

^d Histoire
^e PUR-
Maurice,

*A succinct
account of
that city,
on the ruins
of which
Batavia
was after-
wards
founded.*

*Upon the
the Dutch
by the Eng-
lish, the
former re-
tire to Am-
boyna.*

Maurice, newly built, but not intirely finished. These were neither of them very strong, and the latter had but seven pieces of cannon, with a garrison of two hundred and forty men, fourscore of which were *Negroes*. On the other hand, the town of *Jacatra* was well provided; and, upon an eminence in the middle of it, the *English* had a magazine, tolerably well fortified, and with a considerable number of heavy cannon. These they employed to fire upon the *Dutch* forts, and the natives followed their example^f. The *Dutch*, looking upon this as a declaration of war, made a vigorous sally, burnt the *Chinese* quarter, made themselves masters of the *English* post, and blew up their magazine. The *English* fleet, under the command of Sir *Thomas Dale*, coming, at this juncture, before *Jacatra*, *John Peter Koen*, the *Dutch* commodore, found it requisite to put to sea, with seven sail of ships, which was all he had; whereas the *English* Squadron was composed of eleven. They fired upon each other, on *New-year's-day* 1619; but the *Dutch* finding the dispute a little unequal, retired to *Amboyna*, leaving the *English* in the port of *Jacatra*; where they were joined by seven ships more, and by a body of four thousand auxiliaries from *Bassam*, which is but fifteen leagues distant g (N).

Br

^f *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. vii. p. 509. ^g *NEUVILLE Hist. van Holl.* 1 deel. p. 201.

(N) The *Dutch* have been much more careful, and, at the same time, much more successful, in preserving the memorials of their first expeditions into the *Indies*, and in their digesting them into proper order, than we, who, except a few rough relations, and some very succinct passages in our general histories, have scarce any thing remaining that relates to the original of our *East India* trade. The *Dutch* historians, if we could intirely depend upon them, have, in some measure, supplied this defect: but there is this one great misfortune attends their accounts, that they have not only

a visible air of prejudice and partiality, but are also inconsistent in their substance. In the first place, they represent the *English*, as acting towards the *Indian* nations with great haughtiness and arrogance, prescribing to them what laws they thought fit, chastising them for whatever wrongs they received, with unrelenting severity, and behaving towards them, upon all occasions, rather as imperious masters, than as merchants who meant to treat them in a friendly manner (24). Yet they acknowledge, that the *English* made few or no settlements, contented themselves with slight

(24) *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. vii.

factories,

By this time, the *Dutch* fort *Maurice* was in a manner complete, with four good bastions, well supplied with artillery; so that *Peter Vanden Broecke*, who commanded in the absence of Commodore *Koen*, though besieged by land and sea, thought himself in a condition to make a good resistance. He began with thundering upon the town of *Jacatra*; which had so good an effect, that the king immediately desired to treat; and at length agreed to pay eight thousand patacons, in order to purchase his peace. And this being concluded, he prevailed upon the *Dutch* governor to pay him a visit. After a short conference, he seized, and threw him into prison, where he threatened him with death, if he did not order the fort to surrender. He went still farther, he carried him, with a cord about his neck, under the walls of the *Dutch* fort, and bid him give his orders; which he did, to those who were within hearing, to defend themselves to the last man; upon which the king carried him back to prison. Sir *Thomas Dale* then entered into a treaty with the people of the fort; and they, being almost without powder, agreed upon a capitulation; by which the place, with the artillery and ammunition, was to be given up to the *English*, and all the merchandize and effects therein to the king of *Jacatra*¹. But, at the very instant that this should have been carried

The Dutch governor of Fort Maurice trepanned by the king of Jacatra, and made prisoner.

¹ Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii. p. 541. ² PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 656.

factories, and never aimed, by erecting forts, to secure to themselves an exclusive trade (25). It is easy to discern, that these circumstances cannot agree. But when they come to relate what they style the war of *Jacatra*, our nation is represented under a new character, they are said to have had the same design with the *Spaniards*; that is, of thrusting the *Dutch* intirely out of the *Moluccas*, and to have carried on this project with much greater address and abilities, drawing the emperor of *Java*, the king of *Jacatra*, and the governor of *Bantam*, all

into their interest; by which they brought the *Dutch* within a finger's breadth of ruin (26). How can this be reconciled to their former accounts? The truth seems to be, that the *Dutch* first projected an exclusive trade in *Java*, which produced this war, to defeat that design; and there can be nothing more evident, even from their own account of the matter, than that the natives in general were much more inclined to the *English* than the *Dutch*, who, by a superior force, expelled the one, and subdued the other.

(25) *Newville Hist. von Holland*, 1 deel. lib. iv. cap. 1. (26) *Histoires de la Conquête des Isles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 195.

into execution, a new and very unexpected scene opened, which intirely changed the face of affairs.

*A Java-
nese gene-
ral from
Bantam
comes to
Jacatra,
and deposes
the king,
who flies.*

THE *Dutch* governor found means to send a messenger to *Bantam*; and representing to the governor of that place, how advantageous it might be to him, if he became his, instead of remaining prisoner to the king of *Jacatra*, or the *Eng'ish*; that proposition was accepted, as soon as made, and an officer, with two thousand men, detached, to take *Vanden Broecke* out of the hands of King *Rāma*. That officer coming to *Jacatra*, demanded audience of the king; when, without ceremony, he clapped a dagger to his throat, and bid him divest himself of all ensigns of royalty, if he desired to escape with life. The poor prince did as he was bid, fled, with his family, into the heart of the country, and getting from thence on the other side of the island, earned his bread as well as he could, for many years after, in the humble condition of a fisherman *. The *Bantamese* immediately quartered themselves about *Fort Maurice*, to which *Peter Vanden Broecke* returned, and the war broke out afresh; but, with the assistance of their new allies, the *Dutch* found themselves in a condition to defend themselves, till they could be relieved. *Vanden Broecke*, before he went to *Bantam*, which he was obliged to do, in virtue of his promise, changed the name of the fortress to *BATAVIA*, which he inscribed over the gate ¹.

S E C T. V.

Their Affairs restored in Java. Foundation of the City of Batavia, which becomes the Capital of their Settlements. Cruel Usage of the English at Amboyna. Batavia twice besieged, and gallantly defended. Speedily repaired, vastly augmented, and rendered the fairest and strongest City in the Indies.

*The Dutch affairs re-
stored, by
John Pe-
terson
Koen, and
Jacatra
subverted
and de-
stroyed.*

ON the 25th day of *March*, Commodore *Koen* arrived in the road, with a fleet of seventeen sail, and a considerable body of troops on board. The next day, he landed twelve hundred men, took, ravaged, and intirely destroyed, the town of *Jacatra*; and, at the same time, either disliking the liberty that *Vanden Broecke* had taken, or having already laid the plan of what he afterwards executed, he caused the

* *Voyages de la Compagnie*, tom. vii. p. 548.
p. 549.

¹ *Ibid.*

word *Batavia* to be defaced. He next marched with all his forces to *Bantam*, and, as soon as he came before the place, signified to the governor, that he expected that *Peter Vanden Broecke*, and seventy other prisoners, should be immediately set at liberty, which might induce him to forget some things that were passed. The governor, being in no condition to resist, thought it best to comply; and the *Dutch* commander, having done what he proposed, marched back again to *Fort Maurice* ^m. The *English* had, by this time, reembarked their artillery, and were sailed away; and peace being concluded between the two companies, was proclaimed on the ninth of June.

THE very next day, *Koen* ordered a new city to be laid out, much larger in extent than the old one, as comprehending within its bounds both the forts *Nassau* and *Maurice*. The streets were drawn strait, and very spacious, with commodious canals of running water, planted with trees, the shade of which might be enjoyed by those who passed backwards and forwards in boats, which advantage was derived from two fine rivers, one running through the city, and the other encompassing its walls. A strong citadel, being a square regularly fortified, was erected on the east, and a fifth bastion added, to cover the bridge that leads into the city. The place itself also was quickly put into a state of security, and, by degrees, environed with a thick brick wall, defended by eighteen bastions, at proper distances. To this noble and commodious place, *John Peterson Koen*, by whose direction the foundations were laid, gave the name of *BATAVIA*, and declared it the capital of the *Dutch* settlements, though then very inconsiderable in point of strength and beauty to what it now is, as those settlements were in a manner nothing in comparison of what they now are ⁿ. But his choice in this respect was so just, his plan so well contrived, and every thing throve so fast under his care, that future governors have only executed his project, and carried as well the city of *Batavia*, as the *Dutch* empire in the *Indies*, to that magnificence and extent, of which he seemed to have a previous conception, when he disposed things as he did, since they could not be altered for the better. And thus, within the first term granted to the *East India* company, she saw the outlines drawn of that greatness, which has since astonished both *Asia* and *Europe* ^o.

Immediately after which, the Governor-general *Koen* lays out the new city of *BATAVIA*.

^m NEUVILLE Hist. van Holl. 1 deel. p. 205. ⁿ FRANC. VALENTYN oud en nieuw Oostind, 1 deel. 1 onderd. fol. 210. Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS DE GRAAF. NIEUHOFF, TAVERNIER, LE BRUN, &c. ^o Histoire Metallique des Pays Bays, par GERARD VAN LOON. tom. ii. p. 204.

*Policy of
the East
India
company in
Europe,
as well as
the Indies.*

THE news of this establishment was very welcome to those who had the direction of the company's affairs in *Holland*, who were very desirous that some acquisitions might be made in the *Indies*, where they might raise magazines, keep up a constant military force, and the face of a regular civil government, without which they knew it was impossible they should supplant the *Portuguese* in those parts, since they were well assured, that the lustre of the viceroy's court, and the luxuries of the city of *Goa*, enchanted the oriental nations, and kept them in a constant state of dependence. They resolved, therefore, to improve this circumstance, and to raise *Batavia* to as high a degree of splendor as it was possible. But it was not only the *Chinese*, the *Japonefe*, and the *Indians*, they judged it necessary to amuse; on the contrary, they found playing off the same scheme very requisite at home. They had before caused an ambassador from the king of *Siam* to be introduced to the prince of *Orange* with great pomp and ceremony; and now they brought over five young princes, as they were stiled, to be educated in *Holland*; of these Don *Andreas de Costano* was the son of the king of *Soyan*, and Don *Marcus* of the king of *Kielan*, both in the island of *Amboyna*; though some writers, either through ignorance, or, which is much more probable, with a design of magnifying the power of the company at this juncture, thought fit to stile these the sons of the kings of *Siam* and *Ceilon*. The other three were persons of less consideration^p. The two young princes brought each of them a letter from his father to Prince *Maurice*, who received them very graciously, and ordered due care to be taken of their education. This artful management had a double effect; for, as it recommended the interests of the company very strongly to the prince, who, with many great virtues, had a tincture of vanity, so it served to confirm in the *Indies* the notion they had spread of a king of *Holland*; which was very requisite amongst nations who had very high sentiments of monarchy, and scarce any idea that there could be another sort of government. By these methods they obtained from the States General edicts after edict in their favour, and all the advantages and assistance that they could desire; which none knew better how to use than these directors, or how to deliver themselves from the future necessity of so much as desiring them^q.

^p BAUDART, lib. xiii. p. 40.

^q Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 45.

In the spring of the year 1622 there returned to *Holland* By which two ships richly laden, with news that the war was still carried on in *Java*, as well as against the *Spaniards* in the *Moluccas*, and in the *Manillas*; and that the island of *Banda* was again recovered, which had been taken from them by the last mentioned nation; as also that the last fleet from *Holland* arrived there safely in four months and three days. This favourable intelligence came very seasonably, as the company was now soliciting for a new charter. In this they met with some opposition; for, in the first place, the proprietors were dissatisfied, as apprehending they had not a full share of the profits; and, to still this clamour, the directors were obliged to make a dividend in cloves, of twenty-five *per cent.* On the other hand, there wanted not some who suggested, that the exclusive privilege they enjoyed was detrimental to the subjects of the Republic in general; and that the commerce of the *Indies* would bring far more money into the United Provinces if it was laid open. In answer to this, the friends of the company alledged, that it was not only a very imprudent, but a very dangerous thing, to put conjectures in balance with facts; that the company, in the space of twenty-one years, had divided four hundred and fifty *per cent.* upon their capital, which amounted to near thirty millions of florins, besides the immense sums they had laid out in building and equipping ships, military and naval stores, seamen and soldiers pay, merchandize which they exported, and other things almost beyond the reach of calculation; to which if they had added a clear account of the company's stock, it would have done much credit to their management; but this, for many reasons, it was thought prudent to conceal. However, upon these allegations, in consequence of their great credit with Prince *Maurice* and the States, and respect being had to the war's breaking out again with *Spain*, their demand was complied with; and a new charter, dated *December* the twenty-second, 1622, was granted them for the further term of twenty-one years, to commence from the first day of the succeeding year (O).

By

¹ EMANUEL METEREN *Histoire de Pays-bas*, lib. xxviii.
² Avertissement à la tête de *Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie*, p. 46.
³ SALLENGRE *Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies*, p. 75, 76.
⁴ LEO VAN AITZEMA *faaken van staet en oorlogh*, tom. i. p. 159.

(O) The arguments in favour very strong, that it is requisite of the company seem to be so the reader should be made acquainted

A short
view of

By the next ships from the *Indies* they had a full account of what had been done at *Amboyna*, where, under pretence of

quainted with the reasons which induced one of the soundest statesmen and sincerest patriots that republic has ever produced to disapprove this measure. His words are these (27): "It is certain that the first and chief reason of those grants to them was the war with the king of *Spain*, which ceasing, and, in case of any new war against that people, they would no longer be formidable to us, but we to them, no consequence for renewing their grants can be drawn from thence. Secondly, As it is well known that it was necessary at first to make some conquests amongst the spice islands on the enemy, because the more lands they conquered, the more right and greater capacity they would acquire to trade in those parts: so it cannot be denied, that, when those necessary conquests are made, the grounds and maxims of the prosperity of the said company begin to oppose the general good of this country, which is manifestly known to consist in a continual increase of manufactures, traffick, and freight ships; whereas the interest of such companies consists in seeking the benefit of their own members only, and this even by dealing with strangers, and in foreign as well as our own manufactures, and to the great prejudice of other inhabitants, by importing ma-

nufactures, and other mechanic works, into this country, and sending them through *Europe*; and, in short, by making the greatest profit with the least traffick and navigation. As it is acknowledged, that, if the *East India* company can gain more by importing *Japan* wrought silks, *Indian* quilts and carpets, &c. than raw silk; or if the company, by causing a scarcity of nutmegs, mace, cloves, cinnamon, &c. could so raise the price, that they might gain as much by one hundred lasts as by a thousand; we cannot certainly expect that they should import those raw silks, and thereby incur unnecessary and great disbursements; or, in short, that, in their management, they should cause a greater trade and navigation than those hundred lasts would require; but that they would rather, to shun greater traffick and navigation, destroy all the superfluity that is beyond those hundred lasts which they have in the *Indies*. And it can be as little denied of such companies, that the more lands they conquer, the more of their stock they must necessarily spend for the preservation and defence of such lands; and the more dominion they have, the less are they able to mind and augment their commerce: whereas, on the contrary, if these fortresses, cities, and

of a conspiracy against the *Dutch* government by Mr. *Gabriel the bloody Towerfon*, and others, they seized, tortured, and put them to death; which rigorous and extraordinary proceeding was not at first openly divulged in *Holland*, where it was only said, that there had been some commotions in *Amboyna*, which, by the vigilance and prudence of the governor, had been totally extinguished *. But when the whole affair began to take air, and make a noise in the world, they were forced to publish defences of their own conduct, in which they alledge, that, the conspiracy being deep and dangerous, the governor of *Amboyna* was obliged to take the most expeditious and effectual methods; and, after examining and convicting the criminals, as well by their own confession as by witnesses, to proceed to execution †. But it was impossible to justify this fact to impartial inquirers, or even to palliate it, since it was self-evident that the *Dutch* were very powerful in those parts, and the *English* very weak; so that there was no necessity for proceeding so hastily to the last extremities, and yet necessity was their only plea. It was inconsistent with the treaty concluded between the two companies, by which a joint council of defence was erected at *Batavia*, that ought to have had cognizance of this matter ‡. The same kind of arguments had been urged in support of former acts of violence; and yet, by the late treaty, they consented to pay a very large sum of money, which they never would have done in their own wrong; and, after doing this, in so short a space as four years, to commit a new act of violence, far exceeding all that was past, and to avail themselves of that act to dispossess the *English* intirely of their trade in the spice islands, to which they had as good a title as the *Dutch*, and for their own enjoyment of which the *Dutch* stood indebted to them for their assistance; was contrary to the rules of natural equity, and to the law of nations §. But, notwithstanding all this, what between the interest of the Prince of *Orange* at the *English* court, the friends made there by the *Dutch East India* company, and the influence the States General had over some, who, at that juncture, took upon themselves the

* *Histoire de la Conquête des Îles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 225.

† *HARRIS's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 884. ‡ See the Reply of

the *East India* Company to the *Dutch* account of the affair at *Amboyna*.

§ *HARRIS Voyages*, vol. i. p. 895.

“lands, were possessed by our “and security to trade in the
“subjects, they would have so “*Indies*.”
“much the more conveniency.

The Naf-
sau fleet
sail first to
the West
and then to
the East
Indies.

title of patriots^a, this affair was for the present stifled, to the great dishonour of both nations, to the irreparable loss of the *English East India* company, and to the fatal overthrow of that sincere and cordial correspondence which had so long subsisted between the protestant and maritime powers (P). AFTER long and mature deliberation, the States General determined to attempt another expedition into the south seas by the freights of *Le Maire*, with an intention to make a settlement in *Chili* or *Peru*, or to strike such a blow as should spread terror and confusion thro' the whole extent of the *Spanish* dominions in *America*; after which their fleet might sail to the *East Indies*, and give such assistance to the company as the state of her affairs should demand. In order to execute these great views, the admiralties of *Amsterdam*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, and *West Friezland*, equipped a fleet of eleven sail of large ships, having upwards of one thousand mariners on board, besides six hundred regular

• *Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 238.

(P) We are certainly much indebted to the *Dutch* historians for preserving to us many particulars in relation to the melancholy affair at *Amboyna*, which are intirely neglected and omitted by our own. Thus they very fairly acknowledge, that, admitting the truth of the conspiracy, for which they put Mr. *Towerfon*, and the rest of the *English*, to death, it was a fact in which the *East India* company had not the least concern, and of which none of their superior officers had the slightest notice; so that there could be no foundation, even according to their own way of reasoning, for stripping the company of their trade and factories in that island, or of depriving them of *Poleren*, one of the islands of *Banda*, the sovereignty of which had been yielded by the inhabitants, in the most solemn

manner, to the crown of *Great Britain* (28). They likewise admit, that the *British* court, tho' they did not proceed to extremities, never quitted their pursuit of this affair, but pressed it continually for twenty years together, and that they were withheld from having recourse to arms by the assistance they expected from the *Dutch* in the affair of the Palatinate; and they farther confess, that at length, upon the motion of the *Dutch* themselves, the compromising this business was left at last to the two *East India* companies; in consequence of which, a much greater sum was stipulated to be paid to the *English* company, by way of satisfaction, than was afterwards obtained by *Cromwel*; but that the execution of this agreement was prevented by the breaking out of the civil war (29).

(28) *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces-unies*, vol. ii. p. 90.
la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 266.

(29) *Histoire de*

troops,

troops, and carrying in the whole three hundred pieces of cannon^b. To the large expences which such an armament demanded, the company liberally contributed, as did Prince *Maurice*, who was the great patron of the expedition, in honour of whom this is generally stiled the *Nassau* fleet^c. April the twenty-ninth, 1623, this great force sailed under the command of *James Le Hermite*, entered the streights of *Le Maire* on the second of *February* following; and, on the tenth of *May*, came before the port of *Lima*, which they attacked, and did incredible mischief to the *Spaniards*, tho' without any advantage to themselves; and much the same fate attended the rest of their attempts in the south seas, where their admiral died; and these disappointments sharpened their resentments to such a degree, that, upon the *Spanish* viceroy's refusing to ransom their prisoners, they made no scruple of hanging them up at the yard-arm^d; an action deservedly condemned by all who mention it (Q). They proceeded

^b NEUVILLE Hist. van Hollande, 1 deel, l. v. ^c Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix. p. 1. ^d NEUVILLE Histoire van Holl. 1 deel. l. v.

(Q) It seems to be but a point of justice, after mentioning an action of this nature, to give the reader an account of what is advanced in excuse of it in the journal of that voyage, which runs thus (30): "On the 13th of June 1624 the *Spanish* prisoners, having represented that the viceroy would be willing to treat for their ransom, it was resolved that a proposal of that sort should be made; and accordingly an officer was sent in a small vessel into the harbour with a flag of truce. As soon as the viceroy had notice of it, he sent directions that the seamen should have their hands tied, and their eyes covered, while they remained in the shallop, and that the officer who had the letter should be brought on shore. In the evening, however, the seamen were set at liberty; and the *Spaniards* took all imaginable pains to persuade them to remain where they were, and to enter into the service of the king of *Spain*; but this being found ineffectual, and not so much as a single man having listened to their proposals, an answer was given to the letter in these words: That the viceroy had nothing but powder and ball at the service of the *Dutch*; that he would not enter into any negotiation or treaty with them whatever for the ransom of prisoners; and that, if any presumed to enter the port of *Calao* again with a flag of peace, he would order them to be hanged up with the flag about their

(30) Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix. 73, 74.

ceeded next to *Acapulco*; from whence, towards the close of the year, they sailed for the *East Indies*, where, upon their arrival, the fleet separated, and did the company considerable service; though, taking it all together, this business was very far from answering the great expectations which it had raised. By the help of so strong a reinforcement the company's affairs were very much mended, the *Portuguese* every-where distressed, and the communication between their colonies much interrupted; all which had a strong effect upon the minds of the *Indian* nations, and, as it was natural, taught them to slight the declining, and to court the rising power. To this they were the more inclined from the assurances given them, by the *Dutch*, of assistance and protection, from the most disinterested motives; but they quickly found these were but words of course, and that the whole of this revolution consisted not in the recovery of freedom, but barely in a change of masters, by which they were no great gainers.

*Surprising
success of
the compa-
ny, and im-
mense pro-
fits accru-
ing from
thence.*

By these wise and prudent measures, and by the perpetual attention of their directors to whatever might conduce to the company's advantage, their commerce at this time flourished so much, that they were obliged to enlarge the number of their ships every year; and the company, being sensible their prosperity was chiefly owing to the good conduct of their

• Avertissement des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 48.

“ necks. On the 14th, when
“ this answer was reported to
“ the *Dutch*, they resolved, in
“ a council of war, to hang up
“ all their prisoners. The rea-
“ sons which induced them to
“ so cruel a proceeding were
“ these: They were themselves
“ much streighted for provi-
“ sions, and had scarce any
“ water left; it was therefore
“ impossible for them to main-
“ tain these people, if they
“ meant to keep them; and at
“ the same time they had no
“ reason to keep them, since
“ they were to expect no ran-
“ som. On the other hand, to
“ set them at liberty was against
“ the maxims of prudence, as
“ well as the laws of war, since
“ it could only serve to expose

“ their weakness to the *Spani-
“ niards*, and thereby render
“ them the scorn of their ene-
“ mies. On the 15th in the
“ morning they put this severe
“ resolve of theirs in execution,
“ and actually hanged twenty-
“ one *Spaniards* at the yard-arm
“ of the mizen-mast of their ad-
“ miral, in the sight of an infinite
“ number of people who were
“ standing on the shore. Three
“ old men they sent in a bark to
“ *Calao*, with orders to tell the
“ viceroy, that, since they had
“ no quarter to expect from
“ him, they were resolved to
“ give none to such as fell into
“ their hands, and that he ought
“ to look upon this as the just
“ effect of his own brutal mel-
“ sage.”

admirals

admirals and commanders in chief, solicited *John Peterfon Koen* to make a second voyage to the *Indies* in quality of governor-general; which he did, and put to sea in *April* 1627, soon after the *Rotterdam* came home; and was followed by four other vessels under the command of *John William Ver-joer*. The rich cargo of these ships was scarce unloaded when *Adrian Block Martfen* was ready to sail with a squadron of eleven ships^f. He put to sea in *October*, and lost two of his ships in a storm, but saved the men and the cargoes. In the same month of *October*, *John Karstensen* of *Emden* brought with him safe into the *Texel* three ships laden at *Surat*; and, in his passage, had been obliged to put in at *Portsmouth*, where an embargo was laid upon his ships for some time. In *June* 1628 five other ships came home under the *Sieur Carpenter*, who had been the company's general in the *Indies*; and the cargoes of these ships were as valuable as the former. Notwithstanding these lucky adventures, the company were perplexed by some cross accidents, which were very detrimental to their affairs, occasioned by several political disputes in which the Republic was engaged^g.

THE *English* stopped their ships as often as they thought proper, and the *Dunkirk* privateers never failed to give them chase. This obliged them to resolve upon fitting out a strong squadron every year, which was employed in the *German ocean*, to cruise for their homeward-bound ships, and conduct them safe to their ports. The first squadron thus stationed was commanded by *John Dierksz-Lam*; and, upon his approach, the *Dunkirk* privateers retired^h. Soon after a squadron of eleven ships sailed for *India* in *October*, under the command of *James Specks*, accompanied by *John Valbèck*, a famous mathematician. On the other hand, the company had, by the *Viana*, the unwelcome news that they sailed from *Batavia* the foregoing *January*, in hopes to pass the streight of *Baly* in time; but, being disappointed, they ran ashore, in the latitude of twenty-one degrees, upon the south side of the *Terra Australis*, and were obliged to throw over-board a great quantity of their rich effects; and so got afloat again, yet not without great difficulty and danger (R). In their passage they

^f LE CLERC Histoire des Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 97.

^g Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 50.

^h LE CLERC Histoire des Provinces-unies,

tom. ii. p. 110.

(R) It is very remarkable, that regarded discoveries were that at this time all accidents carefully recorded; whereas of late

they fell in with *Block's* Squadron, which had likewise met with very stormy weather. By this ship they had notice that the people of *Java* had formed a conspiracy to assassinate *John Peterfon Koen*; which was discovered by a poor *Chinese* boy, and thereby the execution of that detestable design was intirely defeated, to which they owed the preservation of *Batavia* at that juncture¹.

*Account of
the disco-
veries
made in the
southern
continent,
and by
subseq.*

It was within this period that most of those great discoveries were made by the *Dutch* officers on the southern continent, which are depicted in the stadthouse of *Amsterdam*. The large country of *Carpentaria*, now better known by the name of *New Holland*, was so called from General *Carpenter*, who discovered it in 1628. The western part of the same country, which lies to the south of *Java*, was discovered the same year, and, from the name of the commodore, was stiled *De Witt's Land*. But all the southern coasts lying towards that sea which separates this continent from that close to the south pole, was discovered, in January 1627, by *Peter de Nuyts*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak at large, and who had thereby an opportunity of bestowing his name on one of the finest countries in the world². All these discoveries, together with a just report of their affairs, the company received from General *Carpenter*; and upon his return it was that the directors resolved to send a squadron of eleven sail into those parts, under the command of Commodore *Francis Pelsart*¹ (S). It may not be amiss to observe, that, while

¹ Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 50.

² NEUVILLE Hist. van Hollande, 1 deel. l. vi.

¹ HARRIS's Voyages, vol. i. p. 320.

late years, indeed for almost a century past, we hear little or nothing of this kind. One cannot help, however, supposing, that the *Dutch East India* company, who were so inquisitive then, are not altogether negligent now, but, on the contrary, have taken pains to inform themselves thoroughly of the nature of this great southern continent, of which the rest of the world has heard so much; and yet knows so little, while the true value, as well as the means of entering into it, re-

main only known to themselves. We have in the text endeavoured to give a succinct description of this southern continent, so far as we are able, from the voyages and maps that have been published, to judge of its situation; and, in the next note, we shall lay down the reasons from which it is concluded that their discoveries have been very important, notwithstanding they have been so industriously concealed.

(S) There is a fragment extract of this voyage of Captain *Francis*

while the company was doing all these great things, their own country was torn with civil dissensions; so that if the trade of the *Indies* had not been under a direction distinct from that of the civil government, it is simply impossible that they should have succeeded as they did, or brought such advantage to the *Dutch* nation, at least so their directors insinuated when a renewal of their charter came to be solicited.

YET we are now advanced to a point of time, when, if *Batavia* there had been a force sufficient in the island of *Java*, the *twice be-Dutch* power had met with a severe shock. This was owing *sieged by* to the envy and resentment of the emperor of that island, *the emperor of Java, and* who with indefatigable pains drew together an army of two hundred thousand men, which, under the command of one of the principal lords of his court, he sent to invest *Batavia*. *gallantly defended by* This siege, or rather blockade, continued some months; and, *General Koen.*

Francis Pelsart, in a very curious collection, from which it appears, that the ship called the *Batavia*, which he commanded, was wrecked on the 4th of *June* 1629 upon the coast of *New Holland*, in the latitude of twenty-eight degrees south, of which he was able to make no farther discovery than that it was inhabited (31). But twelve years after the company sent Captain *Abel Jansen Tasman* to take a survey of all the countries that are mentioned in the text; and it is from the extract of his journal (32) that we learn this southern country is a very large island, extending from the latitude of forty-three degrees south to the equator, and from the longitude of 123° to 190°. We may therefore with truth affirm it lies precisely in the richest climates of the world. If the islands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, and *Borneo*, abound in precious stones, and other valuable commodities, and the *Moluccas* in spices;

New Guinea, and the regions behind it, must, by a parity of reason, be as plentifully endowed by nature. If the island of *Madagascar* is so noble and plentiful a country as all authors speak it; and gold, ivory, and other commodities, are common in the southern part of *Africa* from *Melinda* down to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and so up again to *Cape Gonfalez* here are the same latitudes in *Carpentaria*, *New Holland*, and *New Zealand*; if *Peru* overflows with silver, if all the mountains of *Chili* are filled with gold, and this precious metal, and stones much more precious, are the product of *Brazil*, this continent enjoys the benefit of the same position, and therefore whoever perfectly discovers and settles it will become infallibly possessed of territories as rich, as fruitful, and as capable of improvement, as any that have been hitherto found out either in the *East Indies* or in the *West*.

(31) This voyage is printed in the first volume of *Thevenot's Collection of Travels*, and from thence taken into *Harris's Collection*.

(32) This voyage is in the second volume of *Thevenot's Collection*, and was published in English by Dr. *Hooke*; it is also in *Harris's Collection*.

though

though the *Javanese* actually discovered great resolution, and exposed themselves as much as their officers could desire, yet it was to no purpose, for the *Dutch* works were too strong for them to make any impression upon; so that, after the loss of a vast number of men, they were obliged to retire^a. The Prince of *Madura*, which is a small island at a very little distance from *Java*, suggested to the emperor, that this disappointment must be owing to the bad behaviour of his general, who with a third less force might have easily reduced that place, if he had been a man of capacity. Upon this the emperor, resolving to put that to the trial, raised a fresh army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, of which he gave the Prince of *Madura* the command, notwithstanding he went in person to the siege. They came before the citadel of *Batavia* August the twenty-second, 1629, and in the space of a month made several assaults, that served only to diminish their own forces; of which they lost so many, that their bodies choked up and corrupted the river, and the stench spread an epidemic disease through the camp, and in the place. At length, finding his army almost dwindled to nothing in comparison of what it was, the emperor, having first massacred the Prince of *Madura*, and about eight hundred of his men, raised the siege on the second of *October* with much greater loss both in respect to honour, and of his troops, than he had sustained in the former^a. It was towards the close of this siege that the Governor-general *John Peterfon Koen*, who with great courage and conduct had defended the place, ended his life, and was interred with the greatest solemnity. *James Specks* was appointed provisionally governor, who caused the river and canals to be cleansed, and in a surprising short space of time restored every thing to its original condition, by which he did the company good service, and highly raised his own reputation^o.

^a NEUVILLE Hist van Holland:, 1 deel. l. vii. ^o Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix. p. 139. ^o NEUVILLE van Hollande, 1 deel, l. vii.

S E C T. VI.

The Intercourse and Disputes of the Dutch with the Japanese, to whom they are constrained to deliver up Peter Nuyts, their Governor at Formosa. Unexpected good Consequences of this Act of Submission, which enabled them to fix their Commerce with that Nation.

IN the year 1630 Peter Vander Broecke, who had been long in *Some accounts of the Red Sea, and the adjacent countries, returned home, he sailed with seven ships, the cargoes of which were valued at eight millions, yet he brought home but six; one being lost by fire under the Azores islands, and the other straggled from the fleet; however, the last went round by Ireland, and at length came home safe. Broecke acquainted the company, that General Kaen died suddenly two days before the arrival of James Specks, who acted as general by way of provision. Anthony Van Diemen returned in the year 1631 with seven vessels, which brought the company incredible treasures.* These mighty advantages enabled them to prosecute their designs to their utmost extent, to enlarge their commerce in the *Indies* by every method possible, sometimes making use of force, and sometimes of fair means, to compass their ends, and to secure to themselves the largest share of a trade, which, by experience, they found of such wonderful concern. They began likewise to entertain some hopes of engrossing intirely the lucrative trade of *Japan*; a notion which they had conceived from their first entrance into that empire, and with a view to which they had from time to time taken several steps to ingratiate themselves at the court of the emperor, and to persuade his ministers that they were an humble, peaceable, well-disposed people, who had nothing in view but disposing of their goods and manufactures, and who thought themselves obliged in gratitude, to promote the welfare and prosperity of a country, where they had been so kindly received, and so well entertained; and for the government of which, on that account, they had the highest veneration and esteem. Professions which were so well received, that, when the *Portuguese* were shut up in that little island which the *Dutch* now inhabit, this last nation had the port of *Firando* given them, and were treated with very particular marks of confi-

^P Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyage de la Compagnie, p. 53.

Causes two large vessels to be seized in the port of that island, belonging to the Japanese.

HE entered upon the administration of affairs in that island with the same disposition that he had shewn while ambassador, and with the most implacable resentment against the *Japonefe*; neither was it long before an opportunity offered, as he thought, of revenging himself to the full. Two large *Japonefe* ships, with upwards of five hundred men on board, came into the port; upon which he took it into his head to disarm and dismantle them, in the same manner that the *Dutch* vessels are treated at *Japan*. The *Japonefe* did all they could to defend themselves from this ill usage; but at last, for want of water, they were forced to submit; and their vessels, pursuant to the governor's order, were disarmed and dismantled with the utmost rigour, notwithstanding that they made a solemn protest against this ill treatment. Governor *Nuyts* went still farther; and, when they had finished their affairs at *Formosa*, and were desirous of proceeding, according to their instructions, to *China*, he put them off with fair words, and fine promises, till the monsoon was over. They began then to be very impatient, and desired to have their cannon and sails restored, that they might return home; but the governor had recourse to new artifices, and, by a series of false promises, endeavoured to hinder them from making use of the season proper for that voyage; and, though they had the assistance of friends, and offered large presents, it proved all in vain (B).

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▪ Voyages de CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 229.

▪ P. CHARLE-

VOIX, tom. ii. p. 362.

(B) The capital trade which the *Japonefe* carried on was with *China*; and the principal business of these ships was, to obtain refreshments for pursuing their voyage, which they had been accustomed to receive at *Formosa*, where they were always well used by the *Dutch*, and never subjected to any such restrictions as this governor insisted upon. He was so conscious of the iniquity of his own proceeding, that he endeavoured to cover it by the most specious pretences. He told them, that it was a very dangerous voyage (tho' they made it every year);

that he expected ships from *Batavia*, and orders by them to send those in the harbour to *China*, and then they should sail under a strong escort. When the monsoon was passed, and they pressed to return home, he counterfeited the greatest concern: "What," said he, "would you go back to *Japan* without executing your orders, without disposing of your cargo, without gaining any thing by all your trouble and pains? By no means! Our ships will certainly come, or, if they should not, we will think of some method of making you an ample amends."

The

At length, perceiving plainly his purpose, and more exasperated at the affront offered their country than the injury done to themselves, they resolved to risque all, and, by one bold attempt, either break through their captivity, or perish with honour. As no nation in the world possesses either a more active or a more determined courage than the *Japoneſe*, so they concerted this enterprize as coolly as they executed it with spirit. They sent nine of the most considerable amongst them, with a reasonable number of attendants, to expostulate with the governor at his palace; and, having agreed upon the proper signals they were to make, divided the rest of their crew into several detachments, which moved at a certain distance, so as to come up in due time. Those who went to the palace made use of fair means at first; but, finding these utterly ineffectual, they seized the person of the governor, that of his son, and one of his counsellors, and then, making their signals, their several parties stormed the house, and massacred every creature that was in it. The garrison in the citadel, as soon as they were informed of what had happened, brought their artillery to bear upon the palace; which they might have easily beat to the ground, if the *Japoneſe* had not compelled the governor to give his orders to desist from firing, which, out of respect to his danger, were obeyed * (C).

THIS

* Recuell des Voyages au Nord, tom. iii. p. 231, 232.

The *Japoneſe*, who were far from being the dupes of his fallacious harangues, told him roundly, that the season for going to *China* was lost; that they were in danger of losing that in which they might return home; that they came for refreshments, and not to trade; that they had instructions which they were bound to pursue, and that therefore they desired to have their cannon, rudders, and sails, restored to them, that they might make the best of the little time they had left. He replied, in the same strain of dissimulation, that they must have a little patience; that he could not by any means grant their request, for fear any accident might befall them, and that this should be imputed to him, who had already been so unfortunate (which gave him the greatest concern) to offend the government of *Japan* (37).

(C) The method they concerted for their deliverance was this: Their nine chiefs had each a sword and dagger; they were followed by twenty four of the bravest men belonging to both crews, in the dress of servants, who were also privately armed. A party of fifty men, divided into five bands, followed half an hour after, and dropped by degrees into the court of the

(37) P. Charlevoix *Histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 362.

Force him,
and one of
his council,
to sign a
treaty,
which af-
terwards
is ratified
by the
whole
council.

THIS transaction happened in the month of July 1630, The Dutch were very pressing to have ended the thing the same day, but the *Japonefe* were in no such haste. They fortified themselves in the palace; and the next morning produced a treaty to the governor, and the counsellor, consisting of a few articles for securing their liberty, free departure, and indemnity; which they told them they must sign, if they expected to live; an argument of so much weight, that they subscribed without loss of time. They told the *Japonefe*, however, that this treaty would be of no use if it was not approved by the whole council, which, at his request, they permitted the governor to summon; and the members, considering that this affair might possibly prove the loss of that lucrative commerce which the company enjoyed with *Japan*, ratified the treaty, abject and scandalous as it was, when they

palace. Another detachment of one hundred men marched by two different routes, so as to come to the palace an hour after these. The nine deputies told the governor plainly, but with much submission, that they were content to forget all that was past; that, whatever his intentions were, they inclined to put the best construction upon them; that they had contracted the year before for five-and-twenty thousand pounds weight of silk at *China*, for which they had already paid their owners, having taken up the money at interest; that their families must be grievously distressed during their absence; and that, in short, it was necessary for them to return, which they were resolved to do. The governor had recourse once more to his old dissembling stile; with which finding they could be no longer amused, he told them plainly it was his pleasure they should stay, and stay they must. They told him they had staid above a year already, which was long

enough; then, looking upon one another, the chief gave the signal, and, with the assistance of two others, instantly seized the governor, and tied his hands behind his neck; three more did the same by the counsellor, a third took the child, and wrapped him up in his robe; while the other two, going out, gave the signal to their attendants, who were waiting for it; and, immediately drawing their swords, cried out, *Kill! Kill!* massacring in an instant the guards, several workmen, merchants, and domestics, belonging to the company; after which they barricadoed themselves in the palace as well as they could. Their whole number was one hundred eighty-three; the rest, between three and four hundred, were on board their ships, which they had provided with some old sails, and put into the best condition they could, that they might endeavour to get away if the people on shore persisted in the attempt (38).

found it impossible to engage the *Japoneſe* to vary ſo much as a ſingle letter (D). Yet they wanted not ſtrength to have cut off theſe people to a ſingle man, as they had ſix hundred regular troops in the citadel and forts, and ſeven ſhips in the harbour, with as many men more on board them, which the *Japoneſe* very well knew, and from thence had taken their meaſures, from which they would not depart in the leaſt.

ACCORDING to the terms ſtipulated, five of the principal inhabitants of the iſland were delivered to the *Japoneſe* for hoſtages, with five thouſand pound weight of ſilk; the rudders and ſails of the *Dutch* ſhips brought on ſhore, the veſſels put into a condition of ſailing, victualled, and ſupplied with all neceſſaries; after which, having ſet the governor, the counſellor, and the boy, at liberty, the *Japoneſe* marched out of the palace, embarked, weighed anchor, and proſecuted their voyage happily to *Japan*. Immediately after their arrival they gave notice to the court of all that had happened; upon which all the *Dutch* effects were immediately ſeized,

↑ CHARDIN Voyages, tom. iii. p. 231.
↑ Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 365.
↑ Voyage au Nord, tom. iii. p. 235.

↑ P. CHARLE-
↑ Recueil de

(D) This treaty, which they obliged the governor and council to ſign, was to the following effect: I. They acknowledged the whole enterpriſe to be juſt, lawful, and neceſſary, for the preſervation of thoſe concerned, and for vindicating the honour of the *Japoneſe*. II. That they ſhould be at liberty to return to *Japan* when they thought fit; and that every thing ſhould be reſtored that had been taken out of their ſhips. III. That, to prevent the *Dutch* ſhips from following, inſulting, or bringing them back, they ſhould bring on ſhore their rudders and ſails the evening before their departure, which they fixed for the firſt of Auguſt. IV. That, for their farther ſecurity, and that they might with ſafety reſeal their

prifoners, they ſhould receive as hoſtages five of the principal *Dutch* inhabitants in the iſland. V. That as the uſage they had met with was unjuſtifiable and inexcusable, and by which they had loſt the opportunity of receiving twenty-five thouſand pounds weight of ſilk, which they had bought and paid for, they ſhould receive the like quantity out of the company's warehouse, of whatever kind they thought fit to chuſe. By this laſt article they indemnified themſelves for the expences of the voyage; but at the ſame time they delivered the company's officers the *Chinese* merchants receipts, that they might be able to recover the like quantity the next year from their correſpondents (39).

and the guards about their factory doubled, but without giving them the least notice of the cause, or doing the smallest injury to their persons. On the contrary, they were furnished more plentifully, used with more civility, and treated with greater respect, than ever. The *Dutch* chief and factory were notwithstanding in the utmost consternation, presenting memorial after memorial, to know their offence; to which they were sometimes answered, that the council had affairs of great importance upon their hands; at others, that the emperor was ill, and they must have patience ^b (E).

Peter Nuyts first confined at Batavia, and afterwards delivered up to the Japanese.

By the help of the *Portuguese* and *Chinese* ships they sent advice to *Batavia* of their strange situation, which alarmed the Governor-general *Spex* and his council exceedingly, who at first knew not what to do, nor how to proceed. At length they resolved to send a ship, in the name of a merchant of *Batavia*, with a cargo, in order to see what this would produce. The ship arrived petitioned, in the merchant's name, for leave to sell their goods; which they were allowed to do, with all the kindness imaginable, permitted to embark the produce of their goods, and to return, but not a jot wiser than they came ^c. The governor-general in the mean time had been informed of what passed at *Formosa*, and had sent for *Peter Nuyts* prisoner, which hitherto had been all his punishment. Three years ran on in this manner, when *Anthony Van Diemen*, becoming governor-general, assembled the council; and prevailed upon them to take the only step

^b Voyages de CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 233.

^c P. CHARLE-

VOIX Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 367.

(E) The five hostages from *Formosa* were kept in prison at the capital, so that the *Dutch* knew nothing of them till long afterwards. Amongst other memorials presented by the factory, one set forth, that they were in the utmost danger of being undone by the prohibition of trade, as a great part of the commodities in their magazines were perishable. Upon receiving this the emperor sent commissioners to inspect a general sale of all their commodities, to

register the sums received, to see them secured in the respective warehouses out of which the goods were taken, and then to lock them up, and seal them as before. The *Dutch* had no reason to complain that they were prejudiced by this proceeding, since the whole amounted to above a million of crowns, all deposited in their own magazines, without their having any trouble or expence in the disposal of their goods (40).

(40) Charlevoix Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 367.

that was left, which was, to deliver up *Peter Nuyts* to the *Japoneſe*, to do with him what they pleaſed. This ſentence being notified to the priſoner, he behaved like a man diſtracted; he proteſted againſt this judgment, he appealed to the people, he deſired to be tried there, and to ſuffer any kind of death. But it was all in vain; the council were deaf, the people ſaid it was his own fault; in ſhort, a new fleet was equipped in 1634, and *Peter Nuyts* ſent aboard it, with inſtructions to the chief to deliver him up as ſoon as he came^d.

On the arrival of the veſſel at *Firando* the chief and his council, who had by this time procured from the court the cauſe of the interruption of their commerce, preſented a freſh memorial, ſetting forth, that the perſon who had offended his imperial majeſty was put into the hands of his officers; and therefore deſired that they might be reſtored to his favour, and to their privileges of courſe. Upon the receiving of this memorial, commiſſaries were ſpeedily diſpatched to *Firando*, carrying with them ſome of the perſons who were in the ſhip detained at *Formoſa*, that they might ſee whether this man was the governor *Peter Nuyts*, or not. Theſe people having certified that it was the governor, the commiſſioners received freſh inſtructions, by which they were directed to require from the *Dutch* factory an answer to the following queſtions: firſt, whether the governor came of his own accord, or whether he was ſent by the governor-general at *Batavia*? Secondly, if *Peter Nuyts* came of his own accord, whether he intended to juſtify his own conduct, to charge the *Japoneſe* with any miſbehaviour, and to bring the affair to a clear and open tryal; or ſimply to confeſs his fault, to teſtify his repentance, and to implore the emperor's pardon? Laſtly, if the chief and his council were content that the criminal ſhould be broiled alive upon the coals, or nailed to a croſs, if ſuch ſhould prove the ſentence of the emperor and his council? To theſe queſtions they were to answer plainly, and without reſerve, and within the compaſs of three days. The *Japoneſe* commiſſaries left them, during that ſpace, free liberty to confer amongſt themſelves, to ſend whom they pleaſed to *Peter Nuyts*; and to take any other ſteps that they thought convenient, in order to give that ſatisfaction upon which the government inſiſted^e.

THE chief and his factory, after mature deliberation, reſolved to ſtick precifely to the form preſcribed by the governor-

^d Recueil de Voyage au Nord, tom. iii. p. 239. ^e Voyages de CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 236. ^f P. CHARLEVOIX Hiſtoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 369.

Dutch
chief deli-
vered up
Peter
Nuyts to
the Ja-
ponese.

general and council at *Batavia*. notwithstanding they had received permission to make whatever alterations they should think necessary at the time of their delivering him up; but, as they saw no alteration of circumstances that required any such changes, and as the prescribed form seemed more suitable than any they could devise, they stuck to it closely. The substance of this form was, that the person now delivered up, *Peter Nuyts*, was the very person, who, five years before, being governor of *Formosa*, had incurred the displeasure of the emperor, to whom the general sent him to suffer whatever punishment he thought fit; that however the *Dutch* were fully persuaded of the equity of his Imperial Majesty, even in the exercise of justice; that he was far from adjudging people to sufferings without a thorough inquiry into the cause, so far from it, that, out of his natural clemency, he pardoned faults in his own subjects, whence they presumed to hope his indulgence towards a stranger, whose crime was in some measure qualified through ignorance, and who had no intention to give the least offence to his Imperial Majesty; that in this disposition they delivered the prisoner, desiring, that, whatever became of the guilty, the innocent might no longer suffer, but that such as had been already detained five years might have leave to depart, together with the company's vessels and effects. The commissaries, having received the prisoner and this answer, set out for the court * (F).

THE

* Recueil de Voyage au Nord, tom. iii. p. 242, 243.

(F) This history alone is sufficient to give us a true notion of the genius of the *Japanese* nation, the spirit of their court, and the situation of the *Dutch* in their country. It is impossible to conceive any thing better framed, or more exactly calculated, to justify their own behaviour, or to vindicate the honour of their country, than the treaty which the *Japanese* prescribed to the governor of *Formosa*. The same turn of mind is very conspicuous in the behaviour of the emperor and his ministers, upon their being in-

formed of this insult; an exact retaliation of the ill usage, without any mixture of contumely or passion; a strict regard to justice, notwithstanding the dispute between the two nations; an imperial silence, more emphatic than the most laboured manifesto: it is impossible to consider all this without allowing the *Japanese* to be a great people, and their rulers a wise government (41). The submission of the *Dutch* was founded in equity and justice, and their proceeding exactly agreeable to the law of nations. *Peter Nuyts*

(41) Chardin, Charlevoix, &c.

THE leaving *Peter Nuyts* to the emperor's discretion put *The court* an end to this affair, and gave the *Japoneſe* court intire ſatis- of *Japon*, faction. The factory was immediately ſet at liberty, the em- ſatisfied peror's ſeal upon their effects was removed, the guard upon their ſhips withdrawn, and the prohibition of commerce re- called. As for *Peter Nuyts*, after remaining a few days in *prison*, he was put under what the *Japoneſe* call a free cuſ- with *this* tody, that is, he had a few guards, with whom he might go *remove all* where he pleaſed, viſit whom he pleaſed, and do what he *the reſtrictions laid* pleaſed, provided he remained in their preſence; and this *upon the* without being put to any expence, farther than he might be *Dutch*. inclined to from their civility. He was therefore from this time ſecure from the fear of broiling or crucifixion, and had nothing farther to apprehend than paſſing the remainder of his days in *Japan*, in no very uneaſy ſituation, being every-where very well received, and upon the whole very kindly treated. He bore this very patiently, as being infinitely better than he could expect, and looked on himſelf as a priſoner for life^a.

THE governor-general and council at *Batavia* were inex- *Nine of* preſſibly pleaſed at ſeeing their nine ſhips arrive ſafe from *their ſhips* *Japan* with all their people on board, even the five hoſtages *arrive at* from *Formoſa*, and an immenſe cargo, which, from being ſo *once at* long detained, came to a much better market; and, what *Batavia* was ſtill more grateful, bringing alſo advice that the *Japoneſe* *with this* government was thoroughly pacified with reſpect to the com- *welcome* *news.* pany, the nation; and even to the author of all this diſturb-
ance. As the company ſend annually preſents to the emperor of *Japan*, ſo they very prudently reſolved that thoſe ſent the next year ſhould be richer than ordinary, the better to expreſs the ſenſe the company had of this favour. But how- ever it is very certain, that this was their general intention, and that they had not at all in view that favourable circum-

^a Voyages de CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 235.

might conſider it as a hardſhip; but he was no better a judge in his own cauſe than in that of other people. He was the ſole author of all this miſchief, and it was very fit he ſhould be the ſole ſufferer by it. But, after all, it is not impoſſible, though hitherto it has not been remarked by any writer we have met with, that this tranſaction might be a ſtrong inducement to the *Japoneſe* government to reſtrain their ſubjects from the exerciſe of foreign commerce, as being unwilling to hazard that point of honour, of which they are ſo jealous as a nation, for the ſake of profit, which the *Japoneſe* government hath ever held in contempt.

stance which afterwards happened, and towards which indeed it was impossible, in the nature of things, they could have any foresight¹.

A lucky incident opens a passage for Peter Nuyts to merit his enlargement, and return to Batavia.

AMONGST these presents there was a chandelier of brass, of thirty branches, fourteen feet high, and exquisitely wrought; it so fell out that this came just as they were about to solemnize at court the funeral of the emperor's father, for which prodigious preparations had been made; notwithstanding which the lustre of the ceremony was greatly heightened by the happy effect which this chandelier had when hung over the funeral trophy. His Imperial Majesty was prodigiously struck with it; he declared he had never seen any thing like it; asked from whence it came, and for what purpose it was intended? A minister of his, who had taken the *Dutch* under his protection, answered of his own accord, and without the least instruction from them, "that it was sent by the *Dutch* on purpose to add to the magnificence of this ceremony, for which they were informed his Imperial Majesty was preparing." The emperor immediately added, Have they any request? Is there any thing they want? Can I do any thing to oblige them? "Nothing, replied his minister, unless your majesty would have the goodness to set at liberty a *Dutch* governor who is imprisoned here, not for any offence against your majesty's laws, but for an involuntary breach of the customs of *Japan*, with which he was not well acquainted." The emperor caused him to be set at liberty that moment; and gave the company, besides, a very considerable sum in silver, as a mark of that kindness with which he received their present; and farther permitted some valuable indulgences in the sending abroad commodities for that year^k (G).

WHEN,

¹ P. CHARLEVOIX *Histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 369. ^k *Recueil Voyage au Nord*, tom. iii. p. 245.

(G) The name of the *Japanese* emperor, who governed at the time that *Peter Nuyts* seized the two ships in the island of *Formosa*, was *Fide Tadda*, who, if the *Japanese* chronicles that we have be right, died *Anno Domini* 1630; and as this solemnity in honour of his memory was in 1636, a *French* writer has

conjectured, not without a great shew of probability, that this was not his funeral, but his apotheosis (42); for it is usual in *Japan* to deify their deceased emperors, and to worship them as inferior divinities, or saints. It is one of the great prerogatives of the *dairo*, who is the spiritual emperor or pope of

(42) P. Charlevoix *Histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 370.

WHEN, after his release, *Peter Nuyts* came down to the *Some poli-*
factory, in order to prepare for his return to *Batavia*, the *tical ma-*
Dutch who were there could not help expressing their amaze- *xims of*
 ment; and the rather, because they knew, that, according *great con-*
 to the laws of *Japan*, a prisoner of state must be at least nine *sequence.*
 years in custody before any of the ministers dare interceed for *which the*
 him; and therefore they had not so much as flattered them- *Dutch*
 selves with the hopes of procuring this gentleman's release, *deduced*
 who had not been in *Japan* above two. His arrival was no *from this*
 less welcome at *Batavia*, where having in a great measure *action.*
 forgot his offence, and the troubles which it had occasioned,
 they long before began to regret his misfortune; and the ra-
 ther, because they looked upon him as a man cut off from
 his country and relations, and who ought to esteem it a favour
 that he was suffered to wear out the remainder of his life in
 exile and imprisonment. The company, however, from this
 tedious transaction, which took up seven years in the whole,
 acquired two maxims with respect to their conduct towards
 the *Japoneſe*, which no doubt has gone a great way in pro-
 tecting them from accidents of the like kind ever since. The
 first is, that it is a good thing to have a friend at court, and
 therefore they never fail to have at least one of the *Japoneſe*
 ministers intirely in their interest, which they accomplish by
 an assiduous application, by a studious compliance with his
 desires, and a constant intercourse of presents, by which how-
 ever they are no losers; for, exclusive of the benefits they
 receive from his interest, they seldom fail of meeting with
 such returns, in things little regarded by him, and yet highly
 valuable to them, that more than compensates the value of
 their presents. The other is, to proceed roundly with the
 court upon any dispute, and to give immediately such satis-
 faction as is required; for the *Japoneſe* are a people of such
 address, of so lofty a temper, and so jealous in point of ho-
 nour, that there is no way of overcoming their distaste but
 by a quick and profound submission; a doctrine, which as

Japan, to grant this posthumous *Konni*. As for the emperor to
 honour, if he so pleases, to the whom *Peter Nuyts* was sent, his
 deceased cubo-sama, or tempo- name was *Jermitzko*, the very
 ral emperor; and, at the same fame who raised the last great
 time that he grants this favour, great persecution against the
 he gives the deity a new name, Christians (43),
 which in this case was *Taito*

(43) *Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. x. p. 179.

they have first learned, so has it been confirmed to them by long experience, neither is it very probable that they will ever venture to deviate from it again¹.

*The true
sources of
that sub-
mission
which is
still paid
by the
Dutch
company
to the go-
vernment
of Japan.*

WE see from hence the true source of that superiority with which the *Japoneſe* act towards this nation upon all occasions. They are perfectly sensible of the advantages drawn from that limited commerce which is still permitted, and which therefore they keep intirely in their own power. They have a just conception of the dangers to which their constitution must be inevitably exposed by a conflux of strangers to the ports of *Japan*; and therefore they admit none but such as they can intirely controul, or such as they absolutely despise, keeping their own subjects at the same time under so strict a discipline, as scarce leaves them the shadow of an apprehension of any new revolution^m. It is from this exercise of absolute authority that all those machinations and intrigues, which distract and disturb other nations in the east, are here nipt in the bud, and stifled in the birth; and consequently no room is afforded for the *Dutch* factory to interfere, or to offer the countenance or assistance of the company, in support either of one side or the other. If there was the least room or opening for such practices, there is little doubt that some attempts had been long ago made; but the restraints they are under in their conversations with the natives, the strict eye that is kept upon them in their journeys to and from court, the quick penetration and inflexible steadiness of the *Japoneſe*, the prodigious annual advantage even of their confined trade; and, above all, the example of the *Portuguese*, expelled without mercy, and from whom no intreaties since could prevail; as well as that of the *English*, upon doubts which did not rise quite so high as suspicions; deter them from any thing of this kindⁿ. Besides, they are kept in such ignorance of the domestic affairs of the empire, that if there be any jealousies, or factious cabals, amongst the nobility, they seldom come to their notice; and the situation they are in is such, that would never incline any malecontents in that empire to dream of having recourse to them for assistance; which excludes all hopes of the company's carrying things higher than their present state, otherwise than by the help of a clandestine commerce, which, with that permitted,

¹ P. CHARLEVOIX *Histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 371.

^m Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 29.

ⁿ *Histoire de l'expédition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 203.

by any rash procedure of this kind, they might easily lose (H).

S E C T. VII.

The Company, on paying a large Fine, are indulged in a third Charter; and with great Address in the Indies, terminate their Quarrels with the English by a Treaty with the Commonwealth, and apply themselves to overturn the Portuguese in all their Settlements:

IF we may believe what most writers say, and indeed what some of the *Dutch* writers themselves confess, there was a great deal of this kind of policy practised in the management of their affairs throughout the *Indies*; for, by interfering in all their little quarrels, whether foreign or domestic, and furnishing them with assistance sometimes against their more potent neighbours, and at others against their subjects, when they had driven them into rebellion by oppression and usage, they screwed themselves into the favour of

The dextrous management of the Dutch East India company in regard to other oriental nations.

• Abbé DE CHOISY Journal du Voyage de Siam; p. 79,

(H) The *Dutch* chiefs and ambassadors had before this time been a little inclined to teach the *Japanese* statesmen politics, who with great prudence heard all they had to say, and made use of it, as occasion served, against themselves; but from this time they kept a little more upon the reserve; and seldom or never entered upon any discourse relative to the affairs of *Europe*, unless they were called upon, and in some measure obliged to do it; for it was now become a thing pretty evident, that the *Japanese* understood the situation of *Europe* well enough to form a scheme for their own preservation, in which these tutors of theirs were no more considered than was convenient.

They had likewise shewn some disadvantages that arose from tolerating an open trade with *China*; which suggestions were kindly received, but in process of time were remembered to the prejudice of the *Dutch* themselves; but this stroke opened their eyes sufficiently as to the abilities of the *Japanese*, and the little need they had that others should strain their inventions for their service, when at the bottom they understood their own interests to the full as well as any other nation, and were able to conduct them with such secrecy, and superiority of understanding, as deserved to be admired, and could hardly be imitated (44).

(44) *Chardin, Charlevoix, Caron,*

princes;

princes; obtained liberties, first to establish factories, and then forts; after which they seldom made any more requests, but on the contrary gave laws; and those monarchs, whom they had before honoured with high titles, and much of that servile submission which is the common language in all oriental courts, found to their cost that their old friends were become their new masters^p. This indeed was sometimes resented, and no endeavours spared to shake off the yoke; which however was very seldom to any purpose, for the company had such a superiority of power in respect to any of these princes, taken singly, and were so well skilled in the arts of dissolving and breaking alliances to pieces, that in the end they were always gainers by such disputes, though for a time perhaps their trade was interrupted, and they were put to the expence and trouble of a war^q. In excuse of these proceedings the company would sometimes plead, that it was only deceiving the deceivers; and that without the help of these arts it was simply impossible to manage their concerns, or to maintain their power, most of the *Indian* kings being equally cunning and faithless, and never letting slip any opportunity of gratifying their ambition or their avarice, tho' at the expence of treaties which they had themselves proposed, and of the most solemn alliances; which in some cases, it is probable; might be true, but was certainly false in others (V).

As

^p TAVERNIER *Voyages des Indes*, P. ii. l. iii. c. 20. ^q *Histoire de la Conquete des Îles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 349.

(V) The truth of what is asserted in the text cannot be more fully proved, or better illustrated, than by citing a passage from that work which we have so often quoted of the pensionary *De Witt*, who, after observing that the islands of *Banda* lived under a democratic form of government before the *Europeans* came into the *Indies*, proceeds in these words (45): "But when the *Portuguese* first navigated those seas, and attacked the people of *Banda*, the inhabitants were so terrified by these new people, and their unheard-of military art, that, conceiving themselves unable to withstand that formidable power, they rashly agreed to elect governors out of the most considerable persons for their better defence; and thereby immediately lost much of their freedom; and afterward they were, partly by the jealousy they had of each other, viz. of the free inhabitants against their respective heads, and of such superiors among themselves,

(45) *Gronden en Manniken was de Republiek van Hollan?*, 2 deel, cap. 3.

"and

As the company's charter drew towards an end, they did not fail to represent to the States General such arguments as they thought most likely to procure them another; and, as the directors of the company had a great interest, and some points of real merit to alledge, such as assisting the public with money in its greatest exigencies, and supplying large quantities of salt-petre *gratis* for making gunpowder during the course of the war, their propositions met with attention and approbation^r. At the same time, however, they were given to understand, that the States were very sensible of the value of what they asked, and that therefore they were not to expect the lease of their exclusive commerce for a new term without advancing a considerable sum by way of fine, which, after mature deliberation, was fixed at one million six hundred thousand florins; in consideration of which present their charter was renewed for twenty-one years, in 1644^s. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the dividends to the

^r Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.
^s *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces-unies*, tom. ii. p. 231.

" and being in part likewise
 " overcome by the *Portuguese*,
 " they were at length forced to
 " submit to that foreign yoke.
 " And, lastly, there was some
 " freedom still remaining in
 " those islands when the *Nether-*
 " *landers*, that were enemies to
 " the *Portuguese*, began to fre-
 " quent them; and these peo-
 " ple of *Banda*, who greatly
 " affect liberty, looked upon
 " the *Dutch* as angels sent from
 " heaven to defend them, and
 " to deliver the other islands
 " from the slavery of the *Por-*
 " *tuguese*. For which end the
 " natives entered into alliances
 " with us for common defence,
 " covenanting that we might
 " not only build houses and
 " warehouses, and dwell there,
 " to trade in their spices, but
 " expressly agreeing that they
 " of *Banda* and *Amboyna* should
 " sell their spices to no other
 " people, Whence proceeded
 " all that usually happens when

" weak states call in too power-
 " ful assistants; viz. that not
 " only the *Portuguese* lost their
 " power over these islands, but
 " the natives lost their free go-
 " vernment and trade, and are
 " now under the dominion of
 " the *Dutch East India* compa-
 " ny. It is also very observa-
 " ble that the spices of those
 " islands, when brought into
 " *Europe* by way of *Portugal*,
 " produced yearly to the king
 " above two hundred thousand
 " ducats. But these islands,
 " being ruined by the forces of
 " the *Portuguese* and those of
 " the *Dutch East India* compa-
 " ny, and the said company
 " destroying their spices, which
 " produced too great a quan-
 " tity for them to vend, their
 " plenty by degrees decayed,
 " and their commerce is now
 " mightily diminished, as we
 " may understand by the histo-
 " ries of *India*, and from those
 " that have been lately there."

proprietors

proprietors during this term, whilst their second charter lasted, were not so considerable as under their first, notwithstanding the prodigious returns that had been made from the *Indies*, and that apparent alteration there was in the power and grandeur of the company, as well as in the strength of their outward and homeward-bound squadrons *. The true reason of this, without doubt, was the vast augmentation of their expences, occasioned by their building fortresses, raising forces, and giving a great and splendid court to their governor general at *Batavia*. Yet how much soever this might lessen the profit of the proprietors, it may admit of some doubt whether the public was injured by it or not, that is to say, whether the *Dutch* nation might not derive at least as great advantage from the increase of the sums laid out by the company for the support of their settlements in the *Indies*, as if a larger sum had been paid in dividends; since, if we consider that the increase of their trade was the plain effect of their extending their power and influence in those parts, it must follow, that how large soever their additional expences might be, they were defrayed from the consequences of those measures, in the execution of which they were employed; and as this must on one hand have occasioned a quick circulation of money at home, so, on the other, as the company's officers grew rich abroad, they returned with or remitted their effects to *Holland* †. These, we need not question, were among the arguments urged in favour of the new term; but as most of those, who have handled this subject, have perhaps, out of a prejudice to monopolies, omitted them, it seemed the more requisite to give them a place here (X).

IT

* JANÇON *Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies*, tom. i. p. 315.

† *Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF*, p. 313.

(X) As the affairs of the company were never in a more prosperous state than at the time when they applied themselves to their High Mightinesses for obtaining a continuance of their charter, it is requisite to explain the true causes of that unwillingness expressed by the States upon that head. The *West India* company was at that juncture in a very untoward situation, the *Portuguese* having re-

covered themselves in some measure in *Brazil*, so that the company stood in great need of large supplies, which they knew not where to find, and were therefore very desirous of being incorporated into the *East India* company, proposing, if that offer was accepted, to make a very large present to the republic; tho' they confessed at the same time they had not above a thousand florins in cash, but should be able

It might have been expected that the defection of *Portugal* from *Spain*, and the setting up the duke of *Bragança* for king, by the name of *John* the fourth, would have given a check to the *Dutch* conquests in the *East Indies*, inasmuch as they had no quarrel with the *Portuguese*, independent of their being subjects of his Catholic Majesty; and, on the contrary, had great reason to acknowledge and assist the new king of *Portugal*, as the situation of his *European* dominions rendered him a natural and necessary ally. Yet it, happened otherwise; for though, soon after his succession, he sent Don *Trifan de Mendoza Hurtado* to the *Hague*, where he was owned by, and treated with, the States, who, after a pretty long negotiation, at length concluded with him a truce for ten years, during which both parties were to keep what they possessed in the *East Indies*; and in the *West*, this had very little effect: for, under pretence that in *Brazil* this truce was not over well kept by the *Portuguese*, and that in the island of *Ceylon* the spirit of it was not strictly complied with, the *Dutch East India* company went on in augmenting their dominions, without considering any thing so much as the favourable opportunity they had of doing of it. This, it must be owned, was very inviting; for as, under the *Spanish* government, the *Portuguese* settlements were but very ill provided, so, upon returning to the duty they owed to their natural prince, they not only lost the assistance which sometimes they received from the *Spaniards*, but had them also for their enemies, and this without acquiring so much as one friend. In so distressed a situation they could have little hopes of relief from home, where the king was obliged to

* *Histoire Generale de Portugal*, tom. vii. p. 137.

able to raise that sum with ease upon the credit of such a conjunction (46). This was strongly pressed upon the *East India* company, but to no purpose; for the directors positively asserted, that they had enough to do in managing the affairs already under their care, and that their capital would not be sufficient to answer the demands of so vast an establishment. After ma-

ny delays the principal chambers declared roundly, that they would be concerned no longer if this union was forced upon them; which declaration had its effect, the states renewed the charter of the *East India* company, but took care, as is observed in the text, not to lose the present offered by the other company to have obtained an incorporation (47).

(46) *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces-unies*, tom. ii. p. 231.
font, *Le Clerc, Dictionnaire de Commerce*.

(47) *Wicqu-*

employ his whole force in the defence of that crown which he had assumed; no wonder, therefore, if the *Dutch East India* company, who knew all this perfectly well, and their own great superiority also; made use of it to aggrandize themselves, taking care at the same time to give the best colour they could to those actions which flowed, at the bottom, only from their avarice and ambition². In a few years after the peace was made with *Spain*, in which such care was taken of the company's concerns, that they obtained, so far as that peace could give, as good a title to their possessions as the States themselves had to their independence and freedom³.

In what manner disputes were terminated between the company and the commonwealth of England.

BUT it was not the *Portuguese* only who suffered in this juncture; it was no less unfortunate for the *English*. The civil war gave a fatal blow to their commercial interests in the *Indies*, which their neighbours did not fail to improve, by taking their ships upon frivolous pretences, and by plundering their factories under colour of their being at war with those in whose dominions they were settled. This is a point necessary to be touched on here, as it shews what a series of lucky circumstances concurred to give the *Dutch East India* company room to spread her power and influence in so sudden and surprising a manner as she did. But to examine these matters more minutely belongs to another part of our work; and therefore we shall content ourselves with adding here, that, on the treaty between the Protector *Oliver* and the States General, there was a commission settled for hearing and determining the disputes between the two *East India* companies, when, on the part of the *English*, there was brought in a long enumeration of their losses, to the amount, in the whole, of near two millions seven hundred thousand pounds². The *Dutch*, on their side also, brought in a long account likewise, which they swelled to an immense sum; however, the arbitrators on both sides, by their final determination, dated *August* the thirtieth, 1654, awarded the sum of eighty-five thousand pounds to be paid to the *English* company, in full satisfaction for their losses; and the further sum of three thousand six hundred fifteen pounds to be paid, in the proportions specified in that public act, to the representatives of the persons that were murdered thirty-two years before in *Amboyna*². It was also stipulated in the treaty, that the island of *Poleon* should be restored to the *English*; but, by the help of the same address which prevented an immediate

² NEUVILLE Hist. van Holl. i. deel, l. xi. Histoire des Province-unies, tom. ii. p. 458. universelle Diplomatique, tom. vi. Part. ii. p. 88.

³ LE CLERC
² Corps Uni-
² Ibid.

inquiry into the barbarous expulsion of the *English* from the *Moluccas*, the restitution of this island was diverted and postponed; for *Cromwell*, having had the honour of inserting the article concerning it in the peace, suffered himself to be prevailed upon, by certain arguments, not to insist on the execution of it^b. This, however it was brought about, was a prodigious advantage to the *Dutch*, as it prevented any diminution of their fame in the *Indies*, and left them in full possession of all that they had acquired by those practices for which they made a pecuniary satisfaction; which was in effect nothing, when compared with the reputation which naturally resulted from the methods, in which they had manifested their superiority in those parts; to which no check either was or could be given at this time, though the naval power of *England* was actually superior to theirs in *Europe*^c (Y).

S E C T.

^b Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moloques, tom. iii. p. 274.
^c NEUVILLE Hist. van Holl. 1 deel, l. xi.

(Y) We meet with nothing precise or exact in our own histories upon this subject: some carry this point very high, and persuade us, that the Protector prescribed harder terms to the *Dutch* Republic, and in a more peremptory manner, than either of the preceding kings, or the parliament, by the dispersion of which he had acquired the supreme authority; and mention various points, as if they had been actually settled by the treaty (48). Others again deny this, on the behalf of the parliament, who, as they say and shew, prescribed harder terms, and much more explicit, than those of the Protector: they farther add, that *Cromwell* suffered himself to be deluded by the *Dutch*, in referring the business of *Amboyna* to commissioners, after which he minded it no more (49). This comes nearer

the truth, which is fairly represented in the text from the treaties and awards themselves. But the *Dutch* historians admit, that, notwithstanding the above-mentioned decision, a dispute was raised about the forms of the releases, so that the money was not paid at the time, nor in more than six months after, which was the space allowed for the protestant cantons to decide as umpires; upon which a new act was drawn, dated the ninth of May 1655, and other commissioners appointed to decide upon fresh questions, with the like reservation to the protestant *Swiss* cantons (50). But, notwithstanding the *English* commissioners were named, yet, for want of assigning them proper salaries, they never met; but at length the *English* company, desirous of touching the money, removed all difficulties; and so

(48) *Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts*, vol. i. p. 420.

tion, Part ii. p. 46.

p. 273, 274.

(50) *Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moloques*, tom. iii.

S E C T. VIII.

The Causes of the War off Ceylon, the Progress of that War, the great Success of the Dutch in that Island, in which they not only render themselves superior to the Portuguese, but also force the Natives to a Submission, and absolutely defeat their whole Force, when exerted to shake off the Yoke.

A succinct History of the war in Ceylon, and the views on which it was undertaken by the Dutch.

THE benefits springing from these, and other transactions of a like nature, though considerable in themselves, were not however to be named with another vast acquisition, that of the island of *Ceylon*, by which the *Dutch* added to the possession of the nutmeg, mace, and clove trade, already in their hands, that of cinnamon, whereby they obtained a complete monopoly of one of the most considerable branches of the *Indian* commerce, that of spices^d (Z). In bringing this

^d JANISON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 309.

the point was adjusted after *Cromwell*'s time, and without any restitution of the island of *Pole-ron*, which, as they alledge, was never properly insisted upon, and could not therefore be complied with (51).

(Z) In the beginning of the seventeenth century Captain *George Spilberg* visited this island, and was very well received by *Don John*, who at that time was acknowledged king of *Candy* and emperor of *Ceylon* (52). In 1603 *Sebald de Weert* came in quality of commodore of a *Dutch* squadron, upon the coast of that island, and promised assistance to the same emperor against the *Portuguese*. Upon some offence taken at his behaviour, which was very rough and unpolished,

that monarch ordered him to be seized; and whether he made resistance, or that was only pretended, it so fell out, that he and all his attendants, except one boy, were cut to pieces (53). Notwithstanding this, which certainly was a fact that any other nation would have deeply resented, yet the *Dutch* passed it by, and entered into further negotiations with him, as will be seen in another place; but they came to nothing during his reign, and are only mentioned here to shew how steadily they adhered to their interests, and with what a readiness they sacrificed such points as would have created endless quarrels with almost any other nation; and this, their own writers ad-

(51) *Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 275. (52) *Baldewus, Description of Ceylon*, cap. vi. (53) *Bassange Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces-unies*, p. 131.

this about, they acted with very great prudence and address; and, though there is no room at all to doubt, that from the very first they had actually in view what in the end they so fully accomplished; yet their design was so well concealed, that the potent monarch they had to deal with, though one of the ablest and wisest princes in the east, did not discover it till it was too late; so that, notwithstanding he struggled for some time, yet that served only to weaken his power, and waste his forces, which made the *Dutch* so much the more secure in their conquests. It is true that the prosecution of this affair employed their counsels and their arms for many years, obliged them to be at the expence of fitting out squadron after squadron, with considerable numbers of regular troops on board; for which though they stipulated some kind of satisfaction with the monarch they pretended to assist, yet they never received it, or expected to receive it, but with great sagacity chose to be losers for a long time, and to be dupes in appearance to the treaties they had made, foreseeing that at last they should be amply paid for all; when, under various colours and pretences, they came to what they all along aimed at, having the power to pay themselves*. It was with a view of treating this matter clearly, though concisely, all at once, that we omitted the mention of the first expeditions of the *Dutch* to the coasts of this island, from a persuasion that it would be more perspicuous, and consequently more pleasing to the reader, to consider these transactions in a short and continued relation, than to take up the broken threads in their chronological order, and so wind them up at last in the total reduction of all that the *Portuguese* possessed under the dominion of the *Dutch*†.

* TAVERNIER *Voyages des Indes*, P. ii. liv. iii. cap. 3.
† *Voyage de NICOLAS DE GRAAF*, p. 103.

mit, was their established maxim, to which with great probability they ascribe the extraordinary progress of their power, in the *Indies*; which kind of policy, however, they seem to have borrowed from the natives, who were very ready in making treaties, broke them with little scruple, and then entered into fresh engagements, as if nothing had happened (54). It must however be observed, that the *Dutch* followed this rule only to obtain the power of laying it aside, which, when they had once acquired, they soon made the natives sensible they knew how to revenge injuries as well as the rest of the *Europeans*, and perhaps better.

(54) *Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Malaises*, tom. iii. p. 147.

The state
of affairs
in the
island of
Ceylon at
the time
the compa-
ny began
her opera-
tions.

RAJAH Singa was at this time king of *Candy*, or *Gandy*, and having been educated with his brother, the prince of *Uva*, amongst the *Portuguese*, had, as their own writers say, a great affection, as well as a high esteem, for their nation; but, not being able to bear the repeated oppressions and intencencies of the governor, he had been forced into a war, in which he obtained a great victory. But being informed, that the *Portuguese* had sent considerable succours from *Goa*, were taking all imaginable measures to carry on the war, and in the mean time burnt his towns, and plundered his subjects under the protection of the fortresses they had built upon his frontiers, he resolved, as his last resource, to make an alliance with the *Dutch*, and to drive this imperious nation out of the island^e. Accordingly, in the month of *March* 1638, he sent two ambassadors to *Batavia*, who were received with all the respect imaginable; they declared to the general and council, in the name of the king their master, that the *Portuguese*, in direct violation of treaties, and without any just cause whatever, had attacked, and carried the flame of war into the very heart of his dominions, which he had no hopes of extinguishing by any measures that he could possibly take since the quiet of the island depended intirely on the caprice of the governors-general, who never wanted pretences, when they had a mind to disturb it, which induced the king to desire the assistance of the company against the common enemy. To this it was answered, that they were very well apprised of the truth of this representation in all its circumstances; that there was scarce a country in *India* from which they had not received the same complaints; that the company took a pleasure in espousing the cause of injured nations, and that they were willing to exert their whole force for the assistance of his majesty of *Gandy*, without any other view than that of doing him justice, and setting him free from the tyranny of their common enemy^a. Upon this an alliance was concluded, by which the *Dutch* undertook to furnish an army and a fleet for the service of the king, to reduce the fortresses in the possession of the *Portuguese*, and, when dismantled, to put them into his hands, so that he might be at liberty to correspond and trade with whom he pleased. On the other hand it was stipulated, that the king should bring as great a force as he was able into the field; that he should pay the *Dutch* the expence of their expedition, and for any losses they might sustain therein, according to certain

^a Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEIRO, l. ii. cap. v.
^b BALDÆUS Description of Ceylon, cap. xviii. xix.

ates that were settled, and that they should be allowed to keep a single place for a secure retreat¹ (A).

In consequence of this treaty they fitted out from *Batavia* a squadron of six men of war, with a body of land-forces on board; and in the month of *February* 1639 they made a descent on the west coast of the island of *Ceylon*, where they made themselves masters of the fortresses of *Batecalou* and *Trinimala*, which, agreeable to their treaty, they demolished immediately, and put into the hands of the king, who was not at all pleased with their punctuality in performing their alliance. Somewhat earlier the next year the *Dutch* sent double the force; and, having landed upwards of three thousand men, and made themselves masters of *Negombo* and *Gallo*, places of great strength, and which might have made a considerable resistance if they had been tolerably well supplied, or if the *Portuguese* had not foolishly ventured an engagement in the field, which they lost the best part of their forces². The *Portuguese*, extremely alarmed at this progress of the *Dutch*, sent over *Don Philip Mascarenhas*, with the title of governor, and a small reinforcement, in the autumn of the same year, and immediately besieged, and retook *Negombo* by capitulation, in which it was promised that the *Dutch* should have been given them, with every thing requisite, for transporting them to their own settlements, and they engaged not to land again on the island of *Ceylon*. But when they came to put this in execution, the *Dutch* found the vessels that were given them leaky, that it was not without great difficulty they got

¹ Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBBYO, l. ii. cap. v. BALDÆUS, cap. xx. xxii. ² Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBBYO, l. iii. cap. v. vi. vii. BALDÆUS, cap. xiii. xxiv.

(A) The *Dutch* give a different account of this treaty, if it be the same with that which was made at *Battecale*, May 23d, 1638, by the emperor on one side, and *Adam Westerveld*, counsellor of the *Indies*, and commander of the *Dutch* squadron, and *Willelm Jacob Koster*, vice commander on the part of the king, and the Prince of *Orange*, on the other; and here, by the way, it may not be amiss to take notice, that Mr. *Koster*, after exposing his life often, and performing many great services for the emperor of *Ceylon*, was notwithstanding in the end assassinated for some imprudent speeches, which the *Dutch* thought fit to dissemble upon the old principle, that the misfortunes of private persons should not be suffered to create any disturbance in public affairs (55).

(55) *Baldæus*, cap. xliii.

into the port of *Gallo*. This the *Portuguese* resenting as a direct breach of faith, gave no quarter for the future; which proved of very bad consequence to themselves, as it served to justify all the severities which the *Dutch* afterwards exercised upon them. At this juncture, however, the former thought the war near an end, for they made no doubt of taking *Gallo* as easily as it had been taken from them; but they were quickly convinced of their mistake, the *Dutch* defended it with so much resolution, that, after the loss of a great number of men in a siege of a considerable length, they were obliged to turn it into a blockade, which lasted two years'. At length there came advice of the revolution in *Portugal*, and of the truce made between King *John* the fourth and the Republic of the United Provinces; upon which it was agreed that each should continue possessed in the *Indies* of what was actually in their power at the conclusion of this treaty. The *Dutch*, therefore, demanded that the district belonging to the fortrefs of *Gallo* should be left to them; which the *Portuguese* refused, pretending that they were intitled to no more of the country than was under the command of their artillery, which was in effect continuing the blockade in a time of peace; and, being infatuated with their own notions of superiority, they would needs continue the war, which proved in the end, as it might have been easily foreseen it would, the total ruin of their affairs ^m (B).

But

¹ Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par *Ribeyro*, l. iii. cap. vii.
^m Histoire Generale de Portugal, tom. vii.

(B) In this historical detail we follow chiefly the history written by Captain *Ribeyro*, a *Portuguese*, who actually served therein from first to last, who very impartially censures the errors of his countrymen, and seems upon all occasions to speak with great candour as well of the natives as of the *Dutch*. We have the rather done this, because his history is very consistent and regular; whereas the method pursued by *Baldæus* (56) is embarrassed and perplexed,

and in some passages not easy to be understood. Besides, the French translation of *Ribeyro's* history of *Ceylon*, by the Abbé *Le Grand*, is still more curious and in some respects more valuable than the original. The author, Captain *John Ribeyro*, wrote it with a design that the king of *Portugal* should be fully informed as well of the value of what he had lost, as of the manner in which it was lost. He resolved to deliver this work of his into the king's own hands

(56) *The Description of the island of Ceylon by Philip Balde* is inserted in *Churchill's Collection of Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 667.

which

BUT they were guilty of a far stranger act of infatuation; *The strange conduct of the Portuguese in their defence of that island.* for the prince of *Uva*, brother to the king of *Candy*, who was always in their interests, and thereby provoked that monarch, who represented to him, that it was a folly to expect better usage from that nation than they had already received, carried things at last so far, that the king declared war against him; and, falling suddenly with a great army into his country, forced him to fly for succour to his friends the *Portuguese*. They received him indeed with all the honours imaginable, and had now an opportunity put into their hands of retrieving all they had lost by their past mistakes; for that prince was infinitely beloved by his brother's subjects as well as his own, and, as he was elder than *Rajah Singa*, who succeeded only by his father's will, had a fair pretension to the crown. All he desired was, an escort of one hundred and twenty *Portuguese* to the frontiers of his own country, where his subjects were ready to rise, and to receive him. This motion, however, was but coolly entertained; and when an old nobleman, who had been the prince's governor, expostulated the point a little warmly with an inferior officer in the troops of *Portugal*, he ordered his head to be cut off; which was done immediately, notwithstanding all his unfortunate master could do to save him. After this they seized upon the person of the prince, and sent him over to *Goa*, where he was converted to Christianity, and passed the remainder of his days in a prison; while the king of *Candy*, by the addition of his dominions, which consisted of some of the best provinces in the island, and by the assistance of his subjects, who were the bravest and best soldiers in it, became so much the more

• Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. ii. cap. x.

which he actually did in 1685, and would therefore insert nothing which did not consist with his own knowledge. But the Abbé *Le Grand* (57), being assisted with several curious manuscripts by a nobleman of *Portugal*, who put him upon this translation, and was perfectly well acquainted with the history of his own country and countrymen, he, from these authen-

tic pieces, added a great variety of useful and important circumstances, which had been omitted by *Ribeyro*, not because he was unacquainted with them, but because he could not personally vouch them; yet these additions are not made by interpolating the original work, but either by way of notes, or supplements to each of the author's chapters.

(57) The title of this piece is, *Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, écrite par le Capitaine J. Ribeyro, et présentée au Roi de Portugal, en 1685. Traduite du Portugais par M. l'Abbé le Grand.*

powerful, and continued the war against them with indefatigable diligence, at the same time that he received and protected all who deserted from them, which, under a government so harsh and severe, to the natives more especially, was not a few^o. If this was related only by *Dutch* writers, we should have just cause to suspect, at least, if not to disbelieve it; but as we have the fact, with all its circumstances, from *Portuguese* authors, who very candidly acknowledge that nothing could be either more base or more weak, we cannot but afford it credit. This sending the prince of *Uva* to *Goa* happened before the news of the truce; and, in respect to their conduct upon both occasions, one cannot but acknowledge, that they seemed to take as much pains to lose this fine island as the *Dutch* did to obtain it, and therefore it is no great wonder that both completed their ends^p.

Wise conduct of the Dutch, and extreme vanity and weakness in the Portuguese.

THE *Dutch* Commodore *Peter Borel*, who had been sent with a Squadron to *Ceylon*, to notify the truce, perceiving how little he was able to obtain from those who had the administration of the *Portuguese* affairs in that island, proceeded to *Goa*, in order to treat with the viceroy; and, finding exactly the same usage from him, contented himself with debarking five hundred men at *Ponte de Gallo*, with instructions to the *Dutch* governor to support and defend himself as well as he could^q. Upon this he marched part of his garrison out of the place, in order to cover such of his people as were employed in collecting provisions; which detachment, without any regard to the truce, the *Portuguese* attacked and defeated, and then turned their forces against the king of *Candy*, who continued to give them all the disturbance in his power. The *Dutch* general and council at *Batavia*, being well apprised of the situation things were in, and that the *Portuguese* had nothing less in view than driving them intirely out of the island, equipped a strong fleet, with a body of between three and four thousand men on board, which appeared before *Negambo* in the beginning of the month of *January* 1644^r. The *Portuguese* army, which consisted of about five hundred of their own troops, besides the *Lascharins* or *Indian* soldiers in their pay, was in the neighbourhood of that place, under the command of *Don Antonio Mascarenhas*, brother to the governor; and, according to their usual vain and ridiculous custom, resolved to fight the enemy as soon as possible, let

^o LE CLERC Hist. Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 231. ^p RIBBEIRO Hist. de l'Isle de Ceylon, l. ii. cap. xi. ^q BALDUS Description of Ceylon cap. xlii. ^r Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBBEIRO, l. iii. cap. xiv.

their force be what it would. On the fourth of that month, the *Dutch*, under their general *Francis Caron*, debarked their forces, which consisted of seven battalions, each as strong as the *Portuguese* army; and, as soon as they were disposed in proper order, marched to find out the enemy. *Don Antonio*, with his troops, was in full march towards them, and, finding their two first battalions embarrassed in their passage between two mountains, he briskly attacked and routed them; but continuing his pursuit into the plain, quickly found himself surrounded by the other five battalions. Some of the *Lascharins*, who made less haste through the pass, escaped; but not a man of the *Portuguese*, either officer or soldier; so that nothing could be more decisive than this action; in consequence of which, *Negombo* fell immediately into their hands. But, finding that the *Portuguese* had drawn their whole strength into *Columbo*, they contented themselves with leaving a strong garrison in their new conquest, and then reembarked their troops, and sailed back to *Batavia* ^a.

As soon as the *Dutch* were retired, the *Portuguese* general, *Prudent* having received a considerable reinforcement from *Goa*, interposed *Negambo* in the month of *April*. He continued some time before the place, without making any great progress; at length he carried a fort, in which there were fifty men, by storm, upon which he put them all to the sword. This made the garrison of the place desperate; so that, in two general assaults, the besiegers lost half their army, and were at length glad to retire with the rest to *Columbo* ^b. In the month of *December* the same year, arrived the *Dutch* general *John Maatzuyker*, with an order from the king of *Portugal*, to put the *Dutch* immediately into possession of the districts belonging to the fortresses they then held, or which they had been in possession of a year before ^c (C). This gave great

^a *BALDÆUS*, cap. 42.
l. iii. c. 15.

^b *Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon*, par Monfr D^e LA CLEYDE, tom. vii. p. 99. *Histoire de la Conquête des Îles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 318.

(C) It appears clearly, from the testimonies of the best writers, that *John IV.* king of *Portugal*, was a very wise and prudent prince, and very free from the vices and defects of his nation. He very well understood the state of his affairs in the *Indies*, as well as *Europe*. He saw the necessity of temporising in one part of the world, till his power was thoroughly established in the other. He was convinced of the naval power of the *Dutch*, by the fleet they sent to his assistance against the *Spaniards*;

great distaste to the *Portuguese*, though without any reason; for they were now so weak, that the *Dutch* could easily deal with them.

*Surprising
stroke of
policy in
the em-
peror of
Ceylon, to
secure the
confidence
of the
Dutch.*

As soon as the country was evacuated, the *Dutch* gave notice to the king of *Candy* of the treaty they had made, and that, by a clause therein, he might become a contracting party, if he would; which that prince readily accepted. It seems, however, that he was far enough from being pleased at this transaction; conceiving, that if these two nations came to have a right understanding, the consequences could not be favourable to his interests, which made him study to renew the war. He acted, in this respect, like a great politician, encouraging such of the natives as were, by this treaty, become subjects to the *Dutch*, to desert their habitations, and retire into his dominions; to prevent which, the governor of *Ponte de Gallo* caused a small detachment to take post upon his frontiers. *Rajah Singa* pretended to take this extremely ill, and privately desired leave of the *Portuguese* to pass through their territories, in order to attack that detachment. This being readily granted, his troops, by a quick march, surrounded the *Dutch*, and made them prisoners, but without bloodshed. The governor of *Ponte de Gallo*, much surprised at this action, sent an officer to the king of *Candy's* court, to reclaim the prisoners, whom he entertained with great civility and respect. When he opened to him the subject of his commission, the king told him frankly, that he had no design to prejudice the *Dutch*, but that he had a mind to see what the disposition was of the *Portuguese*, and how far he might trust to their new peace. He then gave him convincing proofs, that they had not only granted him a passage, but offered him

▼ *Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. iii. c. 15.*

Spaniards; and therefore he sent his orders into the *Indies*, that, by making reasonable concessions, the truce might be firmly established in *Ceylon*, with instructions to his officers, to make use of that interval, to repair the losses they had sustained, to fortify the places that still remained in their hands, and to make a solid peace with the king of *Candy*; which directions, if they had been pursued, would certainly have

preserved the best part of the island to the crown of *Portugal*, and, when a favourable opportunity offered, enabled them to recover the rest; but, through the pride, treachery, and negligence, of such as commanded in those parts, they were condemned; which gave the *Dutch* an opportunity of renewing the war, and of dispossessing them of all that they had still left (58).

(58) *Ribeyro Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, cap. 16.*

their

their assistance; and, when he had done this, he set the *Dutch* at liberty, and sent them home *.

THE *Dutch* governor of *Ponte de Gallo* took care to let the king know how much he thought himself obliged to him in this transaction, by which he plainly discovered, that it never entered into his intention to betray them to the *Portuguese*. The governor likewise ordered all of that nation, who continued to live in the provinces yielded to the *Dutch*, to quit them without delay; but, in other respects, observed the truce very punctually, making, however, the best preparation he could for renewing the war, as soon as it should be expired. The *Portuguese*, on the other hand, though they might have been easily informed of the *Dutch* preparations, were equally careless and inactive; so that, in the month of *October* 1652, when two *Dutch* officers arrived at *Colombo*, to acquaint the governor that he was no longer to consider them as friends, all things fell into confusion, and the people having no confidence in *Don Manuel Mascarenhas Homen*, who then enjoyed that post, they put him under an arrest, as a thing necessary to their safety †.

DON *Gaspar Figueira* was at the head of the troops, and he had the good luck to defeat a small detachment of the *Dutch*, and afterwards to beat the king of *Candy*, which raised their courage extremely. He was still more successful the next year, both against the *Dutch* and the king of *Candy*, whom he routed in a general engagement, in which there fell more of his subjects than in any dispute he ever had with the *Portuguese* ‡. The *Dutch* at *Batavia*, having a just sense of the importance of this war, sent *Gerard Hulst*, with a good fleet and army, to *Gallo*, and with an absolute power to act as he thought fit, in order to bring things to a conclusion as soon as possible. He arrived the last of *September* 1655, and found the *Dutch* army before *Calitura*, which surrendered on the 14th of *October*. Two days after, arrived *Don Gaspar Figueira*, with his small, but victorious army, who, forgetting that he had to do with *Europeans*, and regular troops, and not reflecting on what had happened to other officers of his nation, who had engaged rashly, gave the *Dutch* battle, though much inferior to them in all respects. General *Hulst* was surprised at the courage, or rather confidence, of this hero; but having sustained two attacks, in which the *Portuguese* lost the best part of their men, he soon dissipated the rest, and obliged the

* BALDÆUS, cap. 43. † Histoire generale de Portugal, par LA CLEDE, tom vii. p. 522, 523. ‡ Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. iii. c. 17.

small remains of their army to take shelter in *Columbo*. That place was next attacked, and, partly by force, partly by famine, reduced, so that, on the 10th of *May*, it was surrendered *. The king of *Candy* assisted in person at this siege, with an army of forty thousand men; and therefore insisted, that, pursuant to treaties, it should be put into his hands; which the *Dutch* positively refused; alleging, that he had not complied with the terms stipulated; and that there was a very large debt due to them, for which they meant to keep *Columbo* as a security ^b (D).

The king of Candy, not been in a manner desperate, and their power in the Indies almost brought to nothing, they might now have had some chance for restoring them; since a war presently broke out between the king of Candy and the Dutch, in which there was much blood spilt on both sides. But a considerable reinforcement coming from Batavia, they first swept the places which the Portuguese had upon the coast of Coromandel; then made themselves masters of the island of Manar, between Ceylon and the main; and, at last, besieged the fortress of Jasanapatan, which, after holding out three months, surrendered, June the 24th, 1658, and the garrison being made prisoners of war, were transported to Batavia ^c. Thus the conquest of Ceylon was intirely finished; and the king of Candy, after having often hazarded his own person, and lost, in the space of twenty years, many thousands of his subjects,

* *Histoire generale de Portugal, par LA CLEYDE, tom. vii. p. 605—618.* ^b *Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. iii. c. 21.* ^c *BALDÆUS Description of Ceylon, c. 44.*

(D) This general *Gerard Hulst* was a person of invincible courage, strict honour, and of very polite behaviour, qualities that rendered him more acceptable to the emperor of *Ceylon* than any of his predecessors, as appeared by the reception he gave him, when he made him a visit in his camp, at which his imperial majesty took a ring from his own finger, and put it upon that of the general, and, at the same time, gave him a garter of gold, which had been worn by the prince his son. On his return to the *Dutch* camp before *Columbo*, going into the trenches to visit them, he received a shot in the breast, of which he died the same evening, *April* 10th, 1656. He was succeeded by *Adrian Vander Meyden*, at that time governor of *Pont de Gallo*, who had the honour of taking the place (59).

(19) *Histoire generale de Portugal, par Mams. De la Cleyde, tom. vii. p. 618. Rulæus.*

found, at length, that he had only fought to change his masters; and that the *Dutch*, by subduing the *Portuguese*, thought they had a good title to succeed to all their rights, which, whether it was so or not, they were resolved to maintain; and to which the king and his successors have been forced, ever since, to submit; though, as we shall see hereafter, they have shewn, that it is much against their will, and that they would be glad to employ any other *European* nation, to treat these new as they treated their old masters^d. But, as hitherto they have not been very successful in that respect, they have of late made a virtue of necessity, sent ambassadors occasionally to *Batavia*, and lived upon as good terms with the company as any of the princes of *India*; and yet it is very doubtful, whether they have altogether conquered that aversion which all men have, and princes more than any other men, to be kept in a state of abject slavery and dependence (E).

S E C T.

^d BASNAGE Description historique du Government des Provinces Unies, p. 31.

(E) In order to give the reader some notion of the true grounds of this monarch's dissatisfaction, and, at the same time, to shew, that these eastern princes are very far from being so barbarous, or so ignorant, as they are sometimes represented, the following letter is inserted, written by *Raja Singa*, to the new *Dutch* general, upon the taking of *Columbo* (60).

" Our imperial majesty being very desirous to introduce the *Dutch* nation into our dominions, *Adam Westervold* came on the coast, with a Squadron of ships, just as we had made ourselves masters of *Batecalo*, when we thought fit to conclude a peace with him, which, being confirmed by oath, was but slenderly observed by some officers afterwards. As for instance,

" and Commissary *Peter Kieft*, who, being sent as plenipotentiaries to our court, did confirm the before mentioned peace, by oath; pursuant to which, at their departure for *Galle*, they took along with them one of our principal officers, in order to deliver into his hands the country of *Matura*. But, at his coming there, they found means to render the same ineffectual, by alleging certain difficulties; which made the said officer return to our court, without executing his commission, to our great dissatisfaction. It was about that time that our beloved director-general came into our dominions from *Holland*, with full power to act as he should find most suitable to our service, and to the establishment of a firm peace and friend-

(60) Description of the Island of Ceylon, ch2p. 41.

" ship;

S E C T IX.

Their Conduct in respect of the Chinese, and other Eastern Nations. The War of Formosa; and the Causes of the Loss of that fruitful Island, and important Colony.

The company resume their design of procuring an intercourse with China.

ALL the successes which the company had met with, some against, and many beyond, their expectations, could not make them forget their several disappointments in their attempts to settle or force a trade to *China*. They could not bear with patience, that, while they were esteemed and courted by all the other nations in the east, they should be neglected by the government of *China*, and even treated

“ ship; pursuant to which, he
 “ desired us to bury all past
 “ miscarriages in oblivion, pro-
 “ mising at the same time, in
 “ the name of the prince of
 “ *Orange*, and the *East India*
 “ company, full satisfaction for
 “ the same; as also, that the
 “ fortresses of *Negombo* and *Co-*
 “ *lumbo*, when taken, should
 “ be delivered into the hands
 “ of our imperial majesty, and
 “ certain *Hollanders* to be esta-
 “ blished in the said places, for
 “ our service. It is upon this
 “ account, that we sent our
 “ auxiliaries to assist our dearly
 “ beloved *Hollanders* in the
 “ taking of *Columbo*; which
 “ being since taken, they are
 “ become forgetful of their
 “ promise, and even continue
 “ so to this day. Your excel-
 “ lency is left at your own li-
 “ berty to do what you think
 “ fit, till notice of this pro-
 “ ceeding can be given to the
 “ prince of *Orange*, and the
 “ honourable company. But I
 “ would have you consider,
 “ that such as don’t remember
 “ and fear God, and keep their

“ word, will, one time or other,
 “ be sensible of the ill conse-
 “ quences thereof.”

By way of postscript, was written :

“ Two letters have been dis-
 “ patched from our imperial
 “ court. Your excellency has
 “ writ in *Dutch* to *George Blom*,
 “ but without mentioning any
 “ thing relating to our service.
 “ Your excellency may write
 “ such frivolous pretences, as
 “ your last contained, to whom
 “ you please, but ought not to
 “ impose them upon our im-
 “ perial majesty, it being in
 “ vain to allege, that the di-
 “ rector-general received his
 “ instructions from *Batavia*,
 “ whereas he brought his full
 “ powers along with him out
 “ of *Holland*. Such sinister deal-
 “ ings, as they create no small
 “ jealousy, so I can’t see with
 “ what face you can expect any
 “ further credit from us. I
 “ have taken care to have this
 “ translated into *Dutch*, that
 “ you may have no reason to
 “ plead ignorance.”

with

with apparent aversion; they could not see without concern the *Portuguese* in possession of *Macao*, or digest the affront they had received, when they attacked that place; and therefore, to overcome all these obstacles, the governor-general and council at *Batavia* resolved to send an embassy to the *Chinese* monarch, with magnificent presents, and with such plausible propositions, as they thought it impossible he should reject. At the head of this embassy were *Peter Boyer* and *James Keyfel*, men of great parts, and long versed in business; who set out from *Batavia* in the month of *June* 1655, and arriving safely at *Canton*, communicated to the viceroy the subject of their commission, and desired they might be sent to the imperial residence. The emperor of *China* was then in the city of *Peking*, to whose presence, after a stay of eight or nine months, they were admitted; and, from the civility shewn at their first audience, had great hopes of success; but they soon discovered, that there were persons who traversed all their designs, and found means to misrepresent all the propositions they made.

THE chief of their enemies was Father *Adam Schaal*, a *But are* Jesuit, and a native of *Cologne* in *Germany*. He had resided *defeated in* in *China* upwards of five-and-thirty years, and had wrought *that pro-* himself so highly into the emperor's favour, that he raised *ject, by the* him to a mandarin of the first rank, and placed him at the head of all the philosophers and mathematicians in the *secret in-* empire. This man, by his great interest, and knowledge, baffled *trigues of* the designs of the *Dutch*; for he represented them as a people *the Jesuits* without any lands or settlements in *Europe*, who lived merely *at the* by peddling and piracy, and had, by treachery and cruelty, raised *court of* themselves a large empire in the *Indies*, at the expence of the natives, and more especially of such princes as, suffering themselves to be deceived by fair pretences, had admitted them into their dominions, and thereby afforded them an opportunity of distressing them and their subjects. The *Chinese*, naturally suspicious, having once these notions in their heads, began to put such questions to the *Dutch* ambassadors, as might best enable them to judge of the truth of what they had been told. Upon their asking, at how great a distance the seat of their government lay from *China*? they answered, about five thousand leagues. Being interrogated as to the power and strength of the colony at *Batavia*, they gave such answers as were true in themselves, and likely to create respect: but these were precisely things that turned most to their disadvantage; because they seemed exactly to agree with what

Father *Schaal* had laid down. So that, towards the latter end of the year 1657, the ambassadors quitted *China*, without being able to make any progress in the execution of their commission; so strong were the apprehensions the *Chinese* had of their danger, in case these strangers were admitted to trade in the ports of their empire ^f (F).

Zachary
Waghe-
naer very
successful
in his two
ambassies
to the court
of Japan.

BUT, if disappointed in their hopes from a negotiation in *China*, they had better success in *Japan*; to which country, they sent *Zachary Waghenae*r, with the title of ambassador, to the emperor; with orders to use his utmost endeavours to gain a perfect knowledge of the policy of that empire, and to make himself likewise as agreeable as possible to the emperor, and his ministers; which commission he was very capable of

^f BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 450, 451.

(F) There is a very full relation of this embassy in Mr. *Thevenot's* Collection, from whence it has been translated, and transferred to several books, in different languages, on account chiefly of the curious observations made by the ambassadors, in their travels; which, at the time they were published, could not but be highly esteemed, as at that period there was scarce any tolerable account of this great empire extant. At the close of their relation, we find two things very remarkable. The first is, a distinct account of the expences of this whole affair (which, from the time of the ambassadors departure, to their return to *Batavia*, included the space of one year, seven months, and fourteen days), amounting to somewhat short of one hundred thousand florins, or ten thousand pounds sterling; which, if we consider the uneasiness that it created, is a strong proof of the company's oeconomy. The other

is, the emperor of *China's* letter to the governor-general of *Batavia*; which is conceived in a style of cold civility, under which there seems to be a kind of concealed raillery. He tells him, that their country being at such an extreme distance, he is much obliged to him for taking notice of him, and sending him presents: that, in return, he had sent him presents; but that, considering how far they lived asunder, he saw no occasion for a close correspondence between them: that, however, he might send vessels to trade in his dominions, provided they came once in eight years, which would be sufficient, and with a crew not exceeding one hundred men. Notwithstanding this, a small vessel was sent to the port of *Canton*, in order to try whether a private trade might not be admitted; but this attempt meeting with no greater success than the embassy, highly provoked the *Dutch* governor at *Batavia* (61).

(61) *Absolade des Hollandois à la Chine, ou Voyage des Ambassadeurs de la Compagnie Hollandoise des Indes Orientales, vers le Grand Chan de Tartarie maintenant Empereur de la Chine, Paris 1666.*

performing, being a man of deep reach, great experience, and extremely affable in his deportment. He had not been long, however, at *Jedo*, before a sudden fire reduced that city to ashes, which occasioned such confusion at the court of *Japan*, as induced the *Dutch* ambassador to return home. He was scarce arrived at *Batavia*, before news came, that great disputes had arisen between the *Japanese* at *Nangasacki*; and the *Dutch* settled in their factory there; which alarmed the general and council so much, that they obliged Mr. *Waghenaer*, much against his will, to make a second voyage to *Japan*; where he did not arrive till the beginning of the month of *March* 1659. He found means to ingratiate himself with the emperor, and his chief minister; and, by promising two things on the part of the *Dutch*, obtained all that he could reasonably ask in their favour. The first was, That they should give early intelligence of any designs that might be formed in the *Philippines* to the prejudice of the empire. The second, That they should forbear taking *Chinese* ships upon the coast of *Japan*; because the emperor allowing them to trade in his dominions, it was but reasonable he should protect them^h (G).

WHILE these negotiations were carrying on in the most distant parts of the east, there arose a new war in *Java*, which threatened ruin to the *Dutch* affairs. We shall give a concise view of the whole matter, from the *Dutch* histories. The island of *Java* had been antiently under the power of a single monarch, sometimes styled by the *Dutch* simply the emperor, and at others, king of *Japara*, from whom the governor of *Bantam* revolted, assumed the title of king, and *Bantam*.

^h P. CHARLEVOIX *Histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 449.
NEUVILLE *Hist. van Holland*, 11 decl. l. xi. c. 7.

(G) It appears by the instructions given to Mr. *Wagbenaer*, upon his first embassy, that he was to make all imaginable submissions, and to do every thing that lay in his power, to flatter the pride, and to obtain thereby the favour of the *Japanese* court. There is little reason to doubt, that, in both his embassies, he went as far as he was able in this respect, which procured him a very good reception, and enabled him

to obtain some favours. But, notwithstanding all this, the *Japanese* have ever since continued to prosecute their own notions, and to put the *Dutch*, from time to time, under fresh difficulties; so that if they were really instrumental, as it is generally presumed they were, to the total exclusion of all other *European* nations, they have been punished for it, to almost as high a degree as their enemies could desire (62).

(62) P. Charlevoix *Histoire du Japon*, vol. ii. p. 449.

was supported, in this quality of an independent prince, by the *Dutch*. It was by a dextrous management of these divisions, that they maintained their own power; for, whenever the emperor of *Java* attempted any thing to the prejudice of *Batavia*, the king of *Bantam* was sure to take arms; as, on the other hand, whenever the king of *Bantam* marched forces against them, they never failed to have recourse to the emperor of *Java*. But, in the year 1659, the emperor being much embarrassed at home, the king of *Bantam* laid hold of this favourable opportunity, to raise a great army, and to attack the *Dutch*; supposing, that, as they were now deprived of the emperor's assistance, he should soon be able to make himself master of *Batavia*, to which he laid siege. He found himself, however, mistaken; for the company was become so potent, that they were able to defend themselves by their own strength; which they did so effectually, that, after the loss of a great part of his forces, the king of *Bantam* was obliged to raise the siege, and even to retire precipitately into his own dominions^k. The emperor of *Java*, or king of *Japara*, had still less success; for though he inherited, from his father, an invincible hatred to the company, yet they made him feel the effects of their power, and suffer severely for his obstinacy, though they were never able to conquer it, or to bring him, either by fair or foul means, to have any correspondence with them.

The company restore the king of Bengal, and find their account in it sufficiently.

THESE disturbances did not hinder the governor and council from engaging in a foreign war, for the support of one of their allies, the king of *Bengal*, who was in great danger of being dethroned by his brother. At first, the *Dutch* only furnished him with provisions and artillery, and offered him, in case he was expelled, a sanctuary at *Batavia*; but afterwards finding that a considerable part of his subjects adhered to him firmly, they sent over troops to his assistance, and not only delivered him from the immediate danger he was in, but restored him to his former dignity. In gratitude for this seasonable assistance, he gave them leave not only to erect a factory, but a fort, at *Hughly*, well fortified, with twelve pieces of large cannon mounted, and a good ditch. It was by this means that they ruined the *English* trade there, and secured all the commerce of those parts to themselves, at least for some time^l.

^k TAVERNIER *Voyages des Indes*, P. ii. l. iii.
^l VILLE Hift. van Holland, 11 deel. l. xi. c. 2.
 TAVERNIER *Voyages des Indes*, P. ii. l. iii. c. 19.

^k NEW

YET these remarkable instances of good fortune could not efface the remembrance of their miscarriage in *China*, much less incline them to forgive the Jesuits, to whom they attributed the defeat of that embassy, which cost, in their opinions, an immense sum of money. To be revenged on the authors of this disgrace, they fitted out a fleet of thirty sail, with orders to sail to the island of *Macassar*, and to attack the city of the same name, in the port of which, they knew there was a *Portuguese* fleet, richly laden, wherein the Jesuits were deeply concerned ^m. On the seventh of *June* 1660, the *Dutch* attacked *Macassar* by land and sea; and though the *Indian* monarch defended his allies with his whole force, yet the *Dutch* obtained a complete victory, burnt three *Portuguese* ships, sunk two, and took one, so richly laden, that it sufficiently reimbursed the expence of the *Chinese* embassy, and of this expedition. What was still more honourable for the *Dutch*, the unfortunate king of *Macassar* was obliged to send a solemn embassy, at the head of which was the king of *Pope*, to *Batavia*, and to submit to such terms as the governor-general thought fit to prescribe; which were hard enough, since he was obliged not only to expel all the *Portuguese* settled in his dominions, but also to promise, that he would never admit them, or any *Europeans*, to reside in his territories, with the liberty of trading. The fortrefs and port of *Jompandam*, with the district, of between three and four leagues, round about it, were to remain in property to the *Dutch East India* company; the Jesuits were to be expelled, their colleges razed, their churches beaten down, and their effects confiscated to the use of the company. And the king was to send an ambassador, with suitable presents, to the governor-general, to obtain the ratification of the treaty, even upon these disgraceful terms ⁿ (H).

BUT,

^m BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 624.

ⁿ TAVERNIER *Voyages des Indes*, P. ii. l. iii. c. 19. GERVAISE *Description historique du Royaume de Macassar*, p. 57.

(H) In the only history we have of this kingdom, the *Dutch* are represented as having begun and prosecuted this war in a most extraordinary manner. It is alleged, that they sent over, for ten years before, and while they were carrying on a peaceable trade with this monarch's subjects, a great number of their own countrymen, who settled in different parts of his dominions, and who, when they thought themselves strong enough, excited a rebellion, marching with a numerous army, to attack the king suddenly in his capital, expecting to have been supported

*An account
of the noble
and flourishing
colony of the
Dutch in
Formosa.*

BUT, immediately after all this mighty success, the Dutch company received the severest check they ever met with since their establishment in the *Indies*. They had at this time a very fine settlement on the island of *Formosa*, one of the fairest and most fruitful countries in the east, abounding with all the necessaries of life, producing various rich commodities, and affording an opportunity thereby of carrying on a vast commerce. They had built, for the protection of their colony, a square fort, with large bastions, and below these, towards the sea, they had another fortification, which covered the palace of their governor, consisting of two regular bastions, an excellent covered-way, and four halfmoons, the whole united to the fort by very strong walls, defended by a great number of cannon, and constantly supplied with a numerous garrison. The town was long and large, extremely well peopled, and the inhabitants, from seven years old and upwards, being charged with a poll-tax, at the rate of half a guilder a head, produced a revenue more than sufficient to defray the expences necessary for the maintenance of this important colony. Such, indeed, it might be well styled, since, by its situation, at the distance only of twenty-four leagues from the coast of *China*, and one hundred and fifty from *Japan*, it afforded the means of carrying on, with the greatest ease, a trade to both, that was inexpressibly beneficial ° (1). The *Chinese*, in the year 1653, had laid a very deep

° Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 210, 211.

in this attempt by a fleet and army from *Batavia*; which not arriving so soon as they expected, the king's forces, tho' in a manner surprised, behaved so vigorously, that they were in great danger of being totally destroyed; but, being encamped on one side of the river, and the king's army on the other, they observed, that at a certain hour in the night the soldiers went down to drink, upon which they found means to poison the waters, and thereby destroyed multitudes; by this

they secured themselves, till the succours arrived; and, by one of the articles of the peace, procured an indemnity for all they had done, as well as the intire restitution of their estates and effects, which had been confiscated. However, as this book was dedicated to Father *De la Chaise*, a Jesuit, and confessor to *Louis* the fourteenth, the credit of it is not extremely clear, of which it is but just to give the reader notice (63).

(1) It is a very difficult point to afford the reader, within that

deep design for the destruction of the *Dutch* in this island, by an universal conspiracy amongst the natives; which, however, had not the desired effect; for, being discovered in time, it was absolutely defeated. This piece of good fortune made those who were entrusted with the care of the company's affairs at *Batavia*, in regard to this settlement, much more remiss than is usual with this nation; insomuch, that they neglected the fortifications, and suffered their magazines to become exhausted, while, by a steady and undiverted ap-

narrow compass to which we are restrained, such an account of this island, the *Dutch* settlement thereon, and the loss of it, as may be intelligible and satisfactory. But, notwithstanding this, it is necessary to endeavour it, because there is no point either more perplexed, or of greater importance, in this chapter of our history. The *Dutch*, following the *Portuguese*, bestowed the name of *Formosa* on that part of the island where they established themselves, upon account of the fine climate, delightful prospects, and great fertility of the country (64). The *Chinese* bestowed the name of *Tai-ovan* upon the whole island, which signifies, in their language, the first or chief of ten thousand, being perhaps a kind of hyperbolical allusion to the small islands in its neighbourhood (65). The only commodious port lay on the south-west side of the island, the mouth of which was covered by a small island, which thereby afforded two entrances, the one for large, the other for small ships. Upon this island the *Dutch* erected

their first fortress, and applied thereto the *Chinese* name of *Tai-ovan* (66), which occasions great obscurity in the relations, which we have endeavoured to remove by this account. Another thing to be observed, is, that, for the sake of dealing with them, availing themselves of their industry, and raising a large and constant revenue out of the tribute imposed upon them, the *Dutch* tolerated many thousand of *Chinese* inhabitants, who fled thither after the last *Tartar* invasion, had their dwellings round the *Dutch* fortress, and carried on a prodigious commerce with their countrymen on the continent. They had likewise a great number of the natives in subjection, whom they found, and their writers acknowledge to have been, an honest, faithful, and brave people; which distinction of characters will enable the reader, if he casts his eyes upon *Dutch* books, to distinguish which of these two nations are meant, when mentioned, as they very frequently are, under the common name of the inhabitants of *Formosa* (67).

(64) *Formose Negligée; ou la prise de cette Isle par les Chinois sur les Hollandais*, p. 5.

(65) *Du Halde Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. i. p. 177.

(66) *Formose Negligée*, p. 13.

(67) *Account of the Island of Formosa*, by George Candidini, in the first volume of *Cheurebill's Collection of Voyages*.

plication to trade, they were labouring to advance their private fortunes ^P (K).

A taylor of Formosa, whose name was Iquon, revolted from the Tartars, and heads the Chinese. AT the time the *Tartars* made their last conquest of *China*, there dwelt in the *Dutch* town upon this island a taylor, whose name in their language was *Chinchilung*, but by the *Dutch* and other *Europeans* he was called *Iquon*. This man had a vast capacity, a courage stubborn and enterprising, and, from an unconquerable aversion to the *Tartars*, got together a few men, two or three small barks, and with this force turned pirate, or privateer; which you will please to call him. In a short space of time, his power increased to such a degree, that he became extremely formidable to the *Tartar* emperor; who, finding that his foible was ambition, offered to make him king of the two great provinces of *Canton* and *Fokien*; and sent for him to *Focheu*, where he promised to give him the investiture of his new dignity; but, instead of keeping his word, he caused him to be seized, and conducted to *Peking*, where he was, soon after, poisoned &c. This

^P NEUVILLE Hist. van Holl. 2 deel. l. xi. c. 13. ¹ DAPPER tweede Gezantschap naar Sina, fol. 52.

(K) The *Dutch* governor of *Formosa*, when these conspiracies and insurrections happened, was *Nicholas Werburgh*, who, considering the connection the *Chinese* in the island had with such of their countrymen as were in arms against the *Tartars*; and knowing that the former, without any foreign assistance, were between twenty and thirty thousand men, thought himself obliged, in order to render himself and his garrison secure, to proceed against such as were either in arms, or embarked in illicit correspondence, with the utmost severity; and therefore cut numbers of the former to pieces, and exposed many of the latter to cruel deaths, and exquisite tortures. By this behaviour he made all the *Chinese* to a man determined enemies to the company, and exposed the settlement over which he presided to much greater hazards than if he had acted with temper and moderation. Yet this very man, when he returned to *Batavia*, and was promoted to the post of counsellor of the *Indies*, treated all the letters of his successor, expressing his apprehensions of the *Chinese*, as mere pusillanimous complaints; asserting, that he had strength enough to resist any attack that could be made upon him, and to crush any conspiracy that might be formed against him; by which he deluded the governor-general and council hindered them from sending the supplies they ought to have done, and even prevailed upon them to diminish the ordinary allowances for the support of the fortifications, magazines, and garrison (68).

taylor, who was so near being a king, had a son, whose name was *Coxinia*, or *Coxenga*, and who had been taylor to Mr. *Puttman*, governor of *Fort Zealand*, and who, on his father's imprisonment, took upon him the command of the fleet. He first demanded succours from the *Dutch*, and promised them great advantages, if he was successful against the *Tartars*; which they refused; and this provoked him to such a degree, that he resolved to turn his whole force against *Fermoza*; the rather, because he had good intelligence within the *Dutch* town, and knew that their affairs were in a very bad condition. He assembled, with this view, a fleet of six hundred sail, most of them frigates of small force, but near one hundred were stout men of war, of forty guns and upwards. The news of these great preparations reaching the ears of the *Dutch* governor, who was at that time Mr. *Frederick Cojet*, successor to *Cornelius Keiser*, he dispatched advice to *Batavia*, and demanded speedy succours, and also to *Japan*, for the assistance of such *Dutch* ships as happened to be there. All, however, was to no purpose; for, before any relief could come, *Coxenga* sent his fleet, under the command of his uncle *Souja*, which appeared before the place in the month of *March 1661* (L).

THE

* *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. x. p. 214, 215. * *BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 670, 671.

(L) As there interfered a space of more than seven years between the forming and the execution of this design, the *Dutch East India* company had time enough and force enough to have prevented it; but what ought, in the nature of things, to have contributed most to their advantage, became the chief cause of their misfortune. The governor of the fort of *Zealand* informed them from time to time of the intrigues that were carrying on amongst the *Chinese*, of the difficulties under which he laboured; and of the certain intelligence he had received of *Coxenga's* preparations. His dispatches were very unwell-

come at *Batavia*, more especially when he insisted, that their fortifications, tho' strong in themselves, were very irregular, as well as very injudiciously placed; by which the company was put to a needless and useless expence, and himself and his garrison to unformountable difficulties. All his apprehensions met with very little credit from his superiors, some of whom were the very persons that, by undertaking things they did not understand, had squandered away the company's money upon useless redoubts, that served only to divide, and consequently to weaken, the force of the garrison.

His son,
after his
father's
misfor-
tune, re-
solves to
recover
Formosa,
and at-
tacks it.

THE *Dutch* governor sent a detachment of three hundred and fifty men, to prevent the debarking of their troops, who behaved as well as men could do; but to little purpose, since the *Chinese* landed forty thousand men. They soon cut off the communication between the town and the island, and having made themselves masters of the adjacent country, *Coxenga* treated all who had joined the *Dutch* in the same manner that *Nicholas Werburgh*, who was governor in 1653, did such as were concerned in the rebellion; that is to say, he put them to death, with all the marks of shame and cruelty he could invent, and without the least regard to age, sex, or quality. After this, he attacked all the out-works at the same time, which prevented the *Dutch* from succouring each other; so that these places were very soon carried, though with a vast effusion of blood, and the governor was forced to

son (69). However, not to be wanting to themselves, they sent a strong squadron, under the command of Commodore *John Vander Laan*, to *Formosa*, with full power to act as he thought fit; and to proceed from thence, if he found it expedient, and reduce the city of *Macao*. If this officer had been a man of abilities, he had certainly saved *Formosa*; but, having small parts, and much vanity, he ruined it. For, by boasting of his interest with, and knowledge of, the council at *Batavia*, he raised a faction in the garrison against the governor; procured from the officers, when drunk, a remonstrance against him, which though they refused to sign when they were sober, yet he made the same use of it as if it had been signed; and, though he returned without doing any thing, prevailed upon the governor-general and council to send letters to *Formosa*, disapproving in the strongest terms all that had been done, depriv-

ing the governor of his command; and directing him to repair to *Batavia*, in order to stand a trial (70). But receiving, in less than a month, certain intelligence of *Coxenga's* expedition, they sent other letters, restoring the governor to his command, applauding his precautions, and giving him solemn thanks for those things which a month before they had voted to be high crimes. The soldiers and seamen discovered their sense of the matter by bestowing upon the commodore the name of *John without brain*, by which he was distinguished to the day of his death. By the help of these remarks the reader may form a just notion of the true sources from whence all the mischiefs flowed, and the reasons which induced the council to revenge their own bad conduct upon a governor, to whom, in truth, they could impute nothing more, than that he had the ill luck to be the victim of it (71).

(69) *Formose Negligée*, p. 15.
-tom. i. p. 671.

(70) *Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies*,
(71) *Formose Negligée*, p. 177.

retire into *Fort Zeeland*¹. The conqueror considering the great strength of the place, and how unfit his army was to undertake sieges, made choice of Mr. *Anthony Hancbroeck*, the eldest of the *Dutch* clergymen, and sent with him his brethren, two or three schoolmasters, and some of the gravest men among his prisoners, to persuade the governor to surrender; declaring, that he was content they should retire in safety; and that he would not touch the hair of a *Dutchman's* head, or one farthing's worth of their goods: but if they refused this proposition, he would put them all to the sword, without mercy. The governor told those who brought him this message, that he had all the sorrow and concern in the world for their misfortune; but, at the same time, that there was nothing could induce him to betray his trust, or to give up the place he commanded, into the hands of the enemy. With this answer, they returned to *Coxenga*; who, as soon as he had heard it, caused all his prisoners to be put to death, men, women, and children².

WHEN this was done, he embarked the best part of his *Succours* army on board three hundred junks, a very light sort of vessels, with which he blocked up the port, while he fired upon the fortress, from two batteries of twelve pieces of cannon each. Things were in this situation, when there arrived from *Batavia* a stout squadron of nine men of war, commanded by *Commodore Cawen*, who immediately made the best disposition he could for the relief of the place. He landed, for this purpose, all the troops he had on board; and, being joined by a part of the garrison, marched to attack six thousand *Chinese*, that were covered by a redoubt not yet mounted with cannon. These troops being well armed, and completely disciplined, received them in order of battle; and, though the *Dutch* fought with great resolution, and renewed the attack several times, they were at length obliged to retire, with the loss of four hundred men³. The commodore then ordered his ships to force a passage into the port; but the junks, drawing very little water, kept close under the shore, where the great ships durst not follow them; and, in this attempt, the *Dutch* lost two of their best men of war; of which one run ashore, and had all their crew, to the number of three hundred and eighty, killed by the *Chinese*; the other was blown up, by a shot fired into her powder-room. *Commodore Cawen*, perceiving that it was impossible for him to

¹ NEUVILLE Hist. van Holl. 2 deel. l. xi. c. 13. ² Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 367—377. ³ NEUVILLE Hist. van Holl. 2 deel. l. xi. c. 13.

city, he prosecuted his attempt with such obstinacy, that at last he prevailed, and the *Portuguese* were constrained to surrender^a. When possessed of it, however, he scarce knew how to act, because he saw the preservation of it was a thing of great consequence, and yet that it would require a very numerous garrison, and a great expence, to put the fortifications into repair.

By a steady and vigorous pursuit of this conduct the peace comes too late for the Portuguese. HE applied himself, therefore, to the general and council at *Batavia*, who sent him orders not to spare either men or money, but to push his fortune to the utmost, and at the same time sent likewise a fresh squadron, and a considerable body of troops on board it. This so encouraged *Commodore Gaens*, that he marched by land to attack the city of *Porca*, which was the capital of a little *Rajah*, or *Indian* prince, who had been subject to the *Portuguese*. But he, not caring to dispute with those who had beat his masters, offered to become their tributary, and to pay them the same obedience which he had formerly done to the crown of *Portugal*; and this, being as readily accepted as offered, put an end to the war on that side. The city of *Cranganor*, between *Calicut* and *Cochin*, fell next into his hands without a blow; and thus in the space of a single year the *Dutch* expelled the *Portuguese* out of almost all the places they held on the coast of *Malabar*, and acquired a territory of one hundred and fifty leagues in length, with all the trade belonging to it, and which the *Portuguese* had enjoyed without interruption from the time of their first settlement in *India*. They likewise contracted an alliance with the *Samorin* of *Calicut*, the king of *Cochin*, and other *Indian* princes^b.

The company send a solemn embassy to the Mogul, and renew their correspondence with Siam. BY the accession of *Aurengzebe* to the empire of the *Indies* the *Dutch* had an opportunity of complimenting him, which they did by a splendid embassy that made the power and the influence of the company known to the great monarch of *Indostan*. As they carried magnificent presents, had nothing but general favours to ask, and expressed themselves in terms full of deference and respect, that prince, who had made his way to the throne by measures not the most conformable to laws human or divine, was extremely well pleased with this application, granted their demands, and assured the company of his favour and protection^c. The king of *Siam*, who, in the company's sentiments, lay under great obliga-

^a NEUVILLE Hist. van Hollande, 2 deel, l. xii. cap. iv.

^b Report que les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales fait à leurs H. P. Oct. 22. 1664.

^c NEUVILLE Hist. van Holland, 2 deel, l. xii. cap. iv.

tions to them, having in some respects deceived their expectations, they without farther ceremony withdrew their factories out of his dominions. The king, justly alarmed at this, and well knowing that it was impossible he should escape the weight of their resentment, who were themselves so powerful, and who had such an influence upon all his neighbours, sent immediately his ambassadors to *Batavia*, where they were treated very respectfully; and, upon the king's promising them that no cause of offence should be given them for the future, their factories were immediately re-established^d. It was by these political contrivances, intermixed with seasonable acts of severity upon their own people, when, either through insolence or drunkenness, they committed outrages upon the subjects of potent princes, that they raised their reputation to a great height, and prevailed upon many of the *Indian* princes to send their children to *Batavia* for education, where they were sometimes entertained at the expence of the company, and all imaginable pains taken to infuse into their minds an high idea of their naval power, and of their capacity to maintain that superiority which they had so manifestly acquired^e (M).

BUT

^d BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 702, 703.^e NEUVILLE *Hist. van Holland*, 2 deel, l. xii. cap. iv.

(M) It is believed, and upon good grounds, that this part of the *Dutch* policy, as we have hinted before, is copied from the *Portuguese*, who, in the time of their grandeur, practised the like at *Goa*, but with less dexterity, as well as success. The *Portuguese* were wont to dazzle the eyes of the young *Indian* princes with magnificence, to caress and indulge them in their pleasures, and to bestow upon them *Portuguese* names, as if they meant to naturalize them. All these arts, as they grew up, they easily saw through; and, when they came to the possession of their dominions, were very often the bitterest enemies the *Portuguese* had. They behave in quite another manner towards them at *Batavia*; they are never admitted to the presence of

the governor-general, but in ceremony, and upon solemn occasions they are treated with great respect; and, under this pretence, they have very little liberty, converse with none but such as are appointed to instruct and entertain them, and carried to the reviews of the company's forces, bear also a part in all public spectacles and shews, and no pains are spared to instil into their minds political maxims, that seem intirely calculated for their advantage, which, at the bottom, turn however to the company's benefit; for they are given to understand, that, from the natural laziness, perfidy, and fickleness, of their own subjects, they are in continual danger; but that, while they adhere steadily to their alliances, they may command all the power of the

*An embassy
and a fleet
sent to the
assistance
of the Chi-
nese
against
Coxenga
and his
party.*

BUT these, and other affairs of equal consequence, did not hinder the governor-general and council from paying a proper attention to the loss of *Formosa*, or the overtures made by the emperor of the *Tartars* in *China* for restoring to them that place. There was the greater reason to expect that this monarch would act sincerely, because *Coxenga*, not satisfied with *Formosa* and its dependencies, had made himself master of several islands between that country and *China*, and actually seized some towns upon the continent. On the assurances, therefore, given them by Mr. *Borel*, their ambassador to the emperor, they fitted out a great fleet of seventeen sail of large ships, under the command of *Balthasar Borth*, with orders to join the *Tartars*, and to act with the utmost vigour against *Coxenga*^f. On his arrival on the coast of *China* he found that conqueror in possession of the island of *Quemoy*, which the *Tartars*, with all their force, were not able to take from him. The *Dutch* commodore, observing that the principal fortrefs in this island stood upon the sea-coast, resolved to try whether it was not possible to take it by assault, supposing that this would strike a terror into the enemy, and raise the credit of the *Dutch* army with the *Tartars*; but he quickly found that the soldiers of *Coxenga* did not at all resemble the *Chinese*, for they gave him so warm a reception, that he was soon obliged to abandon the design. He next determined to attack their fleet, while the general of the *Tartars* engaged their forces on shore, to which the latter consented^g.

*The Tar-
tar-Chi-
nese be-
have ex-
ceedingly*

THIS fleet of *Coxenga*'s consisted of fourscore large junks, and twenty-seven small ones, all full of soldiers and seamen, and very well furnished with brass cannon. The battle was very obstinate and bloody; and *Coxenga* distinguished himself as a gallant soldier, an experienced seaman, and a great captain.

^f BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. pag. 703.

^g DAPPER *twede Gezantschap naar Sina*, fo. 97.

the *Dutch*; which seldom fails of making a great impression upon their minds; and, as it is the company's interest to keep these promises, so they very seldom fail of gaining their end, which is in effect to render these princes their viceroys. By this method also they come at a perfect knowledge of the temper, genius, and capacity, of these

princes, so that they are ever afterwards able to deal with them without any danger of being deceived or betrayed; or, if ever this happens, they know how to raise up competitors, who, by their assistance, may supplant such monarchs as endeavour to emancipate themselves from that yoke which they think fit to impose.

But

But the *Dutch* large ships tore his junks to pieces, so that *ill to their* after an engagement which lasted for several hours, he was *new allies* forced to retire, but did it in order, and with a good count- *the Dutch* nance. The *Tartar* general, before the battle, began to draw up his forces in a regular line, and all the time it lasted looked on very quietly. After all was over, the *Dutch* commodore expostulated this matter a little warmly; but the *Tartar* general answered, that he could not prevail upon his men to fight; but, in case the *Dutch* would attack the enemy a second time, he believed they would behave better ^h.

THE commodore took his word, and attacked *Coxenga* a *Who trust* second time, and routed him intirely, but the *Tartar* general *them again* was as calm a spectator as before. This victory, however, *in another* was of greater consequence than the former, since it not only *engage-* cost *Coxenga* all his new conquests, but his life. The *Tar-* *ment, and* *tars* laid hold of this opportunity to demolish the fortresses *are de-* they had raised as fast as they left them, and the *Dutch* *ceived by* were very brisk in carrying off whatever was valuable. After *them.* this, they made themselves masters of the island of *Amoy*, and the recovery of *Formosa* was looked upon as a thing certain, yet, when they came to attempt it, they were strangely disappointed; for old *Souja*, who had now recovered his liberty, drew together the fleet and army of his nephew, and disposed them in a such a manner, that there was nothing to be done but by force; and even of doing any thing that way, there was a great uncertainty. The old *Chinefe*, however, being a man of great wisdom and experience, was not willing to risque all, if all might be saved without running any hazard, and therefore had a mind to make peace with the *Tartars*, and to grant the *Dutch* a settlement, and a free trade, which he thought might content both ⁱ.

THE son of *Coxenga*, however, whom the *Chinefe* call *A new re-* *Tching-king-may*, having discovered the design, defeated it; *volutions.* and, procuring himself to be elected general, seized the old man, and sent him a second time to prison, where in a fit of melancholy he dispatched himself with his own hands. This young officer inherited all the spirit and all the abilities of his family; and managed his affairs with such courage and conduct, that the admiral soon found himself obliged to return to *Batavia* without being able to execute the commission he had received, which was the reason that he met no extraordinary welcome ^k.

^h BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. pag. 703.

ⁱ NEUVILLE *Hist. van Holland*, 2 deel, l. xii. cap. iv. ^k BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 704.

A short
account of
the ruin of
this new
kingdom,
and of the
reuniting
this island
once more
to the em-
pire of
China.

IT was not long after this victory that *Tching-king-may* departed this life, and left the island of *Formosa* to his son *Tching-ke-san*, who was, at the time of his father's demise, a child. Public affairs were indifferently well managed by his guardians till he grew up to man's estate, when proving of a mild and melancholy disposition, and perceiving that the *Tartars* had not only reduced, but put to death, the king of *Fo-kien*, his principal ally; he resolved, to prevent all danger of suffering in the like manner, by a voluntary surrender of his dominions, to which, though against his will, he was constrained to add also that of his person, he came to *Pe-king* in the quality of an abdicated prince in the summer of 1683, had a small pension given him, and in other respects was treated with kindness and civility. Thus the island of *Formosa*, or at least that part of it which belonged to the *Dutch*, became reunited to the *Chinese* empire, and has continued so ever since, there being always a body of twelve thousand regular troops maintained therein; but both officers and soldiers are changed once in three years, and sometimes oftener, in order to preventing all possibility of revolting¹ (N).

THE

¹ DU HALDE Description de l'Empire du Chine, tom. i. p. 179. 482.

(N) This was the last sovereignty in the hands of the *Chinese*; and, by the reduction of this island, the *Tartars* rendered their conquest of the empire complete. The reader will easily perceive, that an apprehension of the *Dutch* reviving their claim to their old settlement may be one cause of the great care that is expressed for the safe custody and preservation of the west part of this island; for, as to the east, it remains still in the hands of the natives, who are not in any danger of being conquered by the *Tartars*. It is proper, however, to observe, that the *Dutch* have no longer any great motive to undertake the recovery of what

they formerly possessed, since the principal entry into the port, which we have before described, is now choaked up with sand to such a degree, that ships of any considerable burden cannot pass; and, as the most important point in reference to the *Dutch* was, the having a good haven to receive their vessels, either outward or homeward bound, to and from *Japan*; this being out of the case, renders *Formosa* of far less consequence than formerly it was (72). As we shall not have occasion to resume this subject any more, let us add the following passage from a modern writer (73): "The natives, says he, differ much from the neigh-

(72) Du Halde Description de l'Empire de la Chine, vol. i. p. 180. (73) Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 295, 296.

"bouring

THE first war between the maritime powers after the restoration did not much affect the *Dutch* affairs in the *East Indies*, and therefore we need say nothing of it here, but proceed rather to their war against the king of *Macassar*, one of the most vigorous, and at the same time one of the most important, in which they had been engaged from the time of their first establishment. This kingdom, which comprehends the best part of the island of *Celebes*, was then inhabited by a brave and numerous people, whose monarchs, as they had never submitted to the *Portuguese*, had of course a strong aversion to the yoke of the *Dutch*, with whom they were never upon good terms, on account of the intercourse they preserved with the *Moluccas*, and the protection they gave the *Portuguese* who had taken shelter amongst them. Yet there was not a word said of either of these causes in their manifestoes; on the contrary, they complained, in these, of the depredations committed by the king of *Macassar*, as their writers report; for his subjects had murdered some of the *Dutch* that had landed in his dominions, and had likewise plundered several ships that had run ashore upon the coasts; but, before any hostilities were committed, a treaty was set on foot, by which the king promised to make full satisfac-

A new war breaks out with the king of Macassar, which is suspended by a peace.

"bouring people of *China* and *Luconia*, both in physiognomy and make. They are of a low stature, with a large head and forehead, hollow-eyed, and the cheek-bones very high, a large mouth, and a short flat chin with little or no beard on it, long jaw'd, and a small long neck, their body short and square, their arms and legs long, small, and ill-shaped, their feet long, and broad at the toes, and generally they are very weak in the knees." One would imagine from hence, that they descended from the *Tartars* inhabiting the most northern parts of *Asia*, and that they came hither from *Corea*; for this must be understood of the original natives of this island, who re-

main still free and unconquered, not the *Chinese* who have settled there since the *Dutch*. If it was not from the want of ports, there seems to be no doubt that this pleasant and plentiful island would merit the attention of the *Europeans* more than it has done for above a century past. However, considering that eagerness which the northern nations have expressed for acquiring a share in the *Chinese* trade, it is not at all improbable, or at least impossible, that they may entertain thoughts of fixing a new colony in *Formosa*, and this too perhaps with the permission of the *Chinese*, under certain restrictions, like those which have been imposed on the *Portuguese* at *Macao* (74).

(74) *Du Halde Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, vol. 1. p. 178, 179.

tion for the injuries done, as also to make such submissions as they should require from him on account of these disorders. The company, however, having some diffidence as to the king's promises, thought proper to send their admiral, *Cornelius Speelman*, who had been governor of the coast of *Coromandel*, with a squadron of thirteen men of war, and a certain number of transports having eight hundred soldiers on board, with orders to see the late treaty executed according to the letter in every article; who, with this naval force, arrived before *Macassar* on the nineteenth of *December* 1666^a.

But this giving satisfaction to neither party, they at last have recourse to arms.

THE next morning came two deputies from the king, and brought with them a thousand and fifty-six ingots of gold, which had been promised in satisfaction for the murder of the *Dutch*, and also the sum of one thousand four hundred and thirty rixdollars in satisfaction for the vessels that had been plundered; but at the same time they declared in the name of the king, that the submissions required were inconsistent with his dignity, and therefore such as he could not comply with. As this was what the company expected, and as they were also informed that the king of *Macassar* had sent a large fleet to attack the island of *Bouton*, Admiral *Speelman* immediately declared war; and, having made two descents upon the country, carried off an incredible quantity of plunder, burnt fifty villages to the ground, and about an hundred ships in several ports, the king not suspecting such a visit. The admiral sailed, when this was over, to relieve the island of *Bouton*, which was hard pressed by the fleet and army the king of *Macassar* had sent against it. Admiral *Speelman* arrived before that place on *New-year's-day* 1667, forced a passage with his small vessels into the haven of *Bouton*, and then proceeded to the relief of the city, which was besieged by the king of *Macassar's* general, at the head of ten thousand men. But the *Dutch*, attacking them in their intrenchments, and finding means to set their magazines on fire, forced them to raise the siege; which was followed by such a prodigious desertion of their army, that the generals of the king of *Macassar* found themselves obliged to enter into a treaty with the *Dutch* admiral; and, being able to obtain no better terms, surrendered at discretion^b. The first thing they did was, to disarm their prisoners, of whom they sent five thousand five hundred to people a desert island not far from *Bouton*; four hundred of them they kept for slaves; and five

^a NEUVILLE Hist. van Holland, 2 deel, l. xii. cap. xix.

^b Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roi de Macassar, p. 240.

thousand *Bougies*, or auxiliaries of different nations, they delivered up to the king of *Palacca*, who had been their faithful ally during the war. They restored to the king of *Bouton* three hundred vessels, together with whatever plunder had been taken from his subjects by the enemy, and could be found after their defeat; the rest of the king of *Macassar's* junks they incorporated with their own fleet of transports; and, with an hundred and ninety-five standards, and all the arms and ammunition of the enemy, with the principal officers of their army, whom they kept prisoners, Admiral *Speelman* returned in triumph to *Batavia*, where he was received with universal applause, as indeed his conduct well deserved*.

BUT the company, as the *Dutch* writers affirm, still entertained great jealousies of this monarch, to whom they were so lately reconciled; which seem to have proceeded from the knowledge they had of his genius, and maxims of government. It soon appeared that he had negotiated only to gain time, since he began to intrigue afresh with all the neighbouring princes; to whom he represented, that nothing could save them from becoming downright subjects to the company, but entering into a close alliance with each other, and employing the whole of their forces against the common enemy. He laboured to make them comprehend, that what was every one's particular interest might be considered and adjusted, when they were free from those apprehensions by which they were all so justly alarmed; whereas endeavouring to provide for those interests by separate treaties with the company, was like mice making terms to come within the cat's reach, when they could only be safe by keeping out of it. He intimated farther, that as they fought for a free trade, which was the interest of all the other *European* nations as well as theirs, it was not unreasonable to expect private assistance at least, and in time, perhaps, auxiliary squadrons. He closed all by insinuating, that, how hazardous soever the war might be, they could not well be in a worse condition than that into which they were put by the late peace, which if it continued long, the company would certainly improve by sowing jealousies amongst them, which would afford a fair opportunity of subduing them all one after another; whereas a strict union would at least give them a chance for freedom^p. These arguments had their weight with most of his neighbours, for they were sensible enough that all he advanced was agree-

The king of Macassar thinks once more of shaking off the company's yoke.

* BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. pag. 92.
^p Remarks on the Rise and Progress of the Dutch East India Company, p. 131.

able to truth; and therefore not only readily entered into an alliance, but exerted themselves to the utmost in raising their respective quota's; so that the king of *Macassar*, as the head of the league, quickly appeared a more formidable enemy than ever; and so much the more so, as it was evident that nothing could divert him from him his purpose, and that he must be absolutely crushed before he could be brought into a state of dependence or compliance².

Which
brings on
the last
war, that
ended in the
total reduction
of his
country
and subjects.

WHILE he was making these preparations, the *Dutch East India* company were not either uninformed or negligent; on the contrary, they equipped a stout Squadron of their own, on board which they embarked a considerable number of regular forces, at the same time that they pressed their *Indian* allies to put to sea as many vessels as they were able, and to furnish as many land-troops as were in their power; which, whether out of regard to treaties, through their fear of the company, or to gratify their private resentments, they did, though it was visibly against their natural interest, for which the king of *Macassar* and his allies fought as much as for their own¹. Yet so it was, that, in compliance with the orders they had received, they armed with all imaginable diligence, and repaired to the place of rendezvous as they were directed; so that Admiral *Speelman*, on the eighth of *June*, sailed from *Amboyna* with sixteen vessels and fourteen shallops, on board of which were the succours furnished by the king of *Palacca* and *Ternate*; arriving, on the nineteenth of *July* in the morning, on the coast, he attempted to force a passage into the port of *Macassar*, but was warmly repulsed; for, the king having erected a fort for the defence of the place, the *Dutch*, after twenty-four hours cannonading, were forced to retire. A few days after the admiral was joined by a part of the fleet which had been separated from him by a storm; and on the second of *August* he made a descent with his whole force at a place called *Gliffon*. His army at this time consisted of six hundred *Dutch* troops, three hundred disciplined *Indians* in the company's pay, three thousand from *Ternate* and *Bouton*, seven thousand *Bougies*, eight hundred seamen, and two independent companies under the command of the captains *Joncker* and *Stryker*. But the forces of the enemy were incomparably greater; for they amounted to at least twenty thousand men under the command of all the little kings and princes that the monarch of *Macassar* had drawn over to his

¹ NEUVILLE Hist. van Holland, 2 deel, liv. xii. cap. xix.

² Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roy de Macassar, p. 236.

party. Admiral *Speelman* kept the main body near his fleet, and detached one hundred men to attack the castle of *Gliffon* in the night. The king of *Palacca*, who was intrusted with the management of this affair, executed it with such conduct, that by three in the morning he became master of the place; of which he gave notice to the *Dutch* admiral, who immediately sent him such reinforcements and supplies as were requisite to preserve it*.

THIS was a dreadful blow to the enemy; and, as the admiral very justly foresaw, the first thing they did was, to attempt the recovery of it; in which they were so far from succeeding, that after three general assaults, in each of which they lost a great number of men, they were forced to give over that design: neither was this all; for, taking advantage of the situation of this fortress, such multitudes of bombs and red-hot bullets were fired from thence into the enemy's camp, as threw them into the utmost consternation; which opportunity was not let slip by the *Dutch* general, who attacked the entrenchments, at the same time that a vigorous sally was made from the castle, which obliged the enemy to quit all their posts. General *Speelman* soon after embarked his forces, and transported them to another part of the island, where he destroyed a multitude of villages. As this war was attended with great losses and inconveniences on both sides, a negotiation was set on foot, to try what could be done towards settling a peace. The king of *Macassar* was very unwilling to let these deliberations be spun out, because he found his *Indian* allies deserting him by degrees, and making peace for themselves; which example of theirs he resolved to follow, by submitting to such terms as he could get, which were indeed none of the most reasonable; and so the treaty was concluded on the eighteenth of *November* 1667; in consequence of which the regents of the island, and all the neighbouring princes, as well as the king of *Macassar*, sent a numerous and solemn embassy to the governor-general *John Maatsuyker* at *Batavia*, to make their submission to the company for their past conduct†.

THE *Dutch* army and fleet continued in the island; and, as the rainy season coming on, there ensued such a mortality among them as induced the *Indians* to hope they might gain some advantages; by which they were tempted to break the peace, by massacring a great number of the dying foldiers,

But did not, however, submit till again deserted by his allies, who were first undone.

A bold attempt excited by despair, which

* NEUVILLE Hist. van Holland, 2 deel, liv. xii. cap. xix.

† Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roy de Macassar, p. 234, 235.

ends, how-
ever, in
fixing
their fet-
ters tight-
er.

and two of the captains; upon which the war broke out again, and continued with as great violence as ever for two years; in which time the success of Admiral *Speelman* was so great, and the calamities brought upon the natives of *Macassar* were so many and so heavy, that at last they were forced, in order to obtain a peace, to send a new ambassador to *Batavia*, and to make all the submissions the company could require; and, after all, they were left to the mercy of *Speelman*, who by a new treaty, concluded on the fifteenth of June 1669, not only renewed the treaties of the nineteenth of August 1660 and the eighteenth of November 1667, but also imposed upon them other conditions still more grievous and more intolerable^u. This put an end in a manner to all open and avowed opposition to the company, who from this time have considered all disputes rather as insurrections and rebellions, than wars with equal and free powers (O). This fixed the

^u See the Treaties at the end of the Relation before cited, and which are also inserted in the Corps Diplomatique.

(O) In speaking of the former war between the *Dutch East India* company and this monarch, we took notice of some passages reported by an author of suspicious authority; but, in reference to what is said in the text of this last war, we may venture to affirm, that we cannot go well upon securer grounds, since what is said therein is taken from a narrative printed by authority at *Batavia*, together with the articles of peace; and, amongst them, the sixth begins thus (74): "All the *Portuguese* that can be found, without exception, shall be obliged to retire out of *Macassar*, and all the countries dependent on that crown; and, because we are obliged to believe that the *English* are great makers of mischief, and the authors of the breach of former treaties, the regents of *Macassar* ob-

lige themselves to take the first occasion to oblige them to retire out of all their territories, without ever permitting any of those two nations, or their creatures, to come and trade, or to transact any business whatever, within the extent of the country of *Macassar*, or even so much as to continue therein after a certain day; and the said regent shall not at any time hereafter permit any other *European* nation, or any on their behalf, to come and settle within their jurisdiction on the score of traffick, or any other pretence, of what nation soever they be, or what name soever they may assume, without any exception." The rest of the articles are of a like tendency, and are drawn up in the same strict terms.

(74) *Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roi de Macassar*, p. 244.

trade of spices intirely, and without controul, in the hands of the company; for, before, both the *Portuguese* and the *English*, as we have already mentioned, found means to purchase them in *Celebes*, that is to say, nutmegs, mace, and cloves, which were carried thither from the *Moluccas*, and it may be from other countries with which the *Europeans* have now no correspondence. As for cinnamon, not content with possessing all the true spice in the island of *Ceylon*, they pushed their conquests on the continent of *Malabar*, as has been before shewn; with this view, amongst others, that they might destroy the bastard or wild cinnamon which grew about *Cochin*, and in which the *Portuguese* drove a considerable trade when they were no longer masters of better *.

S E C T. XI.

The East India Company's Fourth Charter. Manage their Affairs with equal Discretion and Success. Disappoint the French in their Attempts to fix themselves in the Island of Ceylon, and prosecute their Opposition to that Nation with signal Advantage.

BUT let us now turn our eyes a little to *Europe*, where we shall find that the *East India* company had wore out their third charter, and consequently found themselves under the necessity of procuring a new term, in which they met with some difficulty. The concerns of the Republic were then managed by the *De Witts* and their faction, who we are sure were no friends to any monopoly, and had in particular no great veneration for this. The pensionary *John De Witt* thought that companies might be necessary when new trades were to be opened, and new establishments made: he thought the acquisition of the *Moluccas* necessary, and that of *Batavia* expedient; but, as to the great power that the company afterwards assumed, he judged it not at all beneficial to the *Dutch* nation. He saw, and he made no scruple of declaring it, that, as to the *Dutch* employed in the *East India* settlements, they were for the most part, to use his own expression, the very scum of the people, debauched, necessitous, without principles, rapacious, and profligate; all which he conceived arose from the strict and slavish terms put upon them by the company, to which none would submit who could possibly live at home, or knew how to get abroad at their own expense, whence he apprehended that there was not that solid

The Dutch East India company obtain, tho' with some difficulty, a farther term in their commerce.

* *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 148.

strength in their establishments which was commonly imagined. He believed that so severe an administration could never be beloved, but must depend chiefly on the military and mercenary force maintained for its support; and at the same time he was convinced, that, to alter these maxims, or to relax any thing of this severity, was not to be expected. For these reasons, therefore, he regretted that this trade was not in some measure laid open, which, from the hopes of thriving, would naturally have drawn a better sort of people to the *Indies*, who would have gradually raised colonies of another kind, more defensible than, in case of a general war, those settled by the company would in all probability prove (P). Yet,

* GRONDEN en Maximen van de Republieck van Holland, 1 deel, cap. xxvi.

(P) The Grand Pensionary wrote his book, or at least published the last edition of it, after this charter was for the third time renewed; which was certainly contrary to his judgment, as appears from what he delivers upon the subject of scouring the seas, a service for which immense sums were levied in the infancy of the Republic, and of which, as he suggests, the Stadtholders availed themselves by putting this charge, notwithstanding, upon the *East India*, the *West India*, and the *Groenland* companies (75). "So that, says he, the States General and the admiralties, discharged themselves of scouring the seas as far as concerned *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*; and the traffick of those parts, together with the northern whale-fishing, upon supposition that all those respective companies were sufficient to drive on their trade without convoys from the state, and to take care of their own affairs. But, on

"the contrary, they found that the trade of these societies was carried on with so great prejudice to the rest of the people; who were excluded, that if our governors had then, or should now deal in the same manner with the trade of *Europe*, by erecting companies exclusive of all others; for example, one company for the dealers in the *Mediterranean*, a second of the *French* and *Spanish* merchants, a third for the eastern and northern merchants, a fourth for the *British* and *Irish* traders, a fifth for the haddock, cod, and herring fisheries; I say, if they had done this, one tenth part of our inhabitants would not have been able to live and earn their bread; so that *Holland* would soon have been ruined, even tho' the trade of those companies had been carried on with so great industry, that, notwithstanding any resolutions taken

(75) *Gronden en Maximen van Republieck van Holland*, 2 deel, cap. i.

Yet, in spite of all this, a new charter was procured, by the help of what procures all things, a large sum of ready money, which the circumstances of the state at that time made very convenient, and in consideration of which they had a grant of twenty-one years, to be reckoned from the beginning of 1666.

It is, however, worthy of remark, that, within this last period of which we have been speaking, the company, notwithstanding the prodigious expences to which she stood exposed, and the great interruption of her trade during two wars with *England*, when whole fleets were requisite to escort her outward and her homeward-bound ships, several of which were however taken, notwithstanding the long wars maintained in the *Indies* against the *Chinese* taylor and his descendants in *Formosa*, the *Portuguese* in *Ceylon* and *Malabar*, and the king of *Macassar* and his allies; and notwithstanding the augmentation of the company's civil list, if I may be allowed to use that expression, which, as the reader will hereafter see, was in itself become a prodigious thing, and equal to more than the whole profits of the company's trade during their first term; yet, notwithstanding all these, the directors divided four hundred and fifty *per cent.* upon their capital, which was about forty *per cent.* more than they divided in the preceding term from 1622 to 1644. We may from hence discern how well, in respect to their immediate profit, the pains they had taken to root out all competition at the markets to which they traded had answered, and how great a

Remark, that the grandeur of the company has procured an additional benefit to the proprietors.

† Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091. * JANIGON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 16.

“ by *France, England, Sweden,*
 “ and the States of *Italy*, to
 “ disturb, prohibit, and pre-
 “ vent, foreign manufactures,
 “ and consequently those of
 “ *Holland*, to be brought into
 “ their countries; yet each of
 “ those companies, in the small
 “ compass of our *Europe*, had
 “ driven a greater trade than
 “ the whole *East India* company
 “ now drives, to the incompa-
 “ rably greater, mightier, and
 “ richer *Asia*, both in goods
 “ and money; for it cannot be
 “ denied, that the free eastern

“ trade alone, the herring fish-
 “ ing alone, and the *French*
 “ trade alone, produce ten times
 “ more profit to the state and
 “ the commonalty of *Holland*,
 “ than twelve or sixteen ships
 “ which yearly sail from *Hol-*
 “ land to the *East Indies* do now
 “ yield to the state and the inha-
 “ bitants.” This passage is very
 remarkable, contains a variety
 of facts equally curious and im-
 portant, deserves to be read with
 the greatest care, and to be
 weighed and examined with the
 utmost attention.

gainer

gainer the company was become by dint of the power and influence which they had acquired, notwithstanding the prodigious sums expended, and which they continued to expend; from all which we may collect how great the losses must have been which the *English* and *Portuguese* sustained, from whom this additional commerce was taken; and how little things were understood by their respective governments at home, when they were content to pass by such losses for the sake of a precarious peace, or, which was worse, to accept of a paltry satisfaction, and thereby bar their own right to reprisals when the alteration of affairs, or the favour of Providence, should put it in their power to make them *. At the same time this shews the wisdom of the *Dutch* company, that never stinted money when negotiations were upon the carpet, but, by applying dextrously, and paying handsomely, procured good clauses to be inserted for them, of which their advocates knew how to make the best use, when, on the breaking out of fresh disturbances, old clamours were revived against them, which might, by a little industry, or a lucky turn of fortune, have been converted into well-grounded claims, but for these prudent precautions †.

With what prudence the directors managed the private as well as public affairs of the company.

THE great prudence, and admirable address, of those who managed the company's affairs, were as conspicuous in their domestic transactions with the States General as in their conduct in the *Indies*; for, when the person intrusted with the command of their homeward-bound fleet went, according to custom, to pay his respects to the States, he was instructed to make such a representation of their affairs as might serve to shew how beneficial this commerce was to the public, what difficulties the company had to struggle with, and what a singular degree of patriotism was evident in the whole administration of her dominions and commerce. We learn the truth of this from a memorial presented to their High Mightinesses, in the name of the directors of the *East India* company, in 1664, upon the death of Commodore *Steur*, who died in his voyage. They represent, in this short piece, the losses and the uncertainty with which their traffick was attended; the vast expences of their civil, ecclesiastical, and military government, which they computed at two millions a year; the frequent disappointments they met with from a variety of causes, such as bad seasons, by which they had suffered so much at *Amboyna*, that they did not send home

* *Richard's History of England*, p. 841.

† See the several treaties of peace concluded, within this period, between the States and other powers.

that year so much as a single pound of cloves; the perfidiousness of some *Indian* nations, and the art and cunning of others; so that they protest, upon the whole, that, notwithstanding what they sent home produced eleven millions for less than three that they carried out, yet had they much trouble on their hands to bring all things round, and that the company might with more reason be said to be managed for the benefit of the Republic, than for the emolument of private persons; so far the gain resulting to the nation exceeded the profits that accrued to the proprietors^c. All this was very properly calculated to smooth the way for the renewing of their charter; which was brought about the next year, but not without paying a round sum to the treasury of the union, as has been already observed (Q).

ABOUT this time things began to take a wrong turn in *A succinct* the kingdom of *Tonquin*, where hitherto they had carried on *account of* a very lucrative commerce for above thirty years; and, as *the country* there was something very singular in the commencement of *of Ton-* that trade, the reader will no doubt be pleased with some *quin, pre-* account of it. This country was in antient times a province *vious to* to, or at least a kingdom dependent upon, the empire of *the rela-* *Chiria*, from which it is divided on the north by a vast ridge *tion of the* of mountains, as on the east it is bounded by the sea. There *company's* are few countries in *Asia* more plentiful, in respect to the ne- *trade.* cessaries of life, than this; neither is it deficient in some very

^c This singular and extraordinary piece is printed in the first volume of Mr. THEVENOT's Collection.

(Q) These reports, which are and have been always constantly made, may be justly considered as the most authentic, as well as the most curious, pieces that are to be met with in respect to the history of the *Dutch East India* company, inasmuch as they comprehend a succinct and perspicuous detail not only of the general state of the company's affairs, but of each particular colony, from the time that the former account was stated and delivered. It falls out, however, unluckily, that a few, and but a very few, of such reports can be obtained; and even with respect to these there

is one thing that must be always remembered, which is, that it is not barely intelligence, but intelligence under the direction of the company, that furnishes these representations; so that, when all is done, though these are the best materials that can be had towards framing a history of this nature, yet they are to be used with the greatest caution, and care must be taken to compare them with the histories and memoirs of those times, and, above all, with the public acts and memorials of other nations, in which there is any notice taken of the matters which they contain.

valuable

valuable commodities, more especially silk of an admirable quality, sweet-scented woods much esteemed in all the other countries of the east, and several kinds of drugs. The government, like that of *China*, is monarchical, and the customs and dispositions of the people alike in many respects; in one, however, they differ extremely, the people of *Tonquin* being as much celebrated for their candour, integrity, and fair dealing, as the *Chinese* are decried for the want of all those good qualities. The situation of the country, the power of its monarch, and the obstinate attachment of his subjects to their own manner of living, prevented the *Portuguese* from settling amongst them, even when their power was at its height in the east; and what might perhaps farther contribute to give them a distaste to this country, was, the aversion testified by its inhabitants upon all occasions to the Christian religion ^d.

Rise, progress, and decay, of this commerce.

SOME of the *Dutch* factory in *Japan* being informed that a small squadron went annually from thence to *Tonquin*, and that a considerable trade was also carried on thither from *China*, one Mr. *Charles Hartfink* proposed to the *Dutch* chief to send a vessel from *Japan* to *Tonquin*, by which there was a probability of opening a new trade. His scheme was accepted; and he sent thither on board a vessel, freighted not only with all the commodities usually carried thither from *Japan*, but those of *Europe* besides, together with various curiosities that it was supposed might prove acceptable presents to the king of *Tonquin*; for there is no country in the *Indies* where any favour can be obtained, or the least degree of credit acquired, without the interposition of presents. By the help of them, and his own insinuating address, Mr. *Hartfink* was as well received as he could desire; and disposed of all his commodities at a high price, and in a very short time carried a valuable cargo to *Batavia* ^e. General *Van Diemen*, who then presided over the *Dutch* affairs, commended him highly for his care and diligence, resolved to settle a factory at *Tonquin* without delay, of which, as he well deserved, Mr. *Charles Hartfink* had the direction; but though this was a very considerable preferment in itself, yet it was scarce any thing in comparison of what he obtained in that country, where the king, to manifest his esteem for him, took him into his counsels, bestowed on him the highest titles of honour; and at length, as if he had nothing more to give, by a solemn instrument in writing, adopted him for his son ^f. Under his management, and that

^d *Geographie Moderne*, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 654.

^e *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 809.

^f *Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN*.

of some succeeding chiefs, all things went on as prosperously as the company could desire; but at length jealousies and discontents arose, which, though pacified for a time, broke out afresh, and, by their consequences, lessened the trade to such a degree, that at length the company thought fit to withdraw their factory, though their ships sometimes visit the coasts of *Tonquin* occasionally, and, like other *Europeans*, are permitted to trade freely, but without receiving such encouragement as to excite any desire of resettling in the same manner as formerly * (R).

THE desire of embellishing *Batavia*, and augmenting the conveniences the company have there, beyond those of any of the *European* settlements in *India*, though remarkable enough in all who have been honoured with the post of governor-general, yet was in none more conspicuous than in *John Alaatzuyker*, who, as he enjoyed that office many years, so he left behind him various monuments of his attention to the public service. In his time were erected those vast magazines for spices, and other rich goods, that are at this day one of the great ornaments of that rich and beautiful city; and, in the construction of them, care was taken to provide a magnificent apartment for the receiver-general, who resides there with all the officers under his inspection; and who is obliged every morning, at half an hour after ten, to repair to the

The great application of the government in the Indies to the beautifying Batavia.

* *Memoires sur le Commerce des Indes*, p. 201.

(R) The trade between the *Tonquinese* and the *Dutch* was first interrupted in the year 1664, and their factories withdrawn, but settled again at the request of the king; and were continued, though not without some disputes between the two nations, for about forty years, when they were intirely withdrawn, and the trade carried on only by ships sent thither occasionally, as is mentioned in the text. Yet, while a good intelligence continued, this commerce must have been very profitable, since, in the capital city of *Catcheo*, some very valuable commodities were purchased at very low rates. As for instance, excellent musk, far superior to, that is, much less adulterated, than that of *China*, for three gilders an ounce, silk of several kinds, and very good, for two gilders a pound, and the most beautiful tortoise shell in the *Indies*; of all which commodities there was such abundance, that any quantity might be had without danger of raising the price. The *Tonquinese* are also said to have been a very friendly, open, and honest people, so that it is more than probable the *Dutch* were in the fault as to those points on which they differed (77).

(77) *Memoires de Dr. Garcin. Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 201. *Hamilton's Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 212.

governor's

governor's closet, where he makes a report of the passages of the preceding day, of the ships entered and cleared, and of the sums received for the company's use^b. Near his apartment there is another for the principal surgeon, his assistants and servants, together with all conveniencies for preparing medicines of every kind: these buildings were finished in the year 1670. About the same time also the great dock and yards in the island of *Onroost* were also completed, where everything necessary to building, equipping, and preserving, the company's ships, is provided in such abundance, and furnished with such readiness, under the direction of an officer who is stiled Equipage-master, that the company can build, repair, and refit, their vessels, without the least loss of time, and in the most complete manner imaginableⁱ. It was likewise during his administration that the hall of mechanic arts was erected, one of the noblest, and at the same time one of the most useful, foundations that the wit or industry of man could contrive. In this the painters, engravers, sculptors, armourers, potters, carvers, &c. in the company's service, have their separate dwellings and workshops, where they execute the orders they receive with the utmost punctuality, under the inspection of the city-architect, who has a grand apartment there, and a salary proportioned to his abilities and services^k.

Enterprize of the French on Ceylon, by the suggestion of a director, described.

IN the second *Dutch* war, in the reign of King *Charles* the second, the *Dutch* were so fortunate as to make themselves masters of the island of *St. Helena*, a conquest of no great importance to them, considering its vicinity to the *Cape of Good Hope*; but of infinite detriment to the *English*, who therefore spared no pains to recover it, and were no less successful, as we have shewn in another place^l: but their disputes with our nation, during that war, were nothing in comparison of the disturbance given them by the *French*, which struck at the very heart of their empire in the *Indies*. This was owing to one Mr. *Carron*, whom we shall have occasion to mention when we come to speak of the *Dutch* trade in *Japan*. He had been many years in the *Dutch East India* company's service, was a man of quick parts an enterprising genius, and equally hasty and determined in his resentments. He was either slighted or suspected at *Batavia*; which made such

^b JANIÇON *Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies*, tom. i. p. 337. ⁱ NIEUHOFF, LEGUAT, LE BRUN, &c.

^k JANIÇON *Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies*, tom. i. p. 336, 337. ^l *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

p. 298.

an impression upon his spirit, as induced him, upon his return to *Europe*, to make a tender of his services to the *French* court, where he was well received on account of his perfect acquaintance with the commerce of the *Indies*, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, was amongst the favourite designs of one of the greatest and ablest ministers that nation ever produced^m. While *Carron's* proposals in relation to *Japan* were under consideration, the war broke out, which gave a new turn to affairs, and enabled him, and another person in much the same circumstances, to offer a plan for attacking the *Dutch* in the *Indies*; which, as in itself very plausibly contrived, was highly relished by a ministry at that time intent upon humbling, perhaps we should not go too far in saying upon destroying, the Republic; towards which nothing could contribute more than attacking them at the same time both in *Europe* and in the *Indies*. We shall have occasion to speak more largely of this expedition in the course of this work; and shall therefore content ourselves at present with shewing how this dangerous design was, by the forces of the *East India* company, under the conduct of a very able and gallant commander, intirely defeated, notwithstanding that the great expectations raised by this expedition met at first with some kind of successⁿ.

THE plan proposed to the *French* court by Mr. *Carron* and *Circum-Mr. Martin*, who had been likewise in the *Dutch East India* stances company's service, and was well acquainted with their affairs, *servings to* was, to make a descent upon the island of *Ceylon*, and to reduce the fortress of *Ponte de Gallo*, which they judged *the desire* would prove an advantageous settlement, might be preserved *of the* against the whole power of the *East India* company, till supplies arrived from *France*; and, with what other conquests *French* they could make, consigned to the *French* crown by such a *ministry to* treaty of peace, as, if the Republic should sustain herself *make an* against that war, might be prescribed by a victorious monarch^o. While this mischief was meditating, the *Dutch East India* fleet arrived safe in *Holland*, after the breaking out of the war in 1672, with a cargo valued at upwards of sixteen millions of guilders; a circumstance, which, however happy both for the company and commonwealth^p, could not fail of raising the envy of her neighbours, and of stimulating the *French* ministry to neglect nothing that promised the diminu-

^m *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 137.

ⁿ *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 210.

^o *Voyage des grandes Indes*. Paris, 1698. 12^o.

^p *Histoire van Holland*, liv. xiv. cap. vii.

ⁿ *Hi-*

^o *Journal du*

^p *NEUVILLE*

tion of a commerce so beneficial to a republic that gave umbrage to a prince too ambitious to endure the prosperity of a free government, bound by interest, as well as ready from inclination, to prescribe limits to his rapid conquests. The fleet employed in this expedition consisted of sixteen sail, well manned, and thoroughly provided with every thing necessary to put their design in execution. The *Sieur de la Haye*, who had the supreme command, had quitted a very beneficial civil employment on purpose to gratify his natural propensity to a military life, for which he had shewn himself fully qualified by a series of actions, that might be regarded as so many testimonies both of his conduct and his courage, though some have suggested that this was superior to his abilities, and that he failed for want of a capacity equal in all respects to the conquest committed to his care⁹.

Disap-
pointment
of that pro-
ject, and
its causes
very dif-
ferently
reported by
writers of
different
nations.

THIS Squadron arrived in the proper season upon the coast of *Ceylon*, where, agreeable to their instructions, they made an attempt upon *Ponte de Gallo*, but without success; concerning which, however, there is some variety of opinions. The *French* writers pass this matter over in general terms; the *Dutch* say the fortress was in a good condition, and the governor made a gallant defence; so that the *French*, despairing of success, thought it wisest to withdraw^r. But a countryman of our own, who was remarkably well versed in the secret history of the *Indies*, has perhaps given us the true reason of his first disappointment. He says, that Mr. *Martin* flattered himself all along that he should have the government of the place; but finding, in his passage, that this command was otherwise disposed of, he gave things such a turn, as made the taking, or even the attacking, that fortress, altogether impracticable^s. The *Sieur de la Haye* proceeded then to *Trinquemala* Bay, where he succeeded better, reducing the fortress, after a little cannonading, into which he put a good garrison, and landed for their use one hundred and two pieces of cannon. The joy conceived upon this conquest lasted not long; for the *Dutch* Commodore *Ryckloff van Goens*, coming with a fleet of equal strength upon the coast, the *French* were glad to retire, nor were they able to do that without loss^t. However, when they came upon the opposite coast of *Coromandel*, the *Sieur de la Haye* formed a project for sur-

⁹ BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces-unies*, tom. ii. p. 457.

^r WICQUEMART *Histoire des Provinces-unies*, lib. xviii. BASNAGE, *LE CLERC*.

^s HAMILTON's *New Account of the*

East Indies, vol. i. p. 343.

^t BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces-unies*, tom. ii. p. 458.

prising the town of *St. Thomas*, a place remarkably well fortified by the *Portuguese* in the time of their prosperity, and of which they had been dispossessed by the *Dutch* about twelve years before. The place was very large, in tolerable good condition, and with magazines well provided; notwithstanding which the *French* officer took his measures so well, as to carry his point with the loss of five men only. He left a strong garrison of six hundred men, with every thing necessary; and, knowing that he was not in a condition to perform any thing more, resolved to return into *Europe* ^u. In the mean time Commodore *Goens* had retaken *Trinquemala*, made the garrison prisoners of war; and then, passing over to the *Coromandel* coast, made the *French* feel the weight of their own cannon; so that the *Sieur de la Haye*, who came into those parts as a conqueror, left them but by permission; and, in his return, one of his vessels being shipwrecked in the sight of the port of *Lisbon*, the famous *Mr. Carron*, thro' the malice of his pilot, was, with two captains, and some other officers, drowned; so that this Squadron, of which such exalted hopes were conceived, answered them in the event but very indifferently ^w (S).

WHEN the *Dutch* had time to reflect upon what had happened, and to consider how dangerous a thing, in respect to the whole system of their commerce in the *Indies*, a *French* by the settlement at *Trinquemala* would have been, they came to have a true notion of the service done them by Commodore ^{Reflec- tions made by the Dutch on this at-}

▪ Voyages des Indes Orientales, par CARRE, tom. ii. p. 217.

▪ Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 147.

(S) Tho' the *Dutch* company suffered severely by this *Mr. Carron*, and also by some other deserters, yet, upon the whole, they have got much more than they ever lost by entertaining strangers in their service; but in this they are very cautious and circumspect, of late years more especially, and very rarely prefer foreigners, natives of the country, or even the children of *Dutch* parents born in the *Indies*, to offices of high rank or great trust; and indeed their tenderness in this point is not only grounded in reason, but warranted from experience, so that it is not like to wear out in haste; but, notwithstanding this policy, protestants of all nations are received and encouraged; and, if they marry and settle, at the *Cape*, *Batavia*, or in any other of their plantations, soon find a way to make their fortunes; and, if their own ill conduct does not create it, are less the objects of envy than they would be amongst almost any other nation whatever (78).

(78) *Journal du Voyage des grandes Indes, par l'Abbé de Cibrissy, p. 86.*

tempt, its
motives,
and proba-
ble conse-
quences.

Van Goens, whom the company soon after rewarded with the highest preferment they had to bestow². Yet the possession of *St. Thomas*, though at a considerable distance from them, and by which they were very little incommoded, kept them still in some pain: they knew that the *French* were apt to be disgusted when projects were unlucky, and that at this time they had many irons in the fire; but they foresaw, that, if this place continued long in their hands, the ministry would become sensible of its importance, and perhaps incline to take such measures for its preservation as might render it difficult, if not impracticable, to wrest it out of their hands⁷.

Which in-
duce them
to excite
the king of
Golconda
to besiege,
and, by
their assist-
ance, re-
duce, *St.*
Thomas.

THEY thought proper, therefore, in the year 1674, to stir up the jealousy of the king of *Golconda* against these new comers; and, having engaged him to besiege the place by land, they sent a considerable fleet to assist in the reduction of it by sea; in which, however, they were not very fortunate; for the *French* governor, having a good garrison, and, as we said before, being well provided with necessaries, made a much better and more vigorous defence than was expected; insomuch that the *Dutch* fleet found it requisite to retire to an adjacent port, where they landed a considerable body of men, who joined the king's army; which determined them to continue the siege, till at length, by dint as well of famine as force, they brought the garrison to surrender, though upon honourable terms; and thus, as the *Dutch* imagined, the *French* thorn was finally extracted, and they like to hear little more of them in *India*². In this, however, they were, as sometimes happens to the very best politicians, not a little mistaken; for, from the miserable remains of this garrison, by the prudence and sagacity of the officer who commanded them, a new settlement arose at *Pondichery*; upon which tho' the *Dutch* kept their eye, and, as we shall shew hereafter, reduced it once under their power, yet even this proved to their own prejudice; so that, from an expedition so long and to so great a degree unsuccessful, the *French* owe all that they enjoy at this day (which however is not a great deal) of the commerce of the *Indies*².

² See the list of governors-general of the Indies.

⁷ *BASSE* Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 554.

² *JANIN* Etat de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 312.

² *HISTOIRE* des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 102.

S E C T. XII.

This Conduct of the Company intitles them to great Favour at home. The Nature and Success of their Policy in the Isle of Java. Resolve to drive the French out of the Indies; in consequence of which, they attack, and render themselves Masters of Pondichery. The famous Jecular Medal struck in Honour of the Company, after its subsisting with Honour, and accumulating such Dominions, Forces, and Wealth, in the Space of a Century.

THE share the company took in this war, the great expences they were at upon these and other occasions, the heavy losses they sustained by their ships taken at *St. Helen's*, and elsewhere, by the *English*, the advanced price of whatever supplies were sent them, and it may be some contributions, which, in regard to the distressed condition of the commonwealth, they furnished at home, gave them an opportunity of asking and obtaining a very favourable composition in respect to the duties upon their importations, in which they were to have a stated abatement; and in regard to their exportations, for which they were to pay an annual subsidy of sixteen thousand florins, in full satisfaction; which contract freed them as well from frequent disputes, as from many other inconveniences.

AFTER the peace of *Ninoguen*, when they were free from any apprehension of seeing hostile squadrons in the *Indies*, they renewed their negotiations with several of the little princes, in order to secure the monopoly of the trade in their dominions. This in most places they might have commanded, as the *Portuguese* actually did on account of their superior force; but they rather made choice of this method than that, for the following reason: They were apprehensive that, in case they had restrained the commerce of other nations, in the ports of these princes, by open force, their behaviour in the *Indies* might have been questioned in *Europe*, and the States General obliged to interpose in a case that might have been construed a violation of treaties; whereas by making alliances with these petty princes, in which they stipulated to vend their staple commodities to the company only, they made

^b GEOR. Placaat Boek, iv. Deel, fo. 1327.

this denial of trade to other nations to be the act of those princes, for which therefore neither the company nor the States General were answerable by the law of nations^c. It may be proper, upon this occasion, to observe, that we do not take so remarkable a fact upon trust from the writings of any private person; but speak from the authority of such alliances, and of a representation grounded upon them from the company to the States; so that this maxim of their policy, which we shall again have occasion to mention, is as well supported as can be desired (T).

*Disposed to
render
themselves
independent
and secure
in the
island of
Java.*

THEY were no less assiduous in contriving to free themselves from those dangers to which they were continually exposed in their capital settlement upon the island of Java; and from which though they had hitherto defended themselves in some measure by force, but much more by their constant

^c Corps Universelle Diplomatique, tom. vi. part ii. p. 454. tom. vii. part i. p. 61. *ibid.* p. 76.

(T) We have already given the reader an article from a treaty concluded between the company and the king of *Macassar*, by which the *English* were for ever excluded out of his dominions by the mere will and pleasure of the *Dutch*; we will now give another from the representation of the company to the States in 1664, in which having related the success of their arms in reducing the little *Indian* prince of *Porca* upon the coast of *Malabar*, that representation proceeds thus (79): "Tho' the *English* have been exhorted, as well by the king of *Cochin* as by the *Raja*, to retire from *Porca*, they have not yet thought fit to do so; but still continue there, and this without our pressing them at all to retire, though we have good right, and also the power of doing it, since it might be effected by only hinting our

"desire to the king of *Cochin*;
"nay, not content with this,
"they have come a second time
"into the road of *Porca* with
"their ship the *Nonpareil*, notwithstanding there was nothing there to be sold, and that we ourselves had not purchased so much as a grain of pepper; so that they were forced to depart empty, which, according to their custom, they would place to our account, and have drawn a florid protest to that purpose, tho' we did nothing to them, nor gave them the least hindrance, which will appear by attestations confirmed upon oath, neither then, nor when their ship the *Leopard* came before *Cochin* with a design to proceed from thence to *Porca*, tho' there was not a single pound of pepper there in the magazines: upon which they have made a second protestation."

(79) *Report que les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales fait à leur H. P. Oct. 22. 1664.*

vigilance, and numerous precautions, yet were they never without apprehensions, and those too not arising from slight suspicions, but from causes that were but too well founded, and which therefore, for the sake of domestic peace and settled security, they held themselves obliged to try every method to remove.

THESE powers were the king of *Materan*, or, as he stiled himself, the emperor of *Java*, and the king of *Bantam*, now an independent prince, tho' his predecessors were only governors of that city and province for the emperor. The Dutch had done their business by playing these monarchs against each other, which tho' they had hitherto managed with much dexterity, and with incredible success, yet they doubted, and with reason, whether this could be done for ever, and therefore they *thought it much more expedient for them to bring both under their power, not in the way of an absolute conquest, for that was impossible, but by having the persons of these monarchs in their hands, and thereby as absolute a direction of their affairs as of any of the little princes before-mentioned; a scheme strange and difficult, more especially as both princes were jealous and diffident of them to the highest degree, and yet a scheme which in the space of a few years they actually accomplished; and though it be true that they have not ever since been able to keep the emperors of Java in a constant and strict submission; and though it is no less true, that they are at all times under a necessity of treating both monarchs with all the exterior marks of deference and respect imaginable; yet for all that it is very certain they have no longer those apprehensions from the emperor's power they formerly had; and that, as for the king of Bantam, he is almost as much at their devotion as the company's king of the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope^d. The shewing how this scheme was brought about is a very necessary and useful part of our business, and will serve to give the reader a true idea of the deep reach, and refined policy, of the Dutch statesmen in the Indies.* But, previous to this, it will be necessary to shew what kind of a monarch this emperor of *Java* is, in what manner he keeps his court, and something of the temper and disposition of his subjects, without which our succinct relation would be, in a great measure at least, unintelligible.

THIS prince, in point of religion, is a *Mohammedan*; and, according to the practice of most eastern monarchs, constantly served by women, of whom he takes as many as he pleases as wives or concubines. Some of his priests are obliged to go every year

A view of the political motives to, and many obstacles in the way of, these projects.

A succinct description of the court and

^d Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé de Cinqy, p. 181.

condition of
the emperor
of Java,
who, after
the mode of
oriental
princes,
leads a life
of slothful
effeminacy.

in pilgrimage to *Mecca*, to make vows there for the safety and prosperity of the king and royal family. His subjects are extremely faithful, and to the last degree devoted to his service. The principal persons in his court are obliged, at every audience, to approach him creeping on their knees; only in time of war this slavish custom is dispensed with. Such as commit the slightest fault are poniarded on the spot with a little dagger called a *Krid*; and as this is the only punishment in use, so the slightest as well as the greatest faults are among these people capital. The natives of this country are for the most part of a brown complexion, tolerably well shaped, and have long black hair, which however they often cut. Their noses flat and broad, and their teeth excessively bad, which is supposed to be owing to their *Betel* and *Fausel*, which they chew continually*. The *Fausel* is a kind of nut something smaller than the nutmeg, without taste, and yielding, when chewed, a red juice. It is this juice that the *Indians* make use of in painting the chinties which we admire so much in *Europe*. The tree from whence they gather this nut is very strait, and resembles in its leaves the cocoa-tree. The *Betel* is a plant which produces long rank leaves, in their shape resembling those of a citron; in taste they are of an agreeable bitter. The fruit grows in the shape of a lizard's tail, about two fingers breadth, very long, of an aromatic flavour, and in its smell extremely grateful. The *Indians* carry with them continually the leaves of *Betel* at all visits; they are presented in ceremony, and they are almost perpetually chewing them. As the taste is very bitter, they for the most part qualify them with *Araca Fausel*, or the powder of calcined oyster-shells. Thus prepared, they have a very agreeable flavour. After they have chewed the juice out of them, they spit forth the dry mafs. There are some who mix their *Betel* leaves with lime, amber, and cardamom seeds; others with *China* tobacco. Abundance of *Europeans* are got into the way of chewing it to such a degree, that they cannot leave it off, though it has been very fatal to some of them; since the *Indians* are so very skilful in preparing *Betel*, that it shall do a man's business as effectually as a pistol or dagger. But this and other ill customs came in by degrees, and were not at all in use amongst those, who, by their wisdom and courage, triumphed over the natives†.

* *Histoire de l'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 36.
37.
† *Relation de la Ville de Batavia*, par NICOLAS DE GRAAF.

THE emperor of *Java*, though he leads an inactive life, in a great measure surrounded by women, and diverted daily by their pantomime entertainments, in which, if we may believe the *Dutch*, they excel both antients and moderns, and explain their passions by their gestures as easily and as effectually as others by their speech; is nevertheless a very powerful monarch, that is to say, he holds all the east and south countries of the island of *Java* under his dominion, which is a vast extent of territory, and exceedingly well peopled; but a dispute arising in reference to the succession, divided the princes into factions, and armed all the people of *Java* against each other. The *Dutch* took this advantage; raised one brother to the imperial throne, or at least kept him upon it by their assistance, and drove two other princes into the mountains; it is very probable they might have ended the war, but that was not their interest. They persuaded the reigning monarch in 1677 to remove from his old seat at *Materan* to *Kattasura*, which was a point of great consequence to them. There, for his farther security, they got leave to erect a fort, in which they keep a strong garrison, and have likewise a court of guard in his very palace, placed there out of pure tenderness and respect for his person, and that he may never be at a loss for his faithful defenders either against open enemies, or secret traitors; and under this pretence they keep a constant watch over his actions, while he possesses in his own imagination a power as arbitrary and unrestrained as ever; with the additional advantage of having *Europeans* at his command, in case, that by any of those violent acts of power which are ever frequent enough in such courts, he should provoke any of his princes, whom in their language they stile *Pangarangs*, to conspire against him*. The whole of this new regulation was brought to bear about the year 1680; and, as far as any authentic relations that we have met with reach, still subsist; though the company have sometimes differences with him, and are constantly obliged to cajole him by splendid embassies, and costly presents; but, in return, as will be seen hereafter, they are in possession of the trade of his whole dominions; and all his subjects, or, to speak with greater propriety, his slaves, are employed in working to supply the luxury of the emperor's court, and the *Dutch* magazines with a variety of valuable commodities and manufactures, which they in part consume, and partly export into other countries.

* Histoire de l'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 192.
193. Memoires de Dr. GARCIN.

Thus the first part of their grand scheme was completely executed ^b (U).

State of
the king of
Bantam's
dominions,
and an ac-
count of the
nations
trading
thither.

IT was not long before an opportunity offered for carrying the other part of their plan into execution likewise, by bringing the king of *Bantam* as much or more under their power than the emperor of *Java*. The city of *Bantam* was a place of very great consequence before the *Europeans* found a passage into the *Indies*; for the *Arabs*, the *Turks*, the *Morrs*, the *Chinese*, and almost all the nations in the east, resorted to that port; and even after the *Portuguese* became very powerful, they were contented to trade there without making any settlement. The *English* were the first who had any factory there, after them the *Dutch* and the *Danes* carried on a great

^b Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF aux Indes Orientales, p. 217.

(U) This is one of those great events, the real importance of which is not to be apprehended by a bare perusal, but requires to be long and attentively considered. The emperor, or, as he is called in the language of the country, *Suzsuonan* of *Java*, is an hereditary monarch, whose dominions are very extensive, and who exercises a despotic power through their whole extent (80). The general and the council of the *Indies* were but representatives of the *Dutch East India* company, administering their affairs in subordination to the directors, and all subjects of the States-General of the United Provinces. They were strangers, occupying but a small part of one of the greatest islands in the world, charged with a multitude of other affairs, and under a necessity of attending to them, as well as to the war in *Java*. He was at home, had thousands, and even some hundreds of thousands, at his

devotion, without any other point of view than that of maintaining his authority. The design of the general and council was rendered extremely difficult by its being of a complicated nature, requiring an equal degree of art and of force to maintain as well as to execute it. His, on the other hand, was as simple and plain as a thing could be, to support his own interest and authority, and to prevent laws being given by those who were the servants of servants, subject to a republic that had not the tenth part of his people (81). Yet the general and council at *Batavia* carried their point; and, which is still more extraordinary, have maintained it from that time to this. There is nothing in antient history that can with any shadow of reason be called a parallel to this transaction, considered in its full extent, and all its circumstances duly examined.

(80) *Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé de Choisy*, p. 182. *Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 361. *Memoires du Commerce des Hollandais*, p. 211, 212.

(81) *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 35, 36. *Memoires de Dr. Garcin*.

trade. The king of *Bantam*'s territories were not very large ; but their happy situation made them very considerable, as the capital is seated upon and commands the streights of *Sunda*, the opposite coasts of the island of *Sumatra* being subject to the king of *Bantam* ; this, and its nearness to *Batavia*, from which it is not distant full sixty miles, will easily convey to the reader's apprehension a true notion of the importance of this place to the *Dutch*, who were not more jealous of the natural power of that king, if he had known how to manage it, than they were uneasy at the sight of vessels of all countries trafficking in his port, where, daily experience convinced them, themselves were the least beloved by his subjects of any¹. It was no wonder, therefore, that they were extremely attentive to every thing that passed in his country, or eagerly desirous of interposing upon any occasion that promised an alteration in their favour, or could lead to such a change of affairs as might correspond with their interests, and put him as much in their power as they could wish ; more especially after some checks they had received from the reigning king of *Bantam*, who was much in the interest of the *English*, and had actually sent a solemn embassy to the court of King *Charles* the second ; which was considered as one great reason why they looked upon him as a prince by no means fit for their purpose, and to the perplexing of whose affairs they were ready to contribute by countenancing those intrigues, to which these eastern courts, wild and barbarous as they appear, are to the full as much exposed as those of the politest nations * (X).

THE

¹ NIEBUHOFF, TAVERNIER, FRIER, Abbé CHOISY. * Captain HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 127. and most of the authors before-mentioned.

(X) It is no difficult matter to conceive how the courts of all these princes are kept in a manner in a continual state of confusion, more especially when this comes to be the interest of powerful, ambitious, and intriguing neighbours. We see visibly that the passions and humours of mankind are in general much the same throughout the world, so that they only receive different colours from custom and education. In the courts of *Indian* princes, power and pleasure intirely occupy the minds of persons of all ages, ranks, and sexes ; their having many wives, and children by several of them, is a grand source of intrigues ; the ambition of their *Pangarangs*, or governors of towns and provinces, is another no less dangerous ; to which if we add the resentment that is frequently inspired by those acts of wanton cruelty which absolute princes are naturally apt to commit, we may easily discern that almost at any time male-content

The quarrel between the two kings of Bantam, in which the old monarch is defeated, and made prisoner.

THE old king of *Bantam*, whom some *Dutch* writers call Sultan *Agan*, and others Sultan *Nanghi*, worn out with age and infirmities, and, being willing to see his favourite son placed upon the throne in his life-time, resigned the government to Sultan *Agni*, or, as other writers stile him, Sultan *Haafi*, who had not held it long before he rendered himself universally odious, and that so deservedly, as that the old king his father, in pity to his people, as well as for the preservation of himself and his two sons, the *Pangerangs Parbaya* and *Sakhi*, took up arms; and, with a body of thirty thousand men, besieged Sultan *Haafi*, in the fortrefs of *Bantam*¹. The young king, deserted and abandoned by every body except the instruments of his cruelty, and the companions of his debauches, dispatched immediately some of his favourites to *Batavia*, to desire the interposition of the *Dutch* in his favour. This was precisely what they wanted and desired; and therefore, without any scrupulous inquiries into the merits of the cause, they sent an army of three thousand regular troops, under the command of the *Sieur Martin*, to his relief². He made a descent upon the coast of *Bantam* with his forces; and, in a general engagement, defeated the old king's army, after a long and obstinate dispute. The loss of the battle was not the greatest misfortune which he suffered; for, soon after, he was taken prisoner, kept under a strict guard, and very indifferently treated by his son. As for the two young princes, having made their escape from the field of battle, and retired with their wives and children into the mountains in the south-east part of the island, the *Dutch* sent detachments in pursuit of them, who followed them so close, that, having lost all his effects, the eldest of them, *Parbaya*, came

¹ Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF aux Indes Orientales, p. 214.
 Voyages de Siam des peres Jesuits, p. 123. ^m Journal du
 Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé DE CHOISY, p. 161, 162.

contents enough are to be found in such a government, who, when sure of being supported, will contribute all in their power to trouble and overturn it (82). We have in the text sufficiently explained the end aimed at by the *Dutch* in bringing about this revolution; all that we intend

in this note is, to shew what were the means, and how much they have these always in their power, in case the reigning monarch should at any time provoke those who administer the affairs of the company to employ it.

(82) Voyages de Nicolas Graef aux Indes Orientales, p. 217. Tavernier, h. Brun.

and surrendered himself to the company, who assigned him a pension, and a place to live in near *Batavia*. And thus the war ended, in the establishment of the young king upon the throneⁿ.

He had not, however, all things considered, any great reason to rejoice in this victory; for the Dutch, in consequence of it, made themselves masters of the fortress of *Bantam*, and of his person; the European factories were plundered, particularly that of the *English*, in which they found gold, jewels, and rich goods, to an immense value; and every thing was disposed of in such a manner as suited best with the views of the king's good allies, who had fixed him upon the throne^o. In order to manage Sultan *Haaf* the better, he was provided with a Dutch favourite, one *Henry van Steenwyk*, who, after he was promoted to the dignity of a prince, assumed the title of the *Pangerang Wieragouna*, and made it his business to keep his master steady to the interests of his countrymen; so that, though every thing was transacted in the king's name, yet nothing was done but by the advice of the Dutch favourite. These troubles began about the year 1680, and the *English* and *Danes* were constrained to quit *Bantam* in 1683; which produced loud complaints in *Europe*, a warm paper war between the *English* and Dutch East India companies^p; and, in short, every thing, except the restitution of the *English* to their factory, and the right of trading in the capital and dominions of the king of *Bantam*, from which, with all other European nations, they have been precluded ever since; so that the whole produce of this country in pepper, which amounts to about ten thousand tons a year, is intirely in the hands of the king's allies, who purchase it at what rates they please^q.

BUT we must not suppose, that the people submitted with as much alacrity as their prince; for things happened quite contrary, they studied continually, and, notwithstanding many disappointments, made repeated efforts to restore the old king, and to drive out the Dutch; which, instead of contributing to shake off the yoke, made the weight of it the more uneasy. The *Pangerang Wieragouna* persuaded the king, that the safety of his person depended intirely upon the having a consider-

ⁿ Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF aux Indes Orientales, p. 215, 216. ^o Voyages de Siam des Peres Jesuits, p. 127. ^p Im-

partial Vindication of the English East India Company, 1688, 8vo. Justification of the Dutch East India Company, printed at the end of it. ^q HAMILTON Account of the East Indies,

vol. ii. p. 127.

able body of *Dutch* troops at *Bantam*; and as he could not but be sensible of the risk they ran, in remaining there without some place of strength for their retreat, he prevailed to have a residence assigned them, within a pistol-shot of the fortrefs; which was at first composed of canes, in the form of a lozenge, surrounded by a strong pallisado, which continued till the year 1686. About that time, a great insurrection happened at *Bantam*, in which the people endeavoured to make themselves masters of the *Dutch* posts; but Sultan *Haafsi* had early intelligence of it, sallied out with his guards, and provided for the safety of his allies, at the expence of his subjects. This attempt, though it miscarried, made such an impression upon the king's mind, that he sent his father, and one of the oldest and most considerable of their nobility, to *Batavia*^{*}, that they might be the more safely kept; and expressed his desire, that the *Dutch* would provide better for their own safety; and they, without many intreaties, erected a square stone fort, called *Steekwyk*, within pistol-shot of the fortrefs of *Bantam*; which, having always a strong garrison, and being well supplied with cannon, commands at once both the port and the town, keeps strangers out of the former, and prevents any insurrection in the latter; to the mutual satisfaction of the luxurious and insatuated monarch, as well as of the *Dutch* company[†] (Y).

By

^{*} Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF, p. 239.

[†] Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbe DE CHOISY, p. 160, 161.

(Y) The author, upon whose credit we report these facts, is *Claus van Graaf*, or, as his *French* translator styles him, *Nicholas de Graef*. He was by profession a surgeon, and made five voyages to the *Indies*, between the years 1639 and 1687, and of these he has published an account, written with all the plainness and punctuality that might be expected from a man of his profession, not totally a stranger to letters, but unacquainted with the arts of writing, and therefore the less likely to impose upon his readers. We learn from him, that the king of *Bantam's Dutch*

favourite was a mason by trade, a very shrewd sensible fellow, and one who first rendered himself acceptable to that prince, by building him a new stone palace, where he might live more at his ease, and with less apprehension of being rendered the victim of some sudden conspiracy. This palace, as our author tells us, was at the same time a kind of fortrefs, of its builder's invention, being a long square, with bastions at each angle, and a halfmoon in the middle of each of the long curtains, the rampart being well supplied with brass cannon, which, for that purpose, were purchased

By these steps, this other great power in the island of *Java* *The me-* was brought into their tutelage, though not under their sub- *thods by* jection; for they abridged the king in none of his preroga- *which this* tives, and left him in the full possession of his revenues; were *monarchy* careffing him continually with ambassies, and loading him *is rendered* with presents; giving him, according to the custom of the *wholly de-* east, the most lofty titles; and professing, upon all occasions, *pendent on* their inviolable friendship, and profound respect, for his *the admi-* majesty; to prevent his ever suspecting, that he was, at the *nistration* bottom, no better than their vassal^t. In this state of seeming *at Bata-* authority, and real dependence; but in the full possession of a *via.* numerous seraglio; a treasury full of precious stones, which he much admired; diverted with costly spectacles, and surrounded with clouds of rich perfume; he wasted his days to an extreme old age, and then died, little considered by his allies, and less by his subjects, who hated him, for depriving them of their commerce, though they were never any great gainers by it; but they were better pleased to have variety of purchasers for their pepper, than a single nation, whom, of all others, they least affected. It does not, however, appear, that he ever disliked that change which had been introduced in his reign; but, on the contrary, persisted in the firm persuasion, that he owed the possession of his dominions, and the tranquility of his government, to the succours furnished him from *Batavia*; and therefore recommended to his son and successor, the maintaining a close correspondence with the company, as a great secret of state, and the most effectual means of preserving his absolute authority^u.

THIS son of his was alive in 1722, and seems to have in- *Some cir-* herited his father's qualities, as well as his dominions. Before *cumstances* his accession to the throne, he had diverted himself by com- *relating to* mitting acts of piracy at sea, and lived afterwards in a man- *the son and* ner not only unworthy of his rank, but scandalous to him as *successor of* a rational creature. He had in his seraglio five hundred wives *this Ban-* and concubines, and yet was guilty of the blackest incest. *tamele* Those who were then intrusted with the administration of *monarch.*

^t Impartial Justification of the English East India Company.

^u L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 195.

purchased from the *English* and *Mohammedan*, was circumcised, *Danes*. We are likewise told and, the better to make his court to the king, made an effectual display of his zeal for the king's religion (83)

(83) *Voyages aux Indes Orientales et en d'autres lieux de l'Asie*, p. 211.

affairs for the *Dutch East India* company, took the liberty of directing their ambassadors to admonish him gently as to his course of life, from the great odium it raised. He defended himself by a kind of plausible sophistry, with which vicious men delude themselves, and then hope to delude others; but, in the end, told them plainly, that he was born to give, and not to receive laws; that he lived in such a manner as he liked best; and that if his friends had any objections to the women about him, they should send him some from their own country *. The author, upon whose credit we take this, was an eye-witness of what he wrote, and had several conversations with his majesty of *Bantam*, whom he represents as agreeable in his person, affable in his behaviour, pleasant in his discourse; but, withal, very artful, and execrably wicked. In his father's time, the *Dutch* durst not stir singly without their fortifications; but in his reign, small detachments were not secure; so that, upon the cutting off a lieutenant with twenty men, the regency at *Batavia* were obliged to reinforce their garrison considerably *. This monarch died as he lived, suddenly, and without shewing the least remorse for the many abominable actions of which he had been guilty †. Thus we have shewn how the *Dutch*, who, though in comparison of the *Europeans* in other settlements, are wonderfully strong, and yet but weak in comparison of the natives, preserve their territories in the island of *Java*, make its natural sovereigns believe themselves indebted to the company for protection, and make use of absolute power in those monarchs, to bend their people to such a subjection, as not only they want force, but the whole strength of the republic, whose sovereignty they own, would never be able to compel, to what, from the artful management of their influence, they procured (Z).

* Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 209. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 196, 197. † HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 127. ‡ L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 197.

(Z) This gentleman, who published an account of Commodore *Roggeveen's* voyage through the *South-Sea* to the *East Indies*, was a native of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh* in *Germany*, one who embarked in several expeditions, and in that particularly, merely from the love of travelling, and seeing

strange countries. His accounts are short, but very clear, written with singular vivacity, and with an air of sincerity, that has recommended his performance very much to the best judges. We may with reason therefore look upon the transactions above-mentioned as facts that can never be controverted.

UPON

UPON the breaking out of the next general war in *Europe*, *On the* the Dutch found their affairs in the *Indies* in so prosperous a *breaking* condition, and were so well apprised of the employment given *out of the* to the French fleet, that they were under no apprehensions *war at the* of meeting with any other disturbance, than that of cruising *close of the* for their outward and homeward-bound ships, against which *present* they knew the States General would make the best provision in *century,* their power; and therefore, the general and council at *the Dutch* *Batavia* applied their thoughts intirely to the making use of so *project the* favourable an opportunity, for absolutely expelling the French *driving* out of the *Indies* *. This could not proceed from any great *intirely out* detriment they received from their commerce, which was so *of the In-* inconsiderable, that it neither brought them much profit, nor *dies for* could raise any degree of envy in the nations already esta- *ever.* blished in the *Indies*. But the swelling title of the royal *East India* company of France, the dexterity with which Mr. Francis Martin had established himself at Pondicherry, where he had raised a tolerable fortress, and a small town under its protection; his insinuating manner of treating with the *Indian* princes, whose countenance and favour he had obtained, in a high degree; and the convenient situation of the place, which, except the *English* settlement at Madras, was preferable to any upon the coast of *Coromandel*; was what made them uneasy *. They foresaw, that, some time or other, this would turn to account, and that the French would be convinced, that a trade to the *Indies* was practicable, from seeing this settlement subsist and improve, with very little encouragement, and scarce any supplies from *Europe*. They determined therefore to nip it in the bud, and to rid themselves of all their fears, by dispossessing their enemies, while in so weak a condition as not to be able to make any great resistance. Their first project of exciting an *Indian* war, and making others act as the instruments of their resentment, did not take effect, by which much time, and perhaps some money, was lost; so that at length they determined to do their business themselves, and to do it effectually b.

MR. Laurence Pitt was at that time their director on the *In conse-* coast of *Coromandel*, to whom the management of this expe- *quence of* dition was committed; and accordingly he came before the *this, they* place in the latter end of August 1693, with a force sufficient *employed a* to have reduced any fortress in the *Indies*. His squadron con- *very great* sisted of nineteen sail, exclusive of transports and small vessels, *force in re-* sisting the *fortress of*

* Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 231.
HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 356.
Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 231.

* Capt. Pondichery.
b Hi-

from which he landed fifteen hundred men, all regular troops, commanded by experienced officers, and two thousand more, composed of seamen formed into companies, and *Indian* troops in *Dutch* pay, such as *Bougies*, *Macassars*, and *Chinguleys*, fifteen or sixteen brass cannon for battery, six mortars, and a train of twenty-four field-pieces; besides, they had also one of the princes of the country, with his troops, in their pay, from whom they purchased a right to the place for fifty thousand pagoda's^c. When the forces were once landed, they lost no time, but pushed the siege with such vigour, that, on the sixth of *September*, the *French* governor was obliged to beat the chamade, and on the eighth the capitulation was signed, consisting of thirteen articles; by which it was stipulated, That the place should be given up to the *Dutch East India* company; the garrison to march out, with all marks of honour; the *Indian* soldiers allowed to retire where they please; and the *French* to be sent home, either at the close of that year, or the beginning of the next^d.

Become
masters of
the place;
fortify it,
at a vast
expence;
and are
obliged to
give it up
at the
peace.

THE *Dutch* being thus become masters of *Pondicherry*, not only repaired and fortified this settlement, but, in the space of six years that it remained in their hands, augmented the fortifications very considerably, and made it one of the fairest and strongest places upon the coast; supposing that they should have had the same good fortune with respect to that, as had attended the like conduct in regard to their conquests from the *Portuguese*; but in this they were much mistaken. When the peace of *Ryswick* was signed, *September* 20th, 1697, there was a general clause for the restitution of all places taken on both sides, from the beginning of the war, either in or out of *Europe*; and, at the close of that general clause, the fortress of *Pondicherry* was particularly mentioned; with a provision, that it should not be demolished, but be delivered up in its present condition; and Mr. *Martin*, who was again made governor, by a particular treaty with the *Dutch* director, consented to pay sixteen thousand pagoda's, in consideration of what had been expended: so that the *French* were really great gainers by this short interruption of their possession^e (A).

WHILE

^c *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 75. *Histoire des Indes*, tom. iii. p. 234.

^d *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 75.

^e *Corps Universelle Diplomatique*, tom. vii. part ii. p. 382. *Histoire des Indes*, tom. iii. p. 245, 246.

(A) This treaty of peace was the part of his most Christian signed, by plenipotentiaries on Majesty, and the States General of

WHILE this war continued, the company thought fit to treat with the States General for a new term, as that of which they were possessed was to determine on the last day of the year 1700; and it is said, that this renewal of their charter, which was completed on the 11th of August 1698, and by which all their rights and privileges were extended to the close of the year 1740, cost them several millions; which, however, were very well bestowed, considering the great length of time which they obtained, and that, in the space of thirty years before, they had divided to their proprietors upwards of six hundred and forty *per cent.* on their original capital; which gave the government in *Holland* just reason to expect, that the state should receive a large fine, upon renewing so beneficial a grant; and the rather, because that their finances were pretty much exhausted, by a long, expensive, and not over prosperous, war; during which, the company had made great profits; and it was very remarkable, that, notwithstanding so large a disbursement in ready money, they were able the very next year to make two dividends to

A curious secular anecdote struck upon the company's entering on a new century.

of the United Provinces, September the 20th, 1697; and the eighth article runs in the following words (84): "All the countries, cities, places, domains, forts, isles, and seignories, as well within as without the bounds of *Europe*, which may have been seized and occupied since the commencement of the present war, shall be restored on each side, in the same state they were in, with respect to their fortifications, at the time of their being taken, and with regard to other edifices, in the condition they now are, without being at liberty to demolish or hurt any thing whatever, as also without any pretensions to satisfaction for what might be formerly demolished; and particularly, the fort and habitation of

" *Pondichery*, shall be restored, agreeable to the before-mentioned conditions, unto the *East India* company established in *France*; and as to the artillery which may have been brought thither by the *Dutch East India* company, it shall remain to her, as well as the magazines of military stores and provisions, slaves, and all other effects; to be disposed of at pleasure, together with the domains, rights, and privileges, which she has acquired from the prince, or from the inhabitants, of the country." Thus the reader sees how much care was taken to procure the restitution of a single fortress to a low and still declining company, and will, in a succeeding chapter, see of how great consequence this restitution proved.

(84) *Corps Universelle Diplomatique*, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 382. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par l'Abbé Goussier, tom. iii. p. 344. *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 75.

their proprietors; one in the month of *June*, of twenty *per cent.* and another in *December*, of fifteen *per cent.* and this though they had likewise made two dividends the year before (B). We

JANÇON *Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 316, 317. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1091.

(B) In order to avoid breaking the thread of our history, it was necessary to refer an event too remarkable to be omitted, though in some measure personal, to the bottom of the page (85). Amongst the superior officers in the company's service, there was one Mr. *Hans van Hertog*, who rose, by his faithful discharge of his duty in several inferior stations, to the post of governor of *Japara*, upon the east coast of the island of *Java*, a place of great consequence in point of situation, but the trade of which had been hitherto so managed, as not to produce any considerable profit. Yet, while this gentleman was in the office, the trade answered so abundantly, that several millions came into the coffers of the society. The directors, to whom all accounts are annually transmitted, were so thoroughly apprised of the difference between his, and those they had formerly received from the same place, that they wrote to the council in the *Indies*, extolling his fidelity, and desiring, that very particular regard should be shewn to his merit. But, it seems, it was a merit of which, in the *Indies*, they had no conception; and therefore, notwithstanding this recommendation, they laid him aside, and took

every opportunity to cross and perplex him. This usage Mr. *Hertog* bore for some years, with a degree of patience equal to that of his probity; but, tired out at length, he desired leave to return to *Europe*. This proposition was so agreeable to those in the administration, that they not only granted it, but gave him the command of the last fleet that returned in 1683, which consisted of five sail, richly laden. At the *Cape of Good Hope*, the war being just broke out, he seized two *French* ships, that were worth half his fleet, and took care that no part of his rich prizes should be embezzled. He did not, however, live to revisit his native country, himself and his wife expiring on board the fleet, when in sight of the coast of *Holland*. The directors, however, very wisely and honourably, determined to give a singular mark of their esteem; for such uncommon fidelity, and therefore ordered a gold medal, weighing a pound, to be struck, with the figure of the ship in which he came home on one side, and with a suitable inscription on the other, to be presented, after a public and pompous funeral, to his father, who was an eminent merchant of *Rotterdam*.

(85) *Resol. der Staat-Gener.* 23 Maart 1690, fol. 215. *Holland Mercur.* 1689. p. 279. *Histoire Metalique des Pays-bas*, par *Guard van Loon*, tom. ii. p. 426.

may from hence discern, at least in part, the motives which induced that prudent, as well as potent forgery, though it did not appear till four years after, to cause a most noble medal to be struck upon this occasion; on one side of which, the company was represented under the figure of a beautiful woman, in the flower of her age, seated at her ease, having on her head a naval crown, holding in her right hand a drawn sword, with a wreath of laurel on the point, which is the arms of *Batavia*, her right foot resting on a tortoise, her left arm is reclined upon a table, and in the hand hanging down the charter appears half open, with the seal of the generality. At her feet lie several horns of abundance, signifying the many advantages arising from the wise conduct of her commerce, to which the bird of *Pallas* standing by alludes. On the upper part of a pedestal, against which she leans, appear the arms of the States General; and on the base, there is a large C; intimating, that the company had now subsisted one hundred years; more clearly explained in the device, *IN ALTERA SECU LA PERGO*; that is, "Through ages yet to come I urge my way." In the exergue, is marked the year *MDCII*. On the reverse, appears a ship, or rather galley, under sail, beyond the columns of *Hercules*, which she seems to have left behind, her passage facilitated by six rowers, having before them the arms of the six chambers, of which the company of the *Indies* is composed. At a distance appears a setting sun, the course of which the vessel follows, to meet him rising in the east. *Neptune* appears as pilot at the helm, to signify the company's dominion over the sea. And in the exergue, are these words: *INVIA NULLA VIA FAVENTE DEO*; that is, "No way impassible if God assist & (C)".

* *Histoire Metalique des Pays-bays, par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. iv. p. 359.*

(C) We have cited the proper authorities, to support what is said of this medal in the text, but it may not be amiss to add a circumstance or two more, in relation to this secular medallion, which are worthy of being preserved. The directors of the company appointed a committee, consisting of one member from each of their chambers, to

inspect this business. Some of the medals were of gold, and of the value of two hundred and fifty florins, the rest of silver. There were enough struck for every director, advocate, and principal proprietor, to have one of each metal he pleased, but at his own expence, after which, the die was broke (86).

(86) *Resol. van de Heeren Comm. op de Haagsche besloignes 23 Maart 1702. Ibid. 12 en 17 July 1702.*

S E C T. XIII.

The Causes and Consequences of the Company's long War in Java, which, however, did not hinder their making great Improvements in their several Settlements in that Island. The grand Conspiracy of the Natives, for the Extirpation of the Dutch. The Manner in which it was discovered, prevented, and punished; with the Copies of some Records, in regard to this singular Event, which afford the clearest Evidence of the Spirit both of the Natives and the Dutch.

The causes of the last and longest war in Java, which proved very detrimental to the company.

AFTER all the precautions that could be taken, a new war broke out in *Java*, in the year 1704, occasioned by the death of the emperor, and the disputes which arose about the succession; an affair of too great consequence to the company for her to remain unconcerned. The part she took was that of the deceased emperor's brother; whereas the *Javaneſe*, or at least a great party amongst them, espoused that of the late emperor's son. This war was more obstinate, and of longer continuance, than could have been expected; which was occasioned by the young emperor's taking into his service many of the *Indian* soldiers, that, in a time of full peace, had been disbanded by the *Dutch*, and who, being acquainted with the *European* discipline, proved very formidable enemies; for, in the course of the war, it clearly appeared, that, in point of sagacity and stratagem, they were not at all inferior to the best officers in the *Dutch* army; and, from their great activity in marching, and their perfect knowledge of the country, they gained frequent advantages ^a. But the company, by the help of fortresses and magazines, being able to keep their armies longer in the field, and being also able to transport on board their fleets their troops, when and where-ever it was necessary, the *Javaneſe*, in their turn, found themselves grievously distressed; so that at length both sides being equally tired of what produced nothing but mischief and bloodshed to either, things were at last composed ^b. But, in the midst of these troubles, the Governor-general *John van Hoorn* had the courage to undertake the rebuilding of the town-house, in 1706. It had been built about fifty-four years, and, being composed of brick and wood, began to

^a HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 133.

^b L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 97.

decay;

decay; but might have been easily, and at a small expence, repaired, if that had not been considered as unworthy the magnificence of *Batavia*. The new stadthouse shews to what a degree this notion was carried, since it is reputed the most superb structure that has been erected by the *Europeans* since they came into the *Indies*. In this noble pile of building the council or college of justice assembles; in it are also apartments for many inferior courts, so that all the public business of the colony is transacted there, and this too with all imaginable convenience*.

It is reported, that, from the consequences of this war, *How this* the administration in *Batavia* were convinced that the natives *war con-* had some secret resources, which, with all their industry, they *vinced the* have never yet been able to discover; for, in places which *Dutch,* had been destroyed and plundered more than once in the war, *that there* and where the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost misery, *are gold* they were in a short time in as good a condition as ever, and *mines of* had all their bracelets, and other little ornaments of gold, *considera-* about them as before¹. It is indeed certain, that not in *Java* *ble value* only, but through all the *Indies*, the natives are wonderfully suspicious of the *Europeans*, and conceal with the utmost care the places, and the means of procuring either gold-dust or precious stones; which may be reasonably supposed to arise from the fear of being reduced to the most abject slavery, and forced to work in the mines, which, in those warm countries, may be well accounted the most dreadful of all punishments^m. This circumspection is said to appear even in the *Hottentots*, who are represented as the most stupid of mankind; for they sometimes bring small parcels of gold-dust to purchase necessities, but are very studious in concealing how they come by it; and not many years ago some *Dutchmen* having formed a design of following a party of *Hottentots*, whom they judged to be gone in search of that precious metal, those savages, perceiving their design, turned suddenly back upon them, surrounded and killed them allⁿ (D).

IT

* JANICÓN Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 333. ¹ Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. ^m Voyage de GAUTIER SCHOUTEN aux Indes Orientales, p. 395. ⁿ L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 245, 246.

(D) The *Chinese*, as well as certain that the natives have a the *Dutch*, failed in their at- great deal of that precious me- tempts to discover the gold- tal (87). Before the *Europeans* mines in *Formosa*; and yet it is penetrated so far as the *Moluc-*

(87) Du Halde Description de l'Empire de Chine, tom. i. p. 179.

The introduction and progress of the great improvement made by planting coffee in this island.

IT may not be amiss to observe here, that about the year 1719 they began to cultivate coffee in *Java*, not as a curiosity, but as a commodity; and it is worth our notice, how many years passed before this improvement came to be thought practicable. A notion a long time prevailed, that the *Arabs* were as jealous and circumspect in regard to this plant as the *Indians* about their gold-dust; and that, to prevent its being cultivated in other countries, they never suffered so much as a bean to pass out of their hands, till so long dried in the oven as to deprive it of the power of vegetation; but in all probability this was no better than a fable^o: for, about the year 1690, some coffee shrubs in pots were transported to *Batavia*, and, being there transplanted, grew very well. In 1697, from the pestilential fumes that succeeded a great earthquake, most of the gardens belonging to that colony suffered severely, and most of their curious plants were killed; a few coffee-shrubs, however, escaped; and, in 1706, they began to plant them again in many places, and particularly in the garden of the governor-general, where in a few years they came to great perfection^p. At length, therefore, it was resolved to try whether the coffee they produced might not be roasted and drank. Since that time coffee is become a great commodity in *Java*, as also in the island of *Ceylon*, with the soil of which it is pretended the plant agrees better than

^o See the article of Coffee in Dr. JAMES's Medicinal Dictionary.

^p Memoires de Dr. GARCIN.

as, the kings of *Ternate* exacted an annual (88) tribute in gold from the inhabitants of *New Guiny*; but the *Dutch* will not acknowledge that they are able to obtain any from thence, either by commerce, or any other way. In *Celebes* it is very certain there are very rich mines of gold; but it is no less certain that the *Dutch* are not masters of them; nor, with all their search, have they been able to discover those in *Java*; in *Sumatra*; (89) however, they have been more fortunate. Without doubt there must be a vast quantity of gold

found in *Asia*, since the price of silver is still kept up, notwithstanding the large quantities that have been carried thither by the several nations of *Europe*; and this consideration, to those who have a thorough insight into points of this nature, will convince them, that, if sublunary affairs were not directed by an over-ruling Providence, things would be otherwise circumstanced than they are in this respect, by which the commerce between *Europe* and the *India* must of necessity be interrupted.

(88) *Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, l. I. Orientales, par GUYON, tom. II. p. 212.

(89) *Histoire des Indes*

with that of *Arabia*; for whereas about *Mocha* the coffee-bushes seldom rise higher than six, or at most ten or twelve, feet, in *Java* and *Ceylon* they grow commonly to twenty or thirty, and rise even to forty, feet high. In consequence of this they have much greater quantities than in *Arabia*, where one tree with another seldom yields above five pounds of berries in a year⁹. But, in these new plantations, fifteen or twenty pounds are not thought very extraordinary; but the doubt is, whether the flavour of the *Java* and *Ceylon* coffee comes up to that of *Arabia*, which at first it was universally acknowledged it did not; but in process of time the former grew more into esteem, and the *Dutch* now persuade themselves that it is little, if at all, inferior to that of *Mocha*. Be that as it will, there is nothing more certain than that vast quantities are imported in every *East India* fleet from these two islands; so that this new commodity turns to a vast account, which may be probably the reason that it has been raised at *Surinam* in the *West Indies*, from whence the *French* have carried it into their islands of *Cayen* and *Martinico*, and the *English* likewise cultivate it in *Jamaica*^r (E).

THE war in *Java* broke out afresh in 1716, and continued War in
between four and five years, by which the company were put Java
to a great deal of trouble; and were taught, by experience, breaks out
a maxim long ago laid down by great masters in the art of afresh;
war, that it is by no means prudent to employ regular troops and, tho'
for many years together against a barbarous nation, because, at length
ended.

⁹ Origine & Usage du Café, p. 9. ^r See this point treated at large under the article of Coffee in Dr. JAMES's Medicinal Dictionary.

(E) It is very remarkable, that the *Arabians* themselves, who were so long in possession of the coffee-trade, in exclusion of all other nations, very fairly acknowledge that it is not a native of their country; but that it was brought thither from *Abyssinia*, or the *Higber Ethiopia*, together with another shrub called *Kat* (90). The leaves and berries of this last-mentioned bush were looked upon as specifics against the plague, and are

still considered as such by the inhabitants of *Yemen*. As to coffee, they attribute no virtue to it at all, except this, that the *Kat* could not grow but in its neighbourhood. However, in process of time they discovered the utility of the coffee-berries, the use of which was soon communicated to the inhabitants of the opposite country of *Egypt*, and from thence spread over all *Europe* (91).

(90) Origine & Usage du Café, p. 9.
tom. I. pp. 596, 597, 598.

(91) Dictionnaire de Commerce,

proves the
cause of a
dangerous
intrigue.

however they may be beaten, they are at last beat both into courage and discipline; the former being acquired by habit as well as the latter, and, when it is acquired, it is a great chance if they do not beat their masters. In this, however, the *Dutch* acted against their will, as being thoroughly sensible that the war was against their interest; but they were unwilling to sacrifice the advantages they had so long enjoyed, or to end the war upon worse terms than they began*. At length, however, things were adjusted, and the peace of the island restored; which had not happened long before a discovery was made of a very deep and dangerous design, the aim of which was no less than the intire subversion of the government at *Batavia*, by the destruction of all the *Dutch* inhabitants, and of the Christians of every denomination that lived under their protection. This discovery was made just time enough to prevent it, that is, on the last day of the year 1721, but how, or by whom, is a secret with which the world is not yet acquainted, at least with any degree of certainty. Some have ascribed it to the sagacity of the council of the *Indies*; others are of opinion that some of the accomplices, being diffident of the event, secured themselves by betraying their confederates. Mr. *Van Bosch*, the *Dutch* minister at *Macassar*, intimated that the company stood indebted for her safety to the friendship of a great monarch; which is a point that shall be explained hereafter†.

A succinct
view of
the conspiracy.

BUT, however the discovery was made, the principal conspirators were arrested without noise, and their whole design defeated; three months after which they were brought to their tryals, and convicted; from the record of which conviction we shall give a succinct account of this desperate undertaking, little inferior, either in its nature, or management, to *Catiline's* plot for overturning the *Roman* republic. The original author of this dark design was a *Javanese*, whose name was *Catadia*, a native of the royal city of *Kattasura*, who had spent four years in establishing secret correspondences over a great part of the island, before he disclosed it to the person that he afterwards put at the head of the design, and who had been embarked in it about two years. This chief was one *Peter Erberfeldt*, burgess of *Batavia*, whose father had been a member of the provincial college, and a captain of horse, but his mother a *Moor*. He was near sixty years of age; and there appears no other motive for his entering

* *Memoires de Dr. GARCIN.* † *HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 133, 134. *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 82.

into this cabal, than the ambition of making himself sovereign of *Batavia*. *Maja Praja*, serjeant of a *Javaneſe* company in the *Dutch* ſervice, and who had formerly lived with the major of *Batavia*, was another conſpirator, who, from his knowledge of the ſtrength and diſpoſition of the company's forces, gave them ſuch lights as they could not otherwiſe have procured. There were, beſides theſe, eight or ten more of different ranks and nations, yet all of them but mean people, that were embarked in this deſign, and that for many months together were employed in taking meaſures for carrying it into execution *.

It is very ſtrange that in all this time, and where ſo many were intruſted, nothing ſhould be divulged; and it would appear more ſtrange, that, when the conſpirators knew their own force, they were ſo dilatory; if it had not been diſcovered, from their own confeſſions, that they waited to ſee what turn the war of *Java* would take, in which there is reaſon to ſuſpect that *Peter Erberfeldt* thought the emperor wanting in ſomewhat that they expected from him; for, applying himſelf afterwards to the king of *Bantam*, with whoſe character the reader is already acquainted, and giving him an exact account of the poſture that things were in a little before the time fixed for the inſurrection, he intimated, that, as ſoon as he was thoroughly ſettled in his new monarchy, he intended to attack the emperor, not doubting but he ſhould be able to make a great party amongſt his ſubjects. It was this laſt piece of intelligence that alarmed his majeſty of *Bantam*, who, conſidering the daring ſpirit of the man, and the amazing ſecreſy with which he had managed for ſo long a time ſo dangerous an undertaking, began to apprehend that he might have a worſe neighbour of him than of the company; and being at that time upon ſo bad terms with his own ſubjects, as not to dare to ſtir out of his fortrefs but with *Dutch* guards, he judged it moſt for his intereſt to make his court to the general and council at *Batavia*, by imparting to them what he knew of the conſpiracy; by which they were enabled, without making any ſtir, to ſeize thoſe who had been moſt active in this buſineſs, and to take the neceſſary precautions, in caſe of a commotion, to render it abortive; for there was juſt reaſon to fear, that thoſe, who had engaged to aſſiſt *Erberfeldt* and his confederates, might have either taken arms to reſcue them, or to protect themſelves; but they were ſo much ſurpriſed at ſeeing the thing diſcovered, that either they were

How this diſign came to excite apprehenſions in the king of Bantam, to whom it was communicated.

* Sentence contre Pierre Erberfeld & ſes complices, prononcée à *Batavia* en 1722.

afraid to stir, or thought that by remaining quiet the regency at *Batavia* might consult the tranquillity of the colony, and dissemble the informations they had of their being privy to the plot; and, if they acted upon this motive, they were certainly right, for the general and council, notwithstanding the severity with which they proceeded against the traitors in their hands, very prudently declined any thing that might render these people desperate, which could have only ended in a rebellion; the consequence of which might have been very dangerous: yet it is more than probable that this moderation had no great effect upon the minds of the natives, further than to render them more cautious in their intrigues, as succeeding events have demonstrated. But to proceed with our present history.

Method
which
was to be
pursued in
carrying
this scheme
into execu-
tion

THE plan of the conspirators was, to surprise the city, and to put all who were not of their party to death; after which they took it for granted that the mixed multitude of different nations inhabiting the low countries would either willingly join them, or have submitted through fear. The great object of their counsels, therefore, was, to bring this point of the surprise to bear. In the action, *Peter Erberfeldt* was to have commanded, and given orders in quality of chief; and *Catadia* was to act as his lieutenant, or person next to him in power; and, to acquire the greater respect, the former was immediately to have assumed the title of *Thouang-gusti*, which is Great Lord, or Supreme Governor; and the latter the name of *Rading*, which implies the same with Prince. This whole transaction was concerted in the house of *Erberfeldt*, situated without the city, at that corner of the road to *Jacatra* which turns off to the Portuguese church. The conspirators likewise met often at a country-house of his situated on the *Sunder*, from whence they carried on a correspondence with several *Mohammedan* princes, and chiefs of the *Indian* nations, whom they had found means to draw over to their party. The letters upon this subject were written by *Catadia*, *Maja Praja*, *de Chias*, &c. who also read those they received in answer, because *Peter Erberfeldt* was not able to write or read the languages of which they made use; and it was the same persons who were charged with delivering those letters, or causing them to be delivered, to those to whom they were addressed, and receiving their answers. The better to promote their purpose, some of them dispersed themselves thro' different quarters of the flat country, in order to sell amongst the inhabitants a kind of *Djemats*, or little stamps, marked

with certain characters, which were to secure those who carried them about them from musket-shots, wounds from guns, swords, or other weapons. The conspirators had agreed that the first attack should be made on the houses of the governor-general, the council, and other magistrates in the citadel and in the city, so as to massacre all the principal persons of the government; which, had it been effected, would certainly have contributed very much to the success of their enterprise, not only by spreading general confusion, but by removing those who alone were capable of redressing it (F).

PETER Erberfeldt, *Catadia*, otherwise called *Rading*, *Ja-What* post *van de Cartasaura*, and *Maja Praja*, were to have had the ^{were as-} command in the attack of the citadel; *Sana Suta*, *Anga Tjitra*, ^{signed to}

(F) In order to judge fairly and impartially of this conspiracy, and of the ensuing insurrection, the reader may be pleased to recollect what has been said of the attempts of the Chinese traders against the Spaniards in the *Manillas*, and this plainly against their own interests, since their trade thither is more lucrative than any other, except that to *Japan*; yet there they not only entered into a secret contrivance for the total destruction of their benefactors, but were encouraged and excited thereto by the promise of assistance from *Cbina*, which was actually intended; but, either through accident or cowardice, deferred from time to time till it became too late (92). The secret intrigues, and open tumults, in *Formosa*, seven years before *Coxenga's* invasion, discovers also that deceitful, dangerous, and insolent disposition, which lurks under that veil of submission and politeness which these people constantly wear both at home and abroad (93). Yet, on the other side, it must be confessed, that the Europeans settled in the *Indies* are in va-

rious particulars to be condemned, since they are exceedingly apt to stir these people to resentment by the most flagrant acts of injustice, cruelty, and oppression. They likewise give them bad examples with respect to fidelity in public, as well as private concerns, as if they meant to teach them by their practice, that interest ought to be the sole guide of human actions, and that any conduct may be sanctified by having superior power on its side. Lastly, it is but too common for them to sink into the same corruption, and to fall gradually into that course of life for which the *Asiatics* in general are justly despised, that is, delivering themselves up to the government of their passions, and debasing their faculties by an immoderate and almost continual use of sensual delights; as if the doctrines they pretend to believe filled their heads only, without making the least impression on their hearts; and as if God had led them into the *Indies* as well to imitate as to chastise the vices of their original inhabitants (94).

(92) *Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronado*
(93) *Nienboff, Tavernier, La Bruu.* (94) *Voyage de Graaf, p. 290—292.*

the several de Bagall, and Layech de Sumbowen, that of the town. The chief actors attack was to be made on *New-year's-day*, as soon as ever *in this* the gates were open. The last rendezvous of the conspirators *conspiracy.* was fixed for the evening that should have preceded the attack, at an house of the principal conspirator *Erberfeldt*, to confer together, and to slide away from thence, some into the citadel, and some into the town. To prevent all mis-intelligence among themselves, they agreed beforehand on this regulation; viz. that *Peter Erberfeldt*, as soon as the massacre was over, should assume the title of *Gusti*, or king, as well in the city as in the citadel; and that *Catadia* should have the title of *Rading*, or Prince, in the low country, without the city, quite to the mountains. As to the rest, they were to have the title of *Pangerangs*, or princes; and established *Mantries*, or chiefs, and counsellors to the king: they were also to execute, in their several districts, the function of *Tummaguns*, or generals, in conjunction with *Singa Patria*, who had been actually established, by the company's authority, chief of *Sikias*.

Means concerted for supporting the new government when the REVOLUTION had taken effect.

THE conspirators had further agreed, that, after the execution of their design, *Peter Erberfeldt* was to constitute a college or board of twelve young men, each of the age of twenty, or thereabouts, to be drawn out of the families of the principal conspirators, which twelve persons were to have been sent to the princes and chiefs of the *Mohammedans*, in order to have settled the duties and customs they were for the future to pay at *Batavia*, and afterwards to act as ministers. Conformable to this plan the conspirators had taken sufficient precaution for securing means necessary to assist and support them, after the massacre was begun by a body of seventeen thousand men drawn from several places in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and for the most part named by the prisoners. According to their scheme this body was to have been divided into several detachments, all of which were to have been ready to march at a time appointed. The signal being given, each of these detachments was to have put itself in motion; and by the high roads, as well as by private ways, to have advanced and taken possession of all the gates, to hinder so much as a single person's escaping, that the news of this bloody action might be the longer before it reached *Holland*. With this view, and for the better execution of their project, the conspirators had already secured, by the distribution of the *Diemates* before-mentioned, one thousand men. *Maja Praja* had undertaken to send as many; and two thousand had orders to descend from the mountains of the south, and to join

join those who were hidden in the neighbourhood, in order to the perpetration of this horrible design *.

THREE days before the intended massacre the whole scheme *Ultimate* was intirely settled; and *Peter Erberfeldt* had disposed all *resolutions* things, and given his orders for the execution of it, in the *taken* following manner; viz. Eight hundred men were to have *within* posted themselves at *Grolat*, on the *Mill River*, beyond the *three days* advanced guard of the fort *Ryfwyk*; two thousand men were *of the time* to have marched into the country of the chief *Peter d'Alida*, *fixed for* particularly to *Grogol*, and the places in its neighbourhood; *the general* and another body of one thousand men was to have defiled to *Mangadova*, *Piesang*, *Batu*, and the places in that neighbourhood. To these several bodies it was agreed that all the rest of the conspirators should have joined themselves, from the different retreats in which they were concealed, in places adjacent to *Batavia*, that, by the junction of so great a force, they might have executed their schemes in their full extent, and maintained themselves in possession. In case they had succeeded in their design, they were to have been, as their own letters shewed, supported and sustained by another body of upwards of ten thousand *Baleians*, whom they had engaged to pass the mountains on the side of *Cadiri*, by *Maturin*, on the south side, and by *Campongbaru*, in order to have taken post on the mountain of *Guru*. In case it happened that the inhabitants of *Campongbaru* had refused to submit, the *Baleians* had orders to put them all to the sword, and to march immediately towards the city, to massacre all such as should have opposed them, and totally to have exterminated the Christians; that the company might not only have been deprived of their dominions, but prevented from ever recovering them, or carrying on the smallest commerce in these parts.

In order to keep this curious and extraordinary piece of *Copy of the* history as much as possible within bounds, and at the same *sentence* time to demonstrate its authenticity, we will next transcribe *pronounced* the sentence passed by the council of justice at *Batavia* upon *against the* the conspirators, which was conceived in the following terms: " We the judges, having heard and examined the informa- *conspira-* tion preferred, *ex officio*, by *Henry van Steel Droffard*, of *was after-* *ward: exe-* *cuted.*

* If the reader will consider this plan, and compare it with that which was said to be formed by the Chinese when they meditated a like massacre, he cannot fail of observing such a similitude between them, as will induce his belief that one conspiracy was a copy of the other.

† L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 24, 25. * Sentence contre Pierre Erberfeldt, et ses Complices, prononcée à Batavia en 1722.

the

“ the low country, against the criminals *Peter Erberfeldt*,
 “ *Catadia*, otherwise called *Rading*, *Javan de Cartasaura*,
 “ *Maja Praja*, *Sana Suta*, *Anga Tjitra de Bagall*, *Layech*
 “ *de Sumbowen*, *Jap Kiko*, *Cartanaja*, *Anga Sarana*, *Canta*
 “ *Sinia*, *Singa Ira*, *Marengie*, *Sarapaca*, *Maja Diaja*, *Wamb-*
 “ *sa Dita*, *Wieca-Susa*, *Canta Wangsa*, *Baspa*, and *Singa Pa-*
 “ *tria*, chief of *Sikias*, who have confessed the whole, and
 “ submitted themselves voluntarily ; it is therefore concluded,
 “ regard being had to their crimes, and all circumstances re-
 “ lating to them, we hereby conclude and decree, in justice,
 “ in the name and on the part of their High Mightinesses the
 “ States General of the United Provinces, That we condemn
 “ the prisoners, with the approbation of the governor-general
 “ Mr. *Swaardekroom*, and of the counsellors of the *Indies*, to
 “ be transported to the place before the citadel, where it is
 “ usual to execute criminals, there to be delivered into the
 “ hands of the hangman, to receive their respective punish-
 “ ments in the manner following : The two criminals *Erber-*
 “ *feldt* and *Catadia*, otherwise stiled *Rading*, shall be extended
 “ and bound each of them on a cross, where they shall have
 “ their right hands cut off, and their arms, legs, and breasts,
 “ pinched with red-hot pincers, till pieces of the flesh are
 “ torn away. They shall then have their bellies ripped from
 “ bottom to top, and their hearts thrown in their faces ; after
 “ which, their heads shall be cut off, and fixed upon a post ;
 “ and their bodies, torn in pieces, shall be exposed to the
 “ fowls of the air without the city, in whatever place the
 “ government shall please to direct. The other four crimi-
 “ nals, *Maja Praja*, *Sana Suta*, otherwise *Wangsa*, *Suta*
 “ *Tjitra*, and *Layech*, are to be each of them bound upon
 “ a cross, and have their respective right hands cut off, their
 “ arms, thighs, and breasts, pinched, their bellies ripped, and
 “ their hearts thrown in their faces, and their limbs exposed
 “ upon a wheel in the usual places, there to become a prey
 “ to birds. The other ten criminals shall be each tied upon
 “ a cross on the scaffold, and, in case there be no room on the
 “ scaffold itself, on a place near it, where they shall be broken
 “ alive, without receiving the coup-de-grace. They shall be
 “ afterwards carried to the ordinary place of execution, and
 “ there exposed on a wheel, and guarded so long as they shall
 “ live there ; and, after they shall expire, be left a prey to the
 “ birds. The other three, *Tomboam*, *Grambick*, and *Mitas*,
 “ are condemned to be each of them tied to a stake, and
 “ strangled ; their bodies shall be then carried to the com-
 “ mon place of execution, and there exposed on wheels for
 “ the nourishment of the birds. We likewise further con-
 “ demn

"denn the said criminals to the costs and expences of justice,
 "and to the confiscation of half their estates. This being
 "paid, renouncing all farther pretensions. Done and De-
 "creed, in the assembly of my lords the counsellors of jus-
 "tice, this *Wednesday* the eighth of *April*, all the judges
 "except *Craivanger* being present."

THE severity of this sentence could be only justified by its motives, which were, the imminence and extent of the danger, which was prevented but by a few hours from subverting the whole of what they had acquired in *Java* for the space of one hundred years; the custom of the country, where tortures are common, and where a violent death, unaccompanied by extraordinary circumstances, is not regarded; and, lastly, the necessity of imprinting terror, even upon such hardened minds, upon which the future safety of the Europeans was to depend. Harsh and terrible as it was, yet on the twenty-second of *April* it was executed without the least mitigation; and the lights received from the confessions of the criminals being pursued, many others were afterwards brought to justice for the share they had in this conspiracy; and, that the memory of this singular transaction might be preserved, the house of the principal criminal, *Peter Erberfeldt*, was demolished, and a column of infamy erected upon the spot, with an inscription in the *Dutch, Portuguese, Malayan, Javanese, and Chinese* languages, placed thereon, containing the following words:

"IN this place heretofore stood the house of that unworthy
 "traitor *Peter Erberfeldt*, on which spot no other house
 "shall stand henceforth for evermore."

As the pillar fronts the road, and most of the people who pass by understand some or other of these tongues, it may be presumed that this answers the end of the government in the *Indies*. But it is very remarkable, that little or no notice was taken of so extraordinary an event in any of the accounts transmitted to *Europe*; which is sufficient to convince the reader of the usefulness of this historical detail, in which we have drawn together, in as regular a series of time as was possible, the principal transactions of this potent society, scattered through a variety of books of voyages and travels, and of many of which there are no traces to be found either in general or particular histories.

* L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 104.

S E C T. XIV.

The Insurrection, or, as others call it, the Massacre, of the Chinese. Different Relations of that terrible Affair; and Remarks upon the Conduct of the Dutch therein, and its Consequences.

Reasons why the East India company were not so fortunate as formerly, upon their application for a new charter.

THE situation of affairs in *Europe*, which encouraged several nations to bend their inclinations more to commerce than in former times, the great efforts made in *France* to revive the credit of their company, and other motives of a more private nature, induced the *East India* directors in *Holland* to labour the renewing their charter, or obtaining an additional term before the old was expired, which they attempted in 1717, but without success^b. The States General, tho' they did not think fit to grant them at that juncture this request, published however a placard in support of their privileges, forbidding any of their subjects to trade within the bounds assigned to that company, or to be concerned in any of the new undertakings for carrying on a trade in those parts; and afterwards, in concurrence with *France* and *Great Britain*, engaged in a warm opposition to the establishment of the imperial company at *Osford*. The disputes raised upon that head, and other political affairs of great importance, so occupied their attention, that the company were not able to gain their great point, even to the very year in which their charter was to expire^c. This in all probability was owing to the company's not coming up to the terms that were expected from them, and which it may be were regulated rather according to the necessities of the state, which were then very pressing; and the supposed great wealth of that body, than the precedents of former times. However that might be, all that they could procure or purchase, was, a prolongation of their term for a single year, to commence from the first of *January* 1741, which at the time occasioned many speculations^d.

An account of the last insurrection of the Chinese, which was near reducing Batavia.

WHILE the directors were sufficiently employed in concerting ways and means for overcoming those difficulties that obstructed their obtaining a fresh term, they received the news of the greatest shock their affairs had ever met with, from *Batavia*. We intimated before, that, by the execution of *Peter Erberfeldt* and his accomplices, the growth of the treason

^b Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.

^c JANS-
SON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 318.

^d Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.

only was stopped, but that the roots still remained, of which eight years afterwards the *Dutch* were made sufficiently sensible. Amongst the different accounts that came to *Europe*, it was very hard to discover the truth: some there were who suggested, that the governor-general, that he might the sooner amass a large fortune, kept a less severe hand over the *Chinese* than any of his predecessors, by which their numbers were increased prodigiously, and consequently their insolence. They had been formerly allowed, in consideration of a large sum of money, to celebrate, at a certain season of the year, the feast of their grand idol called the *Jooftje de Batavia*, which in plain *English* was keeping a festival to the honour of the devil, whose image they openly avowed this to be (G). But, as they were particularly mischievous at this season, and presuming

(G) We must consider that the *Chinese* who are settled at *Batavia*, and such as come thither annually in their junks from *China*, are of the meanest of the people, and consequently more ignorant and vicious, and more universally so, than at *Amoy*, *Canton*, or almost any other place in that great empire. It is commonly agreed, that, in respect to their religious notions, most of the people of learning and quality in *China* have so refined their sentiments, that they border nearly upon atheism; while the populace are for the most part idolaters, and worship demons, that is to say, powers which in their apprehension are of an evil disposition, and inclined to do mischief; to prevent which they would soothe them with shews and sacrifices, and give a loose to their own follies and vices, under a colour of pleasing these malevolent beings, and thereby escaping the effects of their resentment (95). It is from this principle that the chief of these spirits is worshipped in almost

every *Chinese* house under the figure of a gigantic colossus sitting cross-legged, with an enormous belly hanging over his knees. Before this image they burn a lamp continually, make their offerings, and implore his assistance. These idols the *English* seamen call *Josi*, and the *Dutch* *Jooft*; and the greatest of these, which is carried under a canopy at funerals and public solemnities, and to which they were wont to celebrate an annual feast with infinite scandal and extravagancy, was stiled *Jooftje de Batavia* (96). It was therefore intirely inconsistent with the principles of morality and sound policy, as well as directly contrary to those of true religion, to permit these riotous assemblies, that were always attended with danger and disturbance, and had no beneficial consequence but to the governor, who pocketed a round sum of money for the toleration of these diabolical excesses, equally odious to God and good men (97).

11. (95) *L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 64.

(96) *Janicon Etat présent de la République des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 350, 351.

(97) *L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 64.

upon the licence they had bought, expected whatever wild things they did should meet with impunity, this custom had been for many years abolished; but the *Chinese*, conceiving that money would in this age effect any thing, petitioned for the revival of this feast; and it is said, by offering a large present, obtained it; after which they were never quiet till they brought upon themselves that destruction which to succeeding times will appear incredible^c.

Other circumstances reported by different authors concerning this revolt. SOME again report, that a *Chinese* of great quality, retiring from his own country, came on board one of their junks, with a *Chinese* fleet, to *Batavia*; and, withdrawing from thence into the mountains, spirited up a rebellion, and at the same time entered into an intrigue with the *Chinese* captain, or chief, to raise an insurrection in the city, and to attack the

Dutch within, while he fell upon them without. On the other hand, there wanted not a third party, who, suspecting the truth of the whole story, ascribed all that happened to the avarice of the *Dutch* governor, supported by such as were indebted to the *Chinese*, and thought that cutting their throats would be the easiest and most expeditious method of settling accounts^f. As there was no care taken to discredit these rumours, by publishing a just and authentic relation of what passed in the *Indies*, we need not wonder that these tales, however improbable, were not wholly disbelieved. The clearest and most circumstantial narrative of this dismal scene, which appeared after the coming in of the *India* fleet in the month of *July* 1741, is to the following effect^g; and as to the probability or improbability of the facts contained therein, they must be intirely submitted to the judgment of the candid reader.

Substance of the relation of this event, which the Dutch thought proper to make public. “THE number of *Chinese* in the city and suburbs at the time of this conspiracy, according to a very moderate computation, amounted to ninety thousand men; and the end they had in view was, to massacre all the *Europeans*, by which they thought to become masters of whatever the company possessed in the island of *Java*. Full of these ambitious notions, numbers of them began to retire into the mountains, where they pillaged, burnt, and murdered, without mercy, and without pretending to assign any reason for their behaviour. The country people, subjects to the company, took many of them prisoners, and sent them to

^c *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xxi. p. 116. ^f Collected from the several private relations that were sent at that time as well from *Holland* as the *East Indies*. ^g Relation des troubles arrivés à *Batavia* dans le mois d’Octobre 1740.

" *Batavia*, to the number, in the whole, of between four and
 " five hundred men, of whom one half, appearing to be
 " desperate and beggarly fellows, and unskilled in any em-
 " ployment by which they might get their bread, were ban-
 " nished to *Ceylon*; and the rest, having been admonished to
 " behave better for the future, were dismissed, and permitted
 " to return to their relations. This lenity, however, was very
 " far from having a good effect; on the contrary, the rebels
 " in the mountains grew daily stronger, and did more and more
 " mischief. At length the regency thought fit to send the
 " counsellors *Enhoff* and *Van Aerdens* with a body of eight
 " hundred men into the mountains, to reduce these people;
 " who in the space of a few days came up with, defeated,
 " and dispersed them. In the mean time five of the *Chinese*
 " came of their own accord to the general and council, dis-
 " covered the whole design in which their nation was em-
 " barked, and towards the execution of which they had al-
 " ready provided cannon made of several sorts of hard wood,
 " together with great quantities of ammunition, which they
 " had privately lodged in their houses, as well within the
 " city as without. They had likewise sunk mines in several
 " places, which were actually filled with powder. Upon
 " receiving these informations, all imaginable precautions
 " were taken; the guards doubled at all the gates of the city;
 " the forts, and other posts without, reinforced; and all the
 " officers ordered to join their respective corps immediately,
 " under the severest penalties. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the
 " regency could not believe that the danger was so great, or
 " the defection so universal, as it was represented to them by
 " the five persons before-mentioned: and therefore, satisfied
 " with acting on the defensive, they began to deliberate on
 " the means of extinguishing these jealousies, and of reducing
 " the *Chinese* to their senses and their duty; but they were
 " quickly made sensible of their mistake, and that things
 " were gone too far to admit of any such palliative remedies,
 " the *Chinese* relying so much on their superiority of number,
 " that, instead of being struck with these dispositions, and
 " endeavouring to make their peace, they threw off the
 " mask, and recurred to open force.

" On *Saturday* the eighth of *October* the *Chinese* attacked
 " one of the posts without the town, called *Quale*, near the
 " island of *Onragh*, where they murdered all that they met
 " with, and set fire to the houses. Upon this the regency
 " immediately issued their orders, that no *Chinese* should stir
 " out of his house, or have any light within it, upon pain of
 " death. About seven the same evening, while the council

" was assembled, the *Chinese* set fire to the suburb without
 " the gate of *Utrecht*, supposing that the gates would have
 " been immediately opened, to afford people a passage to assist
 " in putting out the fire, when they intended to have at-
 " tacked the town on one side, while those within the city,
 " laying hold of this opportunity, might rise and fall upon
 " the *Dutch* behind. This scheme, though well laid, did
 " not succeed; the gates were kept fast shut, and the guards
 " doubled. At eight o'clock two counsellors went to each
 " of the gates, in order to give orders. About nine the
 " *Chinese*, who were now increased to between forty and fifty
 " thousand men, advanced with trumpets, drums, and brass
 " basons, with which they made a most terrible noise, in or-
 " der to excite their countrymen to exert themselves within;
 " which if they had done, it is not easy to conceive how the
 " *Dutch* could have defended the place, since their whole
 " force consisted but of three thousand men; but, as they
 " were well armed and disciplined, the *Chinese* within were so
 " dispirited, that they kept their houses, and did nothing. Those
 " without carried two advanced posts, and slaughtered all
 " that were in them; they likewise attacked a third, without
 " the gate of *Utrecht*, which was defended by sixty men,
 " who made a very gallant resistance; and the *Chinese*, in
 " attacking, being exposed to the artillery of the town, which
 " made a continual fire, they were at length obliged to desist.
 " The *Dutch* then made a sally with one hundred and sixty
 " men, to relieve and strengthen the advanced posts; and,
 " though this was hazarding that handful of people, yet they
 " durst not employ a greater number, for fear of what might
 " happen within. Such were the operations of that fatal
 " night, which the *Chinese* had fixed for a general massacre,
 " and in which, by the vigilance and valour of the inhabitants,
 " they were disappointed.

" ABOUT day-break the *Chinese* abandoned the suburbs;
 " and then, the council assembling, an order was published
 " for putting the *Chinese* within the city to the sword, women
 " and children excepted, as the only means left to secure the
 " public safety. Upon this order their houses were broke
 " open, the men killed without distinction, and the women and
 " children conveyed to the *Chinese* hospital. In a small space
 " of time the streets, the rivers, and canals, were covered with
 " dead bodies, and in several places the blood ran over people's
 " shoes, affording in all respects the most dismal and horrible
 " spectacle imaginable. It was next found requisite to erect
 " a battery on the other side the *Rocmalake*, to fire upon the
 " *Chinese* captain's house, in which there were about eight hun-
 " dred

"dred men. When a sufficient breach was made, they at-
 "tacked, and carried it by assault, when about thirty women
 "came running out, upon promise of having their lives
 "spared; and, amongst them, the *Chinese* captain, being dis-
 "covered in female apparel, was seized, and sent to the cita-
 "del. About noon the, counsellors *Imhoff* and *Aerdens* re-
 "turned into the city with the detachment under their com-
 "mand. The people then began to breathe a little, and to
 "console themselves with the hopes that the danger was now
 "over. But the *Chinese*, being now driven to a state of de-
 "spair, barricadoed their houses, and then set fire to them,
 "so that about two o'clock the city was in flames in different
 "places, by which the greatest part of it, and more espe-
 "cially the *Chinese* quarter, which was the most populous,
 "was reduced to ashes. It is impossible to express the con-
 "sternation this occasioned, when numbers of women were
 "seen running to the citadel for shelter; while the men, their
 "constancy overcome by the torments they endured, jumped
 "also into the streets, where they were shot or cut to pieces
 "by the soldiers; and with this bloody scene, and the put-
 "ting to death six hundred thirty-five prisoners that were in
 "the citadel, the horrors of the day ended. During the
 "whole time it lasted, the riches of these people, which were
 "immense, were abandoned as a prey to those who would
 "take them; and some there were, among the sailors more
 "especially, who got nine or ten thousand crowns to their
 "share. In the course of this dismal tragedy there fell, ac-
 "cording to the confession of the *Dutch*, no fewer than twelve
 "thousand *Chinese* of all ranks and ages, while the whole of
 "their loss did not exceed one hundred men.

"THE *Chinese* themselves confessed (at least it was so
 "given out), that they meant to have made their captain
 "governor of the town; and that they intended to have
 "preserved the *Dutch* governor and director-general to have
 "carried umbrellas over their governor's and governess's
 "head, when they went abroad; all the counsellors, of the
 "*Indies* they meant to impale alive, except Mr. *Imhoff* and
 "Mr. *Tedens*, whom they regarded as their capital enemies,
 "and of these they were to have made minced meat, and eat
 "them. The old men they would have burnt the next morn-
 "ing, and the old women in the evening; the young women
 "were to have attended the governesses, and the rest of the
 "*Chinese* ladies; and such of the young men as escaped the
 "massacre were to have been made slaves. Amongst the
 "plunder there were five standards taken; on the first was
 "written, in *Chinese* characters, *October the second, in honour*

Conquests, Settlements, and Discoveries, of B. XIV.

“ of JOOSTJE; on the second, *For our antient liberty*; on
 “ the third, *For the deliverance of the oppressed*; on the other
 “ two, GOD shall be our aid. As soon as things were a
 “ little settled in the city (for the *Chinese* continued to waste
 “ with fire and sword whatever they met with in the moun-
 “ tains), the governor-general set a price upon the heads of
 “ the two chiefs, of five hundred crowns for bringing either
 “ of them in dead, and a thousand to take them alive; two
 “ hundred for killing any *Chinese*, and five hundred for bring-
 “ ing him in alive; but with a general pardon to all who
 “ should submit and return before the twenty-second of No-
 “ vember; upon which, notwithstanding all that had passed,
 “ multitudes came in, and accepted of the terms offered.”
 This, as has been before observed, was the best account given
 of this extraordinary transaction; in which though it was
 confessed that many particulars were omitted, and a more
 distinct relation promised, yet no such relation ever ap-
 peared.

*The choice
 of a new
 governor
 held the
 first and
 most effec-
 tual expe-
 dient for
 restoring
 tranqui-
 lity.*

THIS intelligence was brought to *Holland* in the month of
 July 1741, and, as may be reasonably supposed, raised a ge-
 neral apprehension of the consequences. Towards the close
 of the year Baron *Gustavus William d'Imhoff*, who had been
 formerly governor of *Ceylon*, and in that high employment
 had acquired a great reputation, was by the *East India* com-
 pany declared governor-general¹; and, in the spring of the
 year 1742, embarked on board a vessel built by his own di-
 rection, and proceeded to *Batavia*, to which place the former
 governor was sent back from the *Cape of Good Hope*, where
 he arrived in one of the company's ships, that he might
 abide a trial in the place where he was accused of having in
 many instances most shamefully abused his authority, and
 where he has remained a prisoner¹ to his death (H). Great
 expectations

¹ *Mercuré Historique & Politique*, tom. cxlii. p. 355. ¹ These
 facts are taken chiefly from private information.

(H) In some accounts, that were published about that time, it was said that the governor's effects, which were seized on board the homeward-bound fleet consisting of nineteen sail, amounted to five millions of florins, or half a million ster-
 ling; and that not only him-
 self, but two of the counsellors
 of the *Indies*, who had concurred
 with him, together with the fi-
 scal, or attorney-general, were
 deprived of their offices, and im-
 prisoned (98). Instead of ex-
 plaining, these circumstances

(98) *Annals of Europe*, 1743, p. 353.

expectations were raised of the administration of Baron Imhoff, from his known character for prudence, moderation, and courage; and, though he found things still in great confusion when he arrived, yet, by his wise and firm management, he quickly brought them into order, provided for the rebuilding of the city, the repressing the mutineers in the mountains, and restoring the tranquillity and commerce of the island, where he administered the supreme authority, to the time of his demise, *November 1, 1750*, with universal applause^{*}.

^{*} Annals of Europe for the year 1743, p. 555. and from private information since that time.

serve only to cloud, and render still more obscure, a transaction dark and ambiguous, and which it is to be feared will never be brought to the public view in its true colours. This apprehension appears still to be better grounded, when we consider that the *Dutch* have allowed the *Chinese* to settle again at *Batavia*, and did this even when the disturbances occasioned by the massacre were far enough from being suppressed; a circumstance that does not seem to speak such a dread and apprehension of these subtil, plotting, and vindictive people, as they had heretofore expressed. Secondly, the *Chinese* themselves have resorted thither again, and settled there in great numbers, notwithstanding all the outcries they made of violence and cruelty, and notwithstanding the hardships they are put under for the security of those, who, after what has happened, cannot but be very diffi-

dent of their conduct⁽⁹⁹⁾. These are facts that cannot be disputed, and which, if they prove nothing else, will at least prove this, that the thirst of gain is the ruling passion in some nations, both in *Europe* and *Asia*. It will be proper likewise to observe in this place, that a person was sent in a public character from the company, to apologize for this conduct to the *Chinese*; which commission was executed with as much success as could well be expected, the court of *China* having but little regard for those people who forsake their country from the desire of acquiring riches, and put themselves under the protection of a foreign power; so that, contrary to what might have been looked for, this melancholy event produced very little interruption in the correspondence between the *Dutch East India* company and the people of *China* (100).

(99) From the information of persons who have been at *Batavia* since. (100) These facts are also grounded on particular informations.

S E C T. XV.

Description of the great Government of Batavia, the City which is the Capital of the Dutch Indies. The Countries adjacent, together with their Produce. An Account of the Natives that are subjects to the Company; and of the Chinese, and other foreign Nations, under her Protection; concluding with a Sketch of the Extent of her Dominions.

The next branch of this chapter is the description of the countries in the possession, of, or in a settled correspondence with, the Dutch East India company.

AS we have now brought down the history of the *Dutch East India* company, with as much perspicuity as was in our power, to the present times, it is next incumbent upon us to describe the dominions of which she is in possession, to shew the manner in which they are governed, the principal commodities she draws from them, and the number of inhabitants that are settled in the places under her obedience; which will abundantly justify our occasional remarks in the course of this history, and afford the reader a comprehensive view of the noblest empire that ever arose on the basis of commerce, or that ever was acquired and maintained by maritime power. Let us then, without farther introduction, proceed to the execution of this necessary part of our task; and begin with that great city which is the capital of her dominions, and which, as we have shewn, has been so lately rescued from the hands of her enemies, and risen like a phoenix, with fresh strength and beauty, out of her ruins; a city of the highest utility, from its happy situation in the centre of the countries which it commands; a city that does honour, not to the company only, but to the *Dutch* nation; by its magnificence; and a city distinguished in all other respects from many cities by a variety of circumstances.

The situation and outworks of Batavia, the capital of the Dutch Indies.

THE noble mart of *Batavia*, in the island of *Java*, lies in the latitude of six degrees south, and is the capital of the vast dominions belonging to the *Dutch East India* company. It serves also for the emporium, where all the merchandize and riches that great company possess are laid up (1). It is surrounded

(1) One great advantage that this city possesses, and without which indeed she could hardly subsist, is that large and commodious bay, in the bosom of which she may be said to lie.

There are seventeen or eighteen islands scattered along the mouth of the harbour, some within and some without it, by which the violence of the wind is so checked, and the force of the waves so

rounded by a rampart of one-and-twenty feet thick, covered on the outside with stone, and fortified with twenty-two bastions. This rampart is environed by a ditch about forty-five yards over, and full of water, especially when the tides are high in the spring^a. The avenues to the town are defended by several forts, each of which is well furnished with excellent brass cannon. Among these forts there are six which deserve to be particularly mentioned; *viz.* those of *Ansiol*, *Anke*, *Jacatra*, *Ryswyck*, *Noordwyck*, and *Vythock*. The fort of *Ansiol* is seated on a river of the same name, eastward from the sea, and at the distance of about twelve hundred yards from the city: it is built intirely of square stone, and has a strong garrison. The fort of *Anke* is on a river of the same name, to the westward of the coast, and distant from the city about five hundred yards; built like the former, intirely of square stone. The fort of *Jacatra* lies also on a river of the same name, is exactly like the other two forts, and lies also at the distance of about five hundred paces from the city. The road thither is between two rows of very fine trees regularly planted, with very beautiful country-houses, and gardens on each side. The other three forts are built in the same manner, and of the same materials, lying all on the land side of the town, and at a very small distance from it^b. By this disposition the two first serve to secure the city on the side of the sea; and the other four defend its entrances on

^a Nieuhoff's Voyages, in CHURCHILL'S Collection, vol. ii. p. 321. ^b CORNEILLE LE BRUN, cap. lxii. NIEUHOF, DE GRAAF.

so broken, that it may be considered not only as one of the safest harbours in the *Indies*, but in the world; and so capacious, that it is thought a thousand sail of ships might be sheltered there (1). As for small vessels, they may lie close under the banks of the river, upon a bed of soft mud. The sides of the river, as far as the boom, are faced with free-stone; and all the boats that pass up the river pay a duty to the government, if loaded with

salt, of one real; and, if loaded with stones, twice as much (2). It is inconceivable how great pains are taken here, and indeed in all the havens in the possession of the *Dutch*, to have the greatest plenty of naval stores, and materials for ship-building, as well as conveniences for repairing and careening all sorts of vessels, which greatly facilitates the trade of the company, and turns highly to the advantage of the inhabitants (3).

(1) Nieuhoff's Voyages, p. 203. *Voyages des Indes*, par J. B. Tavernier, P. ii. liv. iii. c. 21. Le Brun. (2) *Voyages de Fr. Leguat*, vol. ii. p. 79.
(3) *Géographie moderne*, par Abraham du Bois, p. 688.

the land side, and at the same time protect the houses, plantations, and gardens, of the inhabitants. In virtue of these prudent measures, it is easy to comprehend that no enemy can ever surprise this city, because, on which ever side they should endeavour to attack it, they would be sure to meet with a strong resistance. They take, besides, another precaution, which is, the not suffering any person to go beyond these forts without a passport^c.

Its large compass, gates, bridges, churches, and other public buildings.

THE river, which preserves still its ancient name of *Jacatra*, passes through the midst of the town, and forms fifteen canals of running water, all faced with freestone, and adorned with trees that are ever-green, and which consequently afford a most charming prospect. Over these canals there are fifty-six bridges, besides those which lie without the town. The streets are all of them perfectly straight, and each of them, generally speaking, thirty feet broad. The houses are built of stone, after the manner of those in *Holland*; and are most of them very high, because the place has not, at least of late years, been exposed to hurricanes^d. The city is about a league and an half in circumference; it is surrounded with a vast number of houses, so that there are ten times the number without that there are within it; and therefore, strictly speaking, they ought to be regarded as its suburbs. This city has five gates, including that of the port; near to which there is a barrier, regularly shut at nine o'clock in the evening, and at which there is, posted night and day a strong guard of soldiers. There were formerly six gates, the last being called *Speelman's Gate*, because built by Governor *Speelman*, who died *January* the eleventh, 1684; has been walled up since^e. There is a very fine townhouse, and four churches for the uses of those of the reformed religion, that is to say, the Calvinists. The first of these was built in the year 1640, and is called *Kruiskirk*, i. e. *Cross-church*. The second was built in 1670: in both these they preach in *Dutch*. The third belongs to the Protestant *Portuguese*; and the fourth to the *Malayans*. Besides these churches, there are abundance of other places of worship for all sorts of religions. They have likewise in this city a *Spin Huys*, or an house of correction, in which women who behave loosely are confined; an orphan-house, a magazine of sea-stores, several for spices,

^a ROGGEWIN, NIEVHOFF, DE GRAAF.
 NIEVHOFF's Voyages, pag. 304.
 Vaisseaux, cap. xxi.

^d NIEVHOFF.
^e L'Expedition de tout

wharfs, cord-manufactures, and many other public buildings (K).

THE garrison consists constantly of between two and three thousand men. Besides the great number of forts before spoken of, there is the famous citadel of *Batavia*, which is a very fine regular fortification, situated at the mouth of the river facing the city, and flanked with four bastions, two of which command the sea, and the other two the town. This citadel hath two great gates, the one called *The Company's Gate*, which was built in 1636, with a bridge of square stone consisting of fourteen arches, each twenty-six yards long, and ten feet broad: the other called *The Water Gate*, built in 1630. All the keepers of the magazines have their lodgings in the citadel, along both sides of the curtain. There are, besides, two posterns, one in the east curtain, the other in the west, which are never opened but for the service of the garrison. It is in this citadel that the governor-general of the *Indies* has his palace, which is built of brick, two stories high, with a most noble front after the *Italian* manner. Over-against this palace is that of the director-general, who is the next person to the governor. The counsellors, and other principal officers of the company, have also their apartments there, as have likewise the physician, the surgeon, and the apothecary. There is a little church, which was built in 1664, remarkably neat and light. There are, besides, in the citadel, arsenals and magazines furnished with ammunition for many years: in a word, this citadel is the general factory

Strength of the garrison, citadel, number of inhabitants, and other particulars.

Relation de la Ville de Batavia.
GRAAF, LE BRUN.

NIEUHOFF, DE

(K) The wisdom and public spirit of the *Dutch* is not more conspicuous in any thing than in the choice of proper places for their public buildings, the great neatness and beauty of those structures, the skill with which they are adjusted to their respective uses, the revenues appropriated for their maintenance, and the pains taken to prevent any corruption or negligence in the conduct of those establishments to which they are destined. As this con-

tributes greatly to the splendor, so it is of no less consequence to the safety and prosperity, of *Batavia*, where, if things were not regulated in this manner, and a wise order not only settled, but steadily maintained, there could be no defence against the inveterate malice of foreign enemies, or to resist the force of that propensity to luxury which is naturally produced by the immense estates which private persons quickly raise upon their extensive trade (4).

(4) Relation de la Ville de Batavia. Tavernier, le Brun.

where

where all the archives are kept, and where all the affairs of the company are transacted^b. The city of *Batavia* is not only inhabited by *Dutch*, but also by a vast number of *Indians* of different nations, The former, that is to say, the *Dutch*, are all of them either free burgesses, or in the service of the company. There are likewise abundance of *Portuguese*, *French*, and other *Europeans*, established here on account of trade. These *Portuguese* are for the most part descendants of those who lived here formerly, or at *Goa*, and who, finding their account in living under so mild a government, did not think fit to remove, when the sea-coasts of the island of *Java* were reduced under the dominion of the *East India* company (L). They are at present, at least a far greater part of them, of the established, that is to say, of the Protestant, reformed religion. As for the *Indian* inhabitants, they are *Javanese*, or natives of the country, *Chinese*, *Malayans*, *Negroes*, *Ambonese*, *Armenians*, natives of the isle of *Bali*, *Mardykens*, *Macassars*, *Timors*, *Bougis*, &c.¹

The state
and em-
ployments
of all the
Indian na-
tions which
live there
under the
Dutch.

THERE cannot be any thing more curious, or any spectacle more entertaining, than to see in so large a city such a multitude of different nations living all of them at their own dwellings, after their own manner. One sees every moment new customs, strange manners, variety of habits and faces of different colours, viz. black, white, brown, olive-coloured. Every one lives as he pleases, every one speaks his own tongue. Notwithstanding such a variety of customs, so opposite to each other, one observes an union very surprising among these citizens, which is purely the effect of commerce, the common soul that actuates this great body of people; so that they move uniformly and harmoniously in every respect, and live easily and happily under the gentle and prudent laws est-

^b L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux. DE GRAAF.
- tion de la Ville de Batavia, LEGUAT.

¹ Rela-

(L) As these descendants of the *Portuguese* are become Protestants, and have consequently the same common interest with the *Dutch*, so they are treated in all respects in the same manner as if they were of that nation; and have shewn, by their unalterable fidelity, that they have merited this confidence.

There are amongst them some that are very rich, and many in good circumstances, which they derived from their great application to trade, there being very few that apply themselves to any other profession, excepting such as desire to qualify themselves for the service of the church (5).

(5) *Voyages de François Leguat*; vol. ii. p. 82.

blished by the *East India* company. With regard to liberty of conscience, all the inhabitants of this city enjoy it, let them be of what sect they will, only they have not the public exercise of their worship^k. It is not permitted here, more than in the United Provinces, that priests or monks should walk the streets in the habits of their respective orders; yet all are allowed to live there in peace, except the Jesuits, and they are excluded not on account of their religion, but for fear of their intrigues, and their exciting troubles and disturbances here, as they have done in most places where they are already established. As for the *Chinese*, as their religion is an abomination, they are not allowed a pagoda in the city; but they have one at a place about a league off, where they likewise bury their dead^l. Every *Indian* nation at *Batavia* has its head, or chief, who takes care of its interests; but he has not the power of deciding any thing that is considerable, and his function, properly speaking, regards only the affairs of their religion, and any slight controversies that may arise among his countrymen^m. In order to give a clear idea of the manner in which these people live at *Batavia*, it will be proper to say somewhat of each of these *Indian* nations, and of their different manners of employing themselves.

THE *Javanese* addict themselves chiefly to agriculture, *Temper*, fishing, and ship-building. They commonly wear no other *customs*, habit than a kind of short petticoat reaching to their knees, and *man-* all the rest of their bodies naked: they have likewise across *ners*, of their shoulders a sort of sash, or scarf, in which hangs a little *such of the* short sword: on their heads they wear a little bonnet. Their *Javanese* cabins are remarkably neater than those of other *Indian* na- *as remain* tions, built of split bamboos, with a large spreading roof *at Bata-* which hangs over the house, and under which they sit and take *via* the air.

THE *Chinese* inhabitants are very numerous; it is reckoned that in the city and suburbs they are at least fifty thousandⁿ. *An account of the Chi-* These people seem naturally born for trade, enemies to idleness *nese who* and who think nothing hard or laborious if doing it is *live at Ba-* attended with a certainty of gain. They can live upon very *tavia, and* little, are bold, enterprising, have a great deal of address, *elsewhere* and are indefatigably industrious. They have a penetration *in the ter-* and subtilty very extraordinary, insomuch that they seem to *ritories of* the com- *pany*.

* L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, cap. xxi. LE BRUN, DE GRAAF.

^l LE BRUN, chap. lxii. NIEUHOFF, DE GRAAF.

^m Relation de la Ville de Batavia. Voyages aux Indes, DE GRAAF.

ⁿ NIEUHOFF's Voyages, p. 314. LE BRUN, DE GRAAF.

make good their own saying, that *the Dutch have one eye, and they have two* °; but, with all this, they are deceitful to the last degree, take a pride in imposing upon those who deal with them, and boast of that cunning of which they ought to be ashamed. In husbandry and navigation they very far surpass all other *Indian* nations. Most of the sugar-mills in *Batavia* belong to them, and the distillery of arrack is entirely in their hands °. They are the carriers of *Asia*, and the *East India* company itself frequently makes use of their vessels °. They keep all the shops, and most of the inns in the city, and are likewise the farmers of the duties, excises, and customs °.

Description of their persons, manners, habits, pastimes, vices, and extravagances.

THE *Chinese* are, generally speaking, well-made men, of an olive complexion, their heads very round, their eyes small, and their noses short and flat. They do not cut their hair, as those who remain in *China* are obliged to do since the *Tartars* became masters of their country. As often as any come from *China*, they immediately suffer their hair to grow, as a token of their freedom, and curl and dress it to great advantage, their priests only excepted, whose heads are always close shaved. These people are always bareheaded, with an umbrella in their hands to keep off the sun. They likewise suffer their nails to grow to an immoderate length, which gives them a prodigious dexterity in sleight of hand, an art of great extent, and of considerable consequence, as it is managed by these people. Their dress differs pretty much here from what they wear in their own country. Their robes are very ample; and their sleeves, which are of cotton cloth, very large; underneath they have a pair of breeches, which reach to their ankles; they wear no shoes, but a kind of little slippers, and go without stockings entirely. Their women also wear very long cotton robes, are brisk and lively, very independent, and extravagantly debauched °. The *Chinese* in general have not the least notion of any distinction of meats; on the contrary, they eat without ceremony the flesh of any animal that comes to hand, let it be dog, cat, rat, or what it will. The *Chinese*, like the *Javanese*, are extravagantly addicted to

° Relation de la Ville de Batavia. LEONAT Voyage aux Indes.

° NIKUMOFF's Voyages, p. 317. LE BAUN, DE GRAAF. Geographie moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 690.

° Histoire de l'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, vol. 2. p. 60. Relation de la Ville de Batavia. LE BAUN, cap. 12.

° JANIKON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 347.

° Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS DE GRAAF.

gaming; and this humour drives them sometimes, especially at the cock-matches on the new-year's feast, into downright madness. They will then not only lose all their money, houses, and goods, but will stake their wives and children; and, after these are lost, their beards, their nails, and the winds, that is to say, they bind themselves not to shave their beards, to cut their nails, or to go on board of any ship to trade, till they have paid what they have lost. They become by these follies the most miserable creatures in the world; and, when in this condition, are forced to let themselves out as the slaves of some *Chinese*. Under such misfortunes they have but one resource, which is, that some of their relations, either here or in *China*, will, out of mere tenderness and compassion, pay what they have lost (M).

THE *Malayans* who live at *Batavia* employ themselves chiefly in fishing: their vessels are very neat and shewy, and their sails very ingeniously made of straw. They are a most wicked and profligate people, and often commit murders for very trifling gains. They profess the *Mohammedan* religion, but are absolutely void of morals; so that, instead of having

An account of the Malayans, Negroes, Amboy-nese, which are settled at Batavia.

* JANSEN *Etat présent de la République des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 351, 352. *L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 65.

(M) It is a very difficult matter to give the reader a distinct notion of these eastern nations, as they inhabit among the *Dutch*, because different writers speak in very different terms of them, and more especially of the *Chinese*; it may however be affirmed, upon the whole, that they are equally distinguished by good and bad qualities; the former strangely cried up by some, and the latter as odiously represented by others. It is, however, on all hands agreed, that, without the help of these people, in their different capacities, the *Dutch* could hardly support themselves, much less manage that extensive commerce

from which they are become so amazingly rich at *Batavia*. On this account they favoured them formerly very much, not from tenderness to them, but for their own sakes; for at the same time they impose on them excessive taxes, such as a capitation of a dollar per head a month; and, if they will wear gold pins in their hair (a vanity to which they are much inclined), they must pay another dollar for every pin; but, notwithstanding these, and some less considerable duties, they find so many ways to get money, that the bulk of them are, generally speaking, excessively rich, and such as are not so are relieved by their own people (6).

(6) *Nienboff's Voyages*, p. 314. *Relation de la Ville de Batavia*, par Nicolas de Graaf. *Jansen Etat présent de la République des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 33.

any

any scruple, they make a merit, of cheating Christians. The habits they wear are either silk, or cotton stuff: the men wear a piece of cotton cloth about their heads, with their black hair tied up in a knot behind ^u. The negroes, who live at *Batavia*, are most of them *Mohammedans*. They come from the coast of *Bengal*, dress in the same manner as the *Malayans*, and live also in the same quarter; some of them work at trades, others are a kind of pedlars. The most considerable of them trade in stone for building, which they bring from the neighbouring islands. The *Amboyne*se addict themselves to building of houses with bamboos, the windows of which are made of split cane, very neatly wrought in different figures. They are a very bold, boisterous people, and so turbulent, that they are not suffered to live in the city, but have their quarter near the *Chinese* burying-ground ^v. They have a chief, to whom they pay the greatest submission, and he has a very magnificent house in their quarter, and well furnished after their manner. Their arms are for the most part large sabres and long bucklers. The men wear a piece of cotton cloth round their heads, letting the two corners of it hang behind; and adorn this kind of turban with abundance of flowers ^x. The women wear a sort of habit close to their body, wrapping a cotton mantle round their shoulders, which leaves their arms naked. Their houses are built of boards covered with leaves, two or three stories high, and the ground-floors particularly divided into several apartments.

Of the
Mardy-
kers, or
Topasses,
their em-
ployment,
religion,
customs,
&c.

THE *Mardykers*, or *Topasses*, are idolaters composed of divers nations of *Indians*, and are of different trades and professions; their merchants carry on a great commerce in all the neighbouring islands. Some of them are gardeners, others breed cattle, and some fowls. The men generally dress after the *Dutch* fashion, but the women go like other *Indians* ^y. They dwell both in the city and country. Their houses are much better built than those of the rest of the *Indians*, being generally speaking either of stone or brick, several stories high, and very neat ^z (N).

THERE

^u Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS DE GRAAF. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 66. ^v JANÇON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 352, 353.

^x L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 68. ^y JANÇON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 353. ^z L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 69.

(N) As these people are not the *East Indians*, it is necessary to only common here, but over all observe, that they derive the name

THERE are also at *Batavia* some of the *Macassars* famous for their little poisoned arrows, which they blow through a trunk. This poison is made of the juice of a certain tree, which grows in that part of the island of *Celebes* called *Macassar*, and also in the *Bougie* islands; they dip the points of their arrows in this juice, and then let them dry. The wound they give is absolutely mortal. The *Bougies* are the inhabitants of three or four islands near that of *Macassar*; and, since the conquest of this last island, have settled themselves at *Batavia*. They are very hardy, bold fellows, for which reason the company use them as soldiers. Their arms are bows and arrows, sabres and bucklers*. The *Armenians*, and some other *Asiatics* who reside in *Batavia*, come thither purely on the score of trade, and stay no longer than their occasions call them. The natives of the country, who are established in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and for a tract of about forty leagues along the mountains of the country of *Bantam*, are immediately subject to the governor-general. The company send *Droffards*, or commissaries, amongst them, who administer justice, and take care of the public revenues. The principal men amongst these people resort at certain times to *Batavia*, in order to give an account how these commissaries behave with respect to what they call the low country, which is immediately about the city, where those in the government, and rich merchants, have their country-houses. It is inexpressibly beautiful; and one may without exaggeration affirm,

* *NIEBUHFF's Voyages*, p. 316.

name of *Tepasses*, not, as some have imagined, from the precious stone of the same name, but from a verb in the *Malayan* language which signifies to imitate the manners, and to accommodate one's-self to the dress and customs of other people (7). In short, the *Tepasses* are of different nations, various complexions, and several religions, being pagans, *Mohammedans*, and *Christians*; but they all agree in this circumstance of imitating the dress, and, as far as they

can, the manners and inclinations, of the *Europeans*, amongst whom they live, or to whom they are subject. Thus at *Batavia* they wear jackets and trunk breeches, speak broken *Dutch*, and are either soldiers, servants to the merchants, or pedlars on their own account. At *Goa* they look like the *Portuguese*; and at *Fort St. George*, and other *English* settlements, they endeavour to resemble us as much as is in their power (8).

(7) *Nieubhoff's Voyages*, p. 316.
publique des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 353.
des, vol. i. p. 377.

(8) *Jamison Etat present de la Re-*
Hamilton's Account of the East In-

that art and nature seem to contend which shall adorn it most. The air is temperate and sweet, the soil rich and fruitful, pleasantly diversified with hills and dales, and wonderfully delighting the eye with its perpetual verdure ^b. On the other hand, that excess of moisture, which formerly nourished useless woods, from whence arose infectious exhalations, is now diverted into canals, that serve at once for profit and pleasure. Rich and regular plantations appear on every side, to most of which belong mansion-houses that fall little short of palaces; and every thing is kept in so good order, as to do honour to their possessors ^c (O). The company's territories are not however confined within these narrow bounds; her authority extends itself into different parts of the island, and therefore, to form a just notion of it, we must look abroad through its whole extent.

The situation of the several nations in Java, and their subjection or enmity to the Dutch. THE island of *Java* may be about three hundred leagues in circumference, divided into abundance of kingdoms and principalities, all of them dependent on the emperor, who resides at *Kattasura*. We must however except out of the number of these tributary princes the kings of *Bantam* and *Japara*, who do not acknowledge his authority. The country produces not only all things necessary for the subsistence of man, but large proportions of those valuable effects which

^b Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé CHOISY, p. 175, 176. ^c L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 114, 115.

(O) If the reader is inclined to be farther informed upon this subject, he may easily gratify his inclinations by consulting and comparing *Nieuboff*, *le Brun*, *Graaf*, and others who have visited this celebrated island. It may not be amiss to add such lights as may be received from *English* and *French* writers, because they are apt to mention many things, that, from being familiar to the *Dutch*, find no place in their writings (9). It will be proper also to consider, that though two authors contradict each other flatly, yet neither of them may be absolutely

mistaken, because there are few countries in the world that have suffered greater alterations than this, or where art has made more encroachments upon nature; so that it is no wonder at all if writers at a considerable distance of time differ widely from each other, and yet without any disregard to truth. In reference, however, to the fruits and other natural productions of the *Dutch* territories in the island of *Java*, *Nieuboff*, allowing for the time in which he was here, is the most copious and the most exact writer.

(9) *Atlas Geograph.* vol. iii. p. 795.

form the commerce of the country. It is divided by many rivers, woods, and mountains, in all of which nature has very bountifully bestowed her treasures^d. It is certain, that in some parts of the island there are gold mines. The regency at *Batavia*, in hopes of profiting by them, wrought for some years the mountains of *Parang*; but it fell out that the marcasites were not fully ripened, so that the company were at the expence of a million to no purpose. Such as had the direction of this enterprise were very much censured, and the works have been long since discontinued. There are people who are, notwithstanding, thoroughly persuaded that the natives of the country find, in many places, considerable quantities of gold, which places, however, they carefully conceal from the *Europeans*. During the war in *Java*, which lasted from the year 1716 to 1721, the inhabitants of some parts of the country were so often and so miserably plundered, that they were reduced to absolute beggary, yet it was observed, that in the space of one year's peace these very people grew excessively rich, and had not only great quantities of gold in dust, but also in ingots^e. The mountains are many of them so high, as to be seen at the distance of three or four leagues. That which is called the *Blue Mountain* is by far the highest of them all, and seen the farthest off at sea. They have frequent and very terrible earthquakes in this country, which shake the city and places adjacent to such a degree, that the fall of the houses is expected every moment. The waters in the road are excessively agitated, infomuch that their motion resembles that of a boiling pot; and in some places the earth opens, which affords a strange and terrible spectacle^f.

THE inhabitants are of opinion that these earthquakes proceed from the mountain *Parang*, which is full of sulphur, saltpetre, and bitumen, all which, taking fire, cause a prodigious struggle in the bowels of the earth, and of consequence an earthquake; and they assure us, that it is very common, after such an accident, to see a large cloud of smoke hanging over the top of the mountain^g. Many years ago General *Ribeck*, who then commanded in the island, went with a considerable number of attendants to the top of that mountain. On his arrival there he perceived a large cavity, into which he caused a man to be let down, that he might examine the inside. The man, when he returned, reported that the moun-

Frequent earthquakes, and the causes of them in the judgment of the natives.

^d HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 126.

^e L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 114, 115. ^f NIEUHOFF's Voyages, p. 302. ^g L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 116, 117.

tain was hollow within; that he had heard a most frightful noise of torrents of water on every side, and that here and there he had seen flames burst out, so that he was absolutely afraid of going far, from an apprehension of being either stifled by the vapours, or of falling through some of the many chafms. It is certain, that the waters in the neighbourhood of this mountain are very far from being wholesome; and that even those that come to *Batavia* are impregnated with sulphur. Such as drink much of them contract various distempers, but chiefly a dysentery; yet this water, when boiled, does no sort of hurt, though drank ever so copiously^h.

Of the
fruits,
animals,
fish, &c. in
this noble
island of
Java, as
improved
by the
Dutch.

THE fruits and plants in this island are all, in their respective kinds, excellent, and almost out of number. There are abundance of forests scattered over the island, in which are all kinds of wild beasts, such as buffaloes, tygers, rhinoceroses, and wild horses, with an infinite variety of serpents, some of them of an enormous size. Crocodiles are prodigiously large in *Java*, and are found chiefly in the mouths of rivers; for, being amphibious animals, they delight most in marshes and savannahs. This creature, like the tortoise, lays its eggs in the hot sands, without taking any farther care of them, and the sun hatches them at the proper season, when they run instantly into the water. There is, in short, no kind of animal wanting here: fowls they have of all sorts, and exquisitely good, especially peacocks, partridge, pheasants, wood-pigeons; and, for curiosity, they have the *Indian* bat, which differs little in form from ours, but its wings, when extended, measure a full yard, and the body of it is of the size of a ratⁱ. They have fish in great plenty, of different sorts, and very good; so that for the value of three pence, there may be enough bought to dine six or seven men. They have likewise a multitude of tortoises, the flesh of which is very little inferior to veal, and there are many who think it better. As the flat country abounds in this manner with all sorts of provision, there are daily great quantities brought to *Batavia*; and, to prevent any danger of scarcity, the vessels belonging to the company are continually employed in bringing, from the most distant parts of the island, provisions, spices, and other necessaries, such as indigo, rice, pepper, cardamoms, coffee, &c. There are also laid up in the ma-

^h Voyages de FRANÇOIS LEGUAT, tom. ii. p. 86. L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 117. ⁱ NIEBUHR's Voyages, p. 321—363. Voyages de FRANÇOIS LEGUAT, tom. ii. p. 88—97.

gazines at *Batavia*, all the various kinds of rich and valuable commodities, not of *Java* only, but all the *Indies*, ready to be transported thence, either to other ports of the company's dominions, or in the ships that in great fleets return annually to *Holland* * (P).

UPON

* JANISON *Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 339, 340, 341. *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 121, 122, 123.

(P) One would be tempted to think, that the affairs of a government so mixed and complicated in the very nature of its constitution, and swelled to so great a height, as well as embarrassed with such a variety of circumstances, must be liable to much confusion, and that it would be a thing impossible to keep them in any tolerable degree of order, much less in that exact and accurate method that is the source of reputation and prosperity in the management of a private estate. But, if we reflect a little, we shall find, that if this was not done, the administration of the company's affairs would become impracticable, and the government be dissolved. The truth of the matter is, as, from the very singular circumstances attending it, will hereafter appear, that the whole secret of this stupendous direction consists in suffering nothing to run into arrear (10). The general and the particular plan of government is exactly the same. Every officer in the company's service has his particular function, which he is obliged to execute in person; and, of the discharge of this, he gives an account, from day to day, to his superior, who

does the like; and, at certain periods, these journals and accounts are transmitted to *Batavia*; where they are inspected, comptrolled, and reported to the council of the *Indies*, with the same punctuality. It must, indeed, be allowed, that this requires a most fatiguing attention, more especially from the superior officers: yet, what from a zeal for the service, a long continued habit, a natural passion for superior power, and the desire of rising to a state of honour and independence, after a temporary scene of labour and application, it has been hitherto so well performed, that scarce any apparent disorder has ever appeared. It may, perhaps, seem a paradox, but it is certainly true, that the extraordinary difficulties with which this administration is pressed, has contributed more than any thing else to that success which has been so visible in its execution; for where men have little leisure, they are least inclined to pleasure; and where they are sensible, that one day lost could never be recovered, they are sure not to lose a day (11). The smallest irregularity would be productive of such consequences as could be hardly remedied; and the

(10) *Janison Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, p. 363.

(11) *Voyages de Nicolas Graaf aux Indes*, p. 314.

*A general
view of
the state,
fertility,
and popu-
lousness, of
the whole
island.*

UPON the whole, if we may depend on the concurring testimony of the *Dutch* writers, and more especially such as have visited the *Indies*, and resided in the city of *Batavia*, we must believe, that the company have fixed the seat of their empire not only on the spot most commodious for their commerce, but in one of the fairest, most fruitful, and best peopled countries in the universe. This will sufficiently appear, from what has been already said, as well as from the following facts, which they affirm from their own knowledge; viz. that there are in *Java* upwards of forty great towns, which, for the number of their inhabitants, would, in any other part of the world, merit the title of cities, and more than four thousand five hundred villages, besides hamlets and straggling houses lying very near each other, upon the sea-coast, and in the neighbourhood of great towns: so that, upon a fair and moderate calculation, there are within the bounds of the whole island, taking in persons of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, more than thirty millions of souls: so that it is thrice as populous as *France*, which, though twice as big, is not reputed to have more than twenty millions of inhabitants. How surprising soever this may seem, yet, if we consider it attentively, it agrees very well with the accounts given us of the wonderful fertility of *Java*, and of the numerous armies that have been set on foot by princes that had but parts of it under their jurisdiction ¹ (Q).

BUT,

¹ *Memoires de GARÇIN.*

fear of this has hitherto impressed such an attention, as to prevent the slightest relaxation in a discipline, which, if experience did not demonstrate the contrary, we could scarce expect should subsist for any time; and which, as it has now subsisted so long, leaves no just apprehensions of its suffering any check, unless from unforeseen causes, in time to come.

(Q) As the best *Dutch* writers are unanimous in their reports upon this head, it deserves so much the more credit, especially when we con-

sider, that the emperors of *Java* have been consulted upon this subject, who never fail to be well acquainted with the exact number of their subjects, receiving distinct accounts from all the pangarans, or governors of provinces, of which there are seven maritime, and five inland (12). An instance of this may be acceptable to the reader (13). About the year 1664, the reigning emperor found some *Mohammedan* priests were engaged in a conspiracy against him, and not being thoroughly acquainted how

(12) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin.*
Orientales, vol ii. p. 361.

(13) *Voyages de Gantier Seboutin aux Indes*

BUT, after all, what most astonishes wise men is, that the *Dutch* company should be able, in so short a space of time as ^{sudden and} sixteen years from her first incorporation, to establish a settle-^{surprising} ment on the ruins of a royal city, and, in the space of a few ^{growth} years, afterwards defend that settlement against the united force ^{the Dutch} of this whole island. It is very true, that not less than forty ^{company} years were spent in bringing the city of *Batavia*, and all its ^{rose, from} fortresses, to perfection, and yet, during this space, the com-^{being sup-} pany undertook, and effected, very great designs, conquered ^{the rank of} vast countries by their arms, and obliged many rich and po-^{sovereigns} tent princes not only to court her favour, but to place their ^{over the} safety in seeking her protection^m. We have shewn, in the ^{Javaneſe} foregoing history, though in the most succinct manner we could, how all these wonders were achieved, sometimes by art, sometimes by dint of alliances, sometimes by plain force, in maintaining numerous armies, and equipping great fleets, year after year, at an immense expence of blood and treasure. This, without all doubt, must have greatly lessened the profits of their trade, and must have laid them open to very severe reflections, not only from such as smarted under the weight of their power, or envied their constant prosperity, but from those upright and unbiassed patriots who considered things

■ NIEUHOFF's Voyages, p. 320.

many of them might have embarked in this intrigue, he thought it safest, as knowing well their interest among the people, to be rid of them all; and therefore gave private orders, to have a list made of every priest in his dominions; which was accordingly done; and he found them upwards of six thousand; all of which, upon the firing of a cannon from the palace, which was repeated from fortrefs to fortrefs, were put to death, as it were, in an instant. It is not easy to say, whether, since the *Dutch* have settled in that island, the number of people therein has increased or decreased; but the former seems to be more probable; since, for near a century past, wars have been far less frequent; and though it be true, that the naval power of the *Javaneſe* was much greater when they first settled at *Batavia*, than in succeeding times, yet it is universally allowed, that they have still a great quantity of shipping; and that, in all their great towns and villages, they have a prodigious number of shops, in which all sorts of commodities are sold; and that industry has been rather promoted than lessened, by the settling so many *Dutch* factories, as, in their proper places, the reader will be informed, still subsist in different parts of the island (14).

(14) *Memoires de Dr. Garcin. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, Jançun Etas present de la Republique des Provinces Unies.*

only as they were useful or prejudicial to the interests of their mother-country (R).

An account
of this
very dif-
ficult to be
obtained,
but much
more a
complete
view of its
empire.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, and notwithstanding that many things in their conduct may not be reconcileable to the nice rules of equity, or the maxims of strict justice; for when did great fortune arise from a close attention to those rules and maxims? In what age, in what country, have there arisen statesmen without vices, or heroes without crimes? Did *Rome*, did *Carthage*, nay, did *Sparta*, grow to be great and famous without censure, without blemish? Notwithstanding therefore all that may be justly said, and all that has, whether right or wrong, been imputed to the *Dutch* company, as flowing from a spirit of ambition, tyranny, or oppression, this must be allowed, that she has no parallel in antient or in modern history. Her glory is as singular as her influence is extensive; and such a succession of wise managers at home,

(R) What is said in the text will convince the reader, that the affairs of the *Dutch East India* company are here very candidly represented, and serve, at the same time, to reconcile certain passages that might seem otherwise a little discordant. We are far from pretending to decide the dispute between those great men, who think that this commerce with the *Indies* might have been carried on more to the advantage of the subjects of the States General, if it had not been intrusted in the hands of an exclusive company; though we take occasion sometimes to state their sentiments, and at others, to mention what has been or may be alleged in favour of the company. But whatever becomes of this dispute, that is, on which side soever truth lies, the progress of the company, in point both of commerce and power, is certainly very extraordinary, and even amazing. Yet, though we grant and ex-

plain this, we are far from denying, that this commerce has been sometimes extended, and this power sometimes exerted, to the prejudice of their neighbours; neither have we dissembled our sentiments in particular cases, where the thread of our history obliged us to disclose them (15). There is a wide difference between admiration and adulation; and we may consider, with some degree of astonishment, how this company has grown, in a manner imperceptibly, to such a height, as to form the single exception to that otherwise general rule, that the current cannot rise higher than the source; whereas the chief governors of this company, who are but subjects in *Europe*, and receive with submission the orders of the States General, exercise an absolute sovereignty in the *Indies*, and have several considerable princes for their tributaries and vassals.

(15) See the disputes we have mentioned between them and the Portuguese, English, and Dutch.

and of gallant and great officers abroad, is to be found only in the records of her rise and progress, which cannot be transcribed without exciting reverence, or be read but with amazement^a. All this may be collected from what is past, from tracing the efforts of this company, from its infancy to the present times, relating the difficulties it has overcome, and the acquisitions it has made. Yet, to gain a clear conception of what it really is, to frame a true notion of its dominion and power, to know what countries are in its possession, what trade it carries on, and how such a mixed and mighty empire is managed, requires much more to be said, and, indeed, a new field to be opened. We must, to make ourselves masters of this, be content to inquire diligently into the scheme of her foreign policy, and to collect carefully what has been written concerning her governments, directions, commanderies, establishments, and factories; for without doing this, we can have only superficial and confused sentiments of that grandeur, which, as it arose from, and is maintained by, naval power, ought (for our own sakes) to be clearly and particularly understood.

We will therefore try what may be done towards attaining a short and true description of the rest of those provinces, which, with *Batavia*, make up the eight great governments that belong to the company, in each of which they are, in some measure, sovereigns, as having at least the executive power in their hands, without controul; for the company give the title of governor only to him who administers justice to their own subjects, in countries where no other European nation has either settlement or trade, but by their permission. After this, we will run through the lesser jurisdictions, some of which, however, are of very great consequence; and, after having thus represented to the reader's view a kind of political map of the company's territories, we will next, as far as we are able, explore her general system of government, by which these parts are connected, and her civil, ecclesiastical, and military establishments, so balanced as to contribute to the preservation of the whole; and lastly, we will add a brief detail of the correspondence between the government in *India*, and the directors of the *East India* company in the United Provinces, who are, and have been always, the first movers in this great machine, giving weight, imparting vigour, and deriving motion, to the whole. These points being examined, in a manner as full as the bounds to which we are confined will admit, may contribute to set this subject,

The only probable method of doing this, which is also pursued thro' the remaining part of this chapter, and is taken from the most authentic writers.

^a NIEUHOFF, WICQUEFORT, NEUVILLE, BASNAGE, LE CLERC, JANISON, RICARD, &c.

at least in some degree, in such a light as it deserves, and in such a light as will effectually demonstrate, that nothing we have advanced has any tincture of exaggeration, but proceeds intirely from the impresson made by the contemplation of what this society has atchieved, as it arose in compiling and digesting the materials requisite to the composition of this chapter. An undertaking so much the more necessary, as those succinct and imperfect representations that are commonly met with, contribute very little to fill the mind with any just notion of so wonderful a power as this is, and which, for many reasons that need not be enumerated here, deserves to be so distinctly described, as that we may clearly and perfectly comprehend the whole system, without which, it is impossible to have an adequate conception of any particular branch of its oeconomy.

S E C T. XVI.

A View of the great Government of Ceylon. Some Attempts of the Dutch Governors, to render themselves independent. The Profits accruing to the Company, from their Possession of the Coasts of this valuable Country; and their singular Precaution in excluding all other Nations.

Ceylon, or
Ceilan,
the first
govern-
ment after
Batavia;
and has pe-
culiar pre-
rogatives.

THE first and best government after *Batavia*, is that of the island of *Ceylon*. The governor is usually one of the council of the *Indies*, and his council appointed to assist him framed in the same manner with that of *Batavia*, only the latter are not quite so great men as the former. Though the governor of *Ceylon* is dependant on the council at *Batavia*, he is at liberty to write immediately to the directors in *Holland*, without asking the permission of the governor-general, or without giving an account of his conduct in that respect. This singular prerogative has had bad effects; because, it has tempted the governors of *Ceylon* to withdraw their obedience, in order to become absolute sovereigns of the island (S). There have

• BARNAGE Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, c. 37. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 124, 125. Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

(S) This noble island enjoys sequence to the power, as well as commerce, of the *East India* company, and is so much the object

have been several examples of this kind ; but it will be sufficient to dwell here on the two last, which have made so much noise in *Europe*. These *Indian* commotions were owing to the tyranny of two governors, who immediately succeeded each other, the one named *Vuist*, and the other *Verhuys*. The whole transaction fell out thus :

As soon as Mr. *Rumpf* left his government of *Ceylon*, Mr. *The history* *Vuist*, his successor, began to act the barbarian towards all of Mr. who were not in his good graces. He persecuted the *Eu-* *Vuist*, *ropeans* as well as the *Indians* ; and having, from the begin- *who, in* ning, this project in his head, he pursued it steadily, and by *this go-* methods that were fittest for accomplishing his purpose. *vernment,* In the first place, he thought it necessary to rid himself of *endeavour-* the richest persons in the island, and of such as were of re- *ed to make* *a defection.* putation for experience and penetration. In order to save appearances, he thought it requisite to forge a plot, and caused informations to be preferred against such as he intended to ruin, for a conspiracy to betray and deliver up the principal fortresses in the island to some foreign power ; which scheme served him doubly ; for, first, it seemed to manifest a great zeal for the company's service, and next, it gave him an opportunity to convict those he hated of high treason, which

ject of envy to the rest of the *Eu-* *ropean* nations, that there is no wonder to be made at the singular concern expressed for the security of so valuable a country. In this respect all imaginable cautions have been taken to enlarge the governor's power in regard to what concerns his correspondence with the directors at home ; and to circumscribe it, on the other hand, in reference to the places which lie within his government, so that he may be influenced both by hope and fear to the due performance of so great a charge, which commonly recommends him to the post of general of the *Indies* (16). At all events a governor has it in his power to raise a prodigious fortune in a very short space,

and this without running any risque or hazard ; which circumstance will certainly have a great effect on the mind of any man who is desirous of returning home, and spending the latter part of his days in *Holland* ; but cannot have so great an effect, or at least will not operate in the same manner, upon one who has never been, and who has no desire ever to be, in *Europe* (17). Such a one will consider all things in a different light, and must have a strong repugnance to part with that splendor and authority with which he has been once clothed ; and therefore it is not at all strange if he contrives how to keep them, for where the treasure is, there will the heart be also (18).

(16) *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 209. (17) *L'E. credit on*
de trois Vaisseaux, vol. ii, p. 127. (18) *Histoire des Indes Orientales* iii. ii.
 p. 193.

deprived them at once of life and fortune. To manage this more effectually, he thought fit to change his council, and bring into it such as he could depend on. The confiscation of the estates and effects of a number of innocent persons he condemned, and murdered, under colour of his attention to the public welfare, put it in his power to oblige many, and to raise a vast number of creatures. This modern *Cataline* was born in the *Indies*, of *Dutch* parents, had naturally a strong capacity, which he had improved by an assiduous application. His dark brow, and cloudy air, sufficiently shewed the cruelty of his disposition, and that flintiness of heart, which distinguished him from other men. He loved, and protected, the *Indians*, either from natural inclination, as they were his countrymen, or because he thought them less capable of penetrating, and less willing to traverse, his designs. In order to gain them intirely to his devotion, he preferred them as often as any vacancies fell in his government, and this in direct opposition to the repeated instructions of the company, directing him to bestow the principal posts in the island on *Dutchmen*; or other *Europeans*. He carried on his designs for a long time with the greatest dexterity, acquiring, by gifts, and other artifices, a prodigious number of dependents, who were ready to support him even in the blackest designs.

*His
schemes
detected,
and him-
self de-
posed, sent
to Bata-
via, and
punished
as he de-
served.*

THIS, however, he could not do, without giving umbrage to some of the company's faithful servants, who sent over to *Holland* such clear and perfect informations of his behaviour, as gave sufficient light into his real intentions, in spite of all the arts he made use of to conceal them. At last, therefore, the company sent Mr. *Versluys* directly to *Ceylon*, to succeed him, with orders to send *Vuist* prisoner to *Batavia*, where he was called to an account for his conduct. As soon as he came thither, abundance of informations were preferred against him, for a variety of crimes, of a private as well as public nature; into all which, the council of justice caused the strictest inquiry to be made, and took care to be furnished with every kind of proof. In fine, after abundance of examinations, he freely confessed, that he had caused nineteen innocent persons to be most cruelly put to death; adding, that as he had, to keep up a shew of justice, put them all to the torture, so, by the severity of this proceeding, he had extorted from every one of them a confession of crimes, none of which had ever so much as entered into their heads. Such flagrant offences certainly deserved the severest punishment the

laws could inflict ! The sentence passed upon him was to this effect ; That he should be broken alive upon the wheel, his body immediately quartered, and those quarters burnt on a pile of wood ; after which, the ashes were to be put in a cask, and thrown into the sea, as unworthy of any other interment. Which sentence, without the least mitigation, was put in execution, within a few days after it was pronounced ⁹.

As Mr. *Versluys* succeeded *Vuist* in his government, so he *Mr. Ver-* imitated him also in his behaviour, instigated, however, by *fluys, who* avarice rather than ambition. This man had by no means *succeeded* the cruelty of *Vuist*, and therefore he shed no blood, but acted *him in the* as despotically as the other. The great point he aimed at *govern-* was not the possession of the country, but the possession of all *ment, em-* that was valuable in it. As soon as he was settled in his *barks also* post, he raised the price of rice, which is the bread of that *in pernicious* country, to such an extravagant height, that, in a very short *desigus.* time, the people were not able to purchase it, so that they were, by degrees, reduced to starving. Their humble representations of the misery which reigned among all ranks of people, throughout the whole island, made no manner of impression upon him ; but things went on from bad to worse, till an account of his conduct was sent over to *Holland* ^r. The States General were no sooner informed of the distress of the inhabitants of *Ceylon*, than they appointed a new governor, one Mr. *Doembourg*, and gave him particular instructions to repair past errors, and to treat the subjects of the *East India* company with all the tenderness and indulgence possible, that they might be convinced their grievances proceeded from the wickedness of particular men, and not from any disposition in their sovereigns to oppression.

On the arrival of Mr. *Doembourg*, things assumed a new *The States* and unexpected face ; for *Versluys* took it into his head, that *General* they would defend him against his masters, and therefore re- *interpose,* fused to surrender the government, and had even the insolence *and send* to fire upon the company's ships, as they lay in the road of *over a* *Colombo*. But all this signified nothing, Mr. *Doembourg* landed, *new go-* his authority was immediately acknowledged by all in the com- *vernor,* pany's service, and by the people. He caused *Versluys* to be *who seized* arrested, and sent prisoner to *Batavia*, where a long criminal prosecution was carried on against him, but with indifferent success ; for he had taken care to cover himself so effectually,

⁹ BASNAGE Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, c. 37. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 128, 129. Ibid. p. 130, 131.

that it was found impossible to obtain other than circumstantial proofs. At last he thought proper to lay down a very large sum of money, to attend the event of the suit; and was set at liberty, that he might be the more able to defend himself^r. This was certainly a better escape than he deserved; and these instances sufficiently prove the truth of *John de Witt's* observation, that the settlements, by being absolutely under the power of the company, are continually exposed to the greatest dangers, from which their escaping so frequently is at once a mark of their good fortune and their insecurity, since the seeds of this mischief can never be removed^t.

A short account of the condition of this island, as divided between the natives and the Dutch.

THE island of *Ceylon* is justly esteemed one of the fairest and richest in the world, and, for that reason, is considered with jealous eyes by its possessors, as well as with envy by their neighbours. The principal places therein are *Jafnapatan*, *Trinkenemale*, *Materolo*, *Punta de Galo*, *Columbo*, *Nijombo*, *Scitavaca*, and *Candy*^u. The *East India* company are possessed of the whole coasts of the island; of the country, ten or twelve leagues within land; and of most of the towns before-mentioned. The *Portuguese*, who were formerly established here, built abundance of forts for their own security, so that it was a very difficult matter to dislodge them; but when once the *Dutch* had contracted a secret alliance with the king of *Candy*, who was sovereign of best part of the island, they suddenly found themselves attacked on all sides by land and by sea; and were, as has been related, by degrees driven totally out of all their possessions. As the *Dutch* have ever since taken great pains to keep up a good correspondence with that monarch, they have obtained from him almost whatever they demanded^w.

Instances of the good correspondence between the emperor of Ceylon and the Dutch East India company.

THE company send every year an ambassador to him, with various presents; in return for which his majesty sends the company a cabinet of jewels, of so great value, that the vessel which carries it home is looked upon to be worth half the fleet^x. The governor-general takes care himself to have it so packed among the rest of the merchandize, that not only none of the ship's company, but even the captain of the vessel that carries it knows not whether it be on board his ship; which shews the immense wealth the company draws from her

^r L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 131, 132.

^t GRONDEN en Maximen van de Republick van Holland, 1 deel, cap. xxvi.

^u JANICON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 369.

^w Memoires de Dr. GARCIN.

^x L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 139.

dominions in the *Indies*, and at the same time the wise and prudent measures she employs to secure the riches she obtains. The two principal places in this island are *Punta de Galo* and *Columbo*. This last place is the residence of the governor and his council; and the other is properly no more than the port of that city⁷. The air of *Ceylon*, though very hot, is notwithstanding esteemed to be tolerably wholesome. The country abounds with most excellent fruits of all kinds. They have likewise great plenty of rivers, of sea-fish of various sorts, fowls wild and tame, as also animals, particularly elephants, much larger than in any other country of the *Indies*, tygers, bears, civet-cats, apes, &c. Such is the dominion of the company in this important island, abounding with all good things, but abounding to them only² (T).

BUT

⁷ Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF, p. 113. ² Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 207. JANÇON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 371.

(T) The emperor of *Ceylon* still remains in all respects a very powerful prince, his territories being of a vast extent, his revenue immense, his court splendid, and his subjects so numerous, that he can bring two hundred thousand fighting men into the field; and though his credit may be in some measure hurt by being so much as he is under the influence of the *Dutch*, yet his authority is better supported, and his revenue not at all the less for what they possess in this island (19). On the other hand, they are pretty secure, and have no reason to apprehend any sudden danger from so powerful a neighbour, since they have so many excellent fortresses on all sides of the island. That of *Jasanapatam* lies in the north, where the land is broke into several islands; and, as the *Dutch*

fantasy that the whole country resembles a ham, so this must pass for the knuckle of it, and thence they give it the name of *Hamsbeel*. To this fortress, one of the best and most regular in the island, all the adjacent country and little islands are subject, and are all of them well inhabited (20). *Columbo* stands on the west side of the island, looking towards *Cape Commorin*, on the side of a bay into which small vessels may enter, but cannot ride with any great safety, because it lies exposed to the north wind (21). The city was very large and beautiful when in the hands of the *Portuguese*; at present smaller in compass, but neater and stronger, being still the capital or place where the *Dutch* governor resides. *Ponte de Gallo* is seated on the south-west of the island, which is the

(19) *Memoires de Dr. Gargin, Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 12.
Indes, p. 113.

(20) *Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes*, p. 113.
(21) *Les Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf aux*

The vast riches of this island, in cinnamon, precious stones, and pearls.

BUT that for which the island is most famous, is its cinnamon, esteemed by far the best in all *Asia*. Cinnamon is, properly speaking, the inner bark of a tree which is not unlike that which bears oranges; the flowers differ but little from those of the laurel-tree in their size and figure. There are three sorts of cinnamon, the finest, which is taken from young trees; a coarser sort, taken from the old ones; and wild cinnamon, which grows not only here, but in *Malabar*, *China*, and of late years in *Brasil*^a (U). The company like-
wife

^a *Histoire de Ceylon, par RIBBEYRO, p. 10, 11.*

best port, and in that respect esteemed the most important place of all; and therefore, as the reader will see hereafter, is in some measure exempted from the jurisdiction of the governor. The town stands on an eminence, surrounded with a deep fosse well fortified, and commanding the port, which is capable of receiving the largest vessels (22). *Trinquimala* is on the east side of the island, and has a safe and spacious port. The *Dutch*, when they first drove out the *Portuguese*, put it into the hands of the emperor; but they have now a triangular fort, and a good garrison for the defence of that part of the country. In these places they have good garrisons composed of regular troops, magazines well supplied, and no want of artillery. In case of a civil war, they could bring many thousands of their Christian subjects into the field, as brave troops, and better disciplined than those of the emperor; and, as to the attempts of other *European* nations, they are in too good a posture of de-

fence to entertain any apprehensions at present; and, in case of any danger, they might be speedily supplied with necessary reinforcements of all kinds from *Batavia* (23).

(U) The cinnamon-trees do not grow all over the island of *Ceylon*, or at least not in any great plenty, or of the best sort. The natives, it is said, distinguish nine or ten different kinds; but, since the *Dutch* have been masters here, they propagate only the best sort, and prohibit all the rest. The woods that furnish this precious spice lie mostly to the north of *Colombo*; and it is the importance of this commerce that has preserved to that place the residence of the governor, as well under the *Dutch* as the *Portuguese*. According to the common opinion, after these trees are barked, they, in the space of a few years, recover that injury, and are in a condition to be barked again: but the best writers affirm quite the contrary; and that, when a tree is once barked, it is cut down to the root, from

(22) *Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 200. Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 342.* (23) *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 209. Janicon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 369. Memoires de Dr. Gargin.*

wife drives a great trade in the oil which is drawn from this spice, and which is of very great value; and gains also very considerably by the precious stones that are found in this island, which are rubies, sapphires, white and blue topazes, &c.^b (X). There is likewise between *Manar* and *Tutocorin*,
on

^b Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. p. 852.

whence in a few years rise one or more stems that are fit to bark again (24). These trees are likewise propagated by the fruit; and, as they grow both ways with very little cultivation, so the cinnamon plantations might be vastly extended, if the company did not find it more for their interest to keep these woods within bounds. The management of the cinnamon is intirely in the hands of a particular race of people called *Cbalias*, who are subdivided again into four different casts or tribes: the first of these are the *Coronde-Halais*, who are, properly speaking, the cinnamon-barkers, that is, they take off the inner bark from the branches of the tree, and spread it in the air, that it may dry and curl. The next are the *Coulis*, who are, properly speaking, the porters; who, after they have made up the cinnamon, carry it in bundles to the sea-side, from whence it is transported to *Negambo*, and laid up in the magazines, after it has been tied up in faggots, and weighed. The *Lascarins* are the soldiers who guard the workmen while they are employed; and the *Ilandarias* fort and tie up the cinnamon, and perform other offices in the management of this spice.

All these people serve under their proper officers, subject to the direction of a *Dutch* commander in chief; and each family have a house and lands, which they hold by rendering this service to the company. The cinnamon harvest is some time in the months of *June*, *July*, or *August*, according as the season is more or less favourable, and lasts commonly three weeks or a month. It is computed in round numbers, that this harvest amounts, one year with another, to a million of pounds weight (25).

(X) If we may rely upon the concurrent accounts of several persons of great veracity, who have lived long in, and were perfectly acquainted with, the product of this island, there is no country in the world that surpasses it in point of natural riches. There are mines of several metals; and, in a mountain not far from the capital, there is one of gold, which the emperor will not suffer to be wrought. As for precious stones, they are found sometimes in the earth, but more frequently in the rivers and rivulets, that roll with great rapidity down the sides of the mountains, in the centre of the island; of these there are four sorts, excellent in

(24) *Ribeyro Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon*, p. 12. *Memoires de Dr. Garcin*.

(25) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. i. col. 649.

on the coast of *Coromandel*, a fine pearl-fishery, which brings in a prodigious profit. This is let twice a year to farm to certain negro merchants. The oysters, in which the pearls are found, lie at the bottom of the sea. This fishery is carried on only in fair weather, and when the sea is extremely calm. The diver has a cord which passes under his arms, and is fastened to the boat; he has a large stone fixed to his feet, that he may descend the quicker; and a sack or bag about his waist, into which he puts his oysters as fast as he finds them. As soon as he is at the bottom of the sea, he takes up as many as lie within his reach, and puts them into his bag as fast as possible. In order to ascend, he pulls strongly a different cord from that which is tied about his body; upon which signal those left in the boat draw him up as fast as they can, while he endeavours to rid himself of the stone at his feet, that he may rise the faster. When these boats are full of oysters, the negro merchants carry them all over the coasts,

their kind, and of great value. First, rubies, which are found no-where else in the *Indies*, except in the kingdom of *Pegu*, which some very able judges prefer to those of *Ceylon*, while others of equal skill affirm those of *Ceylon* to be superior to the rubies at *Pegu*. Upon a strict examination it will be found, that they are both in the right; for the rubies of *Pegu* are in general brighter, and more perfect, than those of *Ceylon*; but then they are much smaller; and, amongst the larger rubies found in this island, there are some as bright and perfect as those of *Pegu*, and consequently of a much greater value (26). The second are sapphires, white as well as blue; some large, without veins, and exceedingly hard, which are of great value. Topazes are the third kind of precious stones, and those of *Ceylon* are the fairest and finest in the *Indies*. The fourth are

cats-eyes, wonderfully beautiful, and very much esteemed for that surprising mixture of vivid colours which they derive from nature, and exhibit to the eye without the assistance of cutting or polishing (27). To these some good authors have added diamonds, but they were mistaken; for the truth of the matter is, that the natives are rather better acquainted with precious stones than the *Europeans*, and have an art of despoiling both sapphires and topazes of their colour, which they frequently sell to strangers, who are not so good judges as themselves, for diamonds. It is said the emperor prohibits his subjects from selling any of these precious stones to the *Dutch*; notwithstanding which, they find ways and means of procuring them in considerable quantities; and, amongst these, there are some of very great price (28).

(26) *Touernier Histoire des Indes, Ribeyro Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon*, p. 263.
 (27) *Ramusio*, vol. i. fol. 323. *Ribeyro Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon*, p. 156, 199.
 (28) *Mémoires de Dr. Garcin. Histoire des Indes Orientales*, &c.

and sell them at so much an hundred. This kind of trade is very hazardous for those who purchase the oysters, since sometimes they find pearls of great price, and sometimes none at all, or such as are but of little value ^c.

THE company draws also a considerable profit from the manufactures of muslin, chintz, and other cotton cloths; yet the greatest part of the muslins sent into *Europe* come not from hence, but from the coast of *Malabar*. The *Chingulays*, or native inhabitants of the island of *Ceylon*, are generally speaking very tall, of a very dark complexion, their ears excessively large, which is owing to the large and heavy ornaments which they wear in them. They are men of great courage, live very hard, and therefore make good soldiers; generally speaking of the *Mohammedan* religion, but there are also amongst them idolaters, who worship cows and calves. They do not pay much respect to the *Dutch*; but treat them rather with contempt, and scornfully stile them their *Coast-keepers*. But the *Dutch* do not trouble themselves much about this; but, like good politicians, take all the care in the world to keep up a perfect correspondence with the king of *Candy*, that he may never be tempted to quarrel with, and refuse them his assistance, which would effectually destroy the most valuable part of their commerce. This, however, that monarch might do if he thought fit, without being under any great apprehensions from their power; since his dominions are separated from theirs by a large rapid river, and by forests so thick, that it is simply impossible to penetrate them ^d.

Prudence and policy of the Dutch in their conduct towards the natives.

His subjects are particularly remarkable for their great skill in taming elephants, which they use as beasts of burden in time of peace, and in time of war make them very serviceable against their enemies. They are also of great value, considered as commodities; since the *Mogul*, the kings of *Pegu* and *Siam*, and indeed all the eastern princes in general, are willing to purchase them almost at any rate. It seems there are still remaining in this island, as well as in the countries possessed by the king of *Candy*, or, as it is frequently spelt, *Gandy*, as in the territories of the *Dutch*, numbers of the descendants from the *Portuguese*; since we find, that so lately as the treaty of *Utrecht*, a very warm application was made to the States General, by the *Portuguese* ambassador, that they might have leave either to assemble for the celebration of

The remains of the Portuguese and Chingulays, by them converted, very numerous in Ceylon.

^c *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 159. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 141. ^d *Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. RIBEYRO, GRAAF.*

divine service in private houses, or be allowed to resort to the churches in the frontier villages belonging to that prince; which, notwithstanding all the services rendered by the king of *Portugal* to the maritime powers in the preceding war, was in very rough terms absolutely refused^c.

S E C T. XVII.

Nature and Consequences of the Clove Trade, and the Manner in which it has been translated to Amboyna from the Proper Moluccas, and the Motives which induced the Company to take this Method, as the most effectual for preserving this valuable Branch of Trade.

Amboyna
the second
govern-
ment under
the Dutch
East India
company.

THE second government is that of *Amboyna*, one of the *Moluccas*. This island was formerly the seat of the governor-general, before the building of *Batavia*, and was transferred to that city on account of its advantageous situation in the midst of all the company's settlements; whereas *Amboyna* lies too far to the east. This island, however, is one of the biggest of the *Moluccas*. It is situated in the archipelago of *St. Lazarus*, between the third and fourth degree of south latitude, one hundred forty-five degrees of longitude from the *Canary Islands*, and one hundred and twenty leagues to the eastward of *Batavia*. The fort here was taken from the *Portuguese* by the *Dutch* in 1605; but they did not render themselves intirely masters of *Amboyna*, and the adjacent countries, till the year 1627, when they had ridded themselves of the *Englisb* also (Y). This conquest put the
clove

^c *Memoires de LAMBERTI.*

(Y) The islands that are in the neighbourhood of *Amboyna*, and are distinguished by particular names, are seven; viz. *Oma*, *Uleaster*, *Noslaru*, *Onime*, *Niasalon*, *Mulana*, and *Othawa*, according to some memoirs, which is the reason that we have placed them here in a note (29). But, in reality, the islands which are under the *Dutch* governor of

Amboyna are ten, taking in the extent of about five degrees of longitude, that of *Amboyna* being farthest to the south; we shall give the names of these likewise in their order. 1. *Ceram*, which is the largest in the whole government, indeed larger than all the rest, taking *Amboyna* into the number. 2. *Ceran-Lavut*, a small island four

(29) *Memoires sur les Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 192. *Jamque Etat presen de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 365. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 861.

clove trade wholly into their hands : whence the *Moluccas* are stiled the gold mine of the company ; and so they have proved, if we consider the profit they draw from them, and how little fear there is of their being ever exhausted^f. In order to convince the reader of this, we need only observe, that a pound-weight of nutmegs, or of cloves, costs the company

^f ARGENSOLA, NIEUHOFF, SCHOUTEN, HAMILTON, DU BOIS.

leagues to the east of the former. 3. *Bouro*, the largest next to *Ceram*, and which lies west of all the rest. 4. *Amlau*, which is the smallest, and three leagues from *Bouro*. 5. *Manipa*, between *Bouro* and *Ceram*. 6. *Kelang*, two leagues to the north-east of *Manipa*. 7. *Boua*, still farther north. 8. *Orna*, lying east from *Amboyna*, at the distance of two leagues. 9. *Honimoo*, a league to the east of *Orna*. 10. *Noussa-Laout*, a league south-east from the last-mentioned island (30). These three islands, *Orna*, *Honimoo*, and *Noussa-Laout*, are stiled all together *Uliassers*, which was formerly mistaken by *French* writers for the name of a particular island. It is in *Amboyna*, and in these three islands only, that cloves are now cultivated ; whereas formerly they grew in all the islands, more especially in *Ceram*. These are the islands the circuit of which the governor of *Amboyna* makes once in three years, in order to see that the company's injunctions are complied with, and that no cloves are suffered to grow (31). The island of *Amboyna* is divided into two parts, that is, a

lesser and a greater peninsula. The former is called *Hitou*, twelve leagues in length, and two and a half broad : in this the *Dutch* have no less than five forts, or rather strong redoubts, mounted with cannon ; the other is called *Leytimor*, five leagues in length, and one and a half broad, which is the southern part of the island ; on this stands the fort of *Victoria*, which is the residence of the governor and his council, composed of fifteen gentlemen, or merchants. The fortress is a square, the ramparts mounted with sixty pieces of brass cannon, and the garrison usually composed of six hundred men (32). The inhabitants of *Amboyna* are computed at seventy or eighty thousand, of which but a small number are *Dutch* ; and this obliges them to be continually upon their guard, and to keep a competent number of troops in each of their forts, particularly in that of *Middleburgh*, which stands upon the isthmus that connects these peninsulas (33). There are also redoubts and garrisons in all the other islands of this government.

(30) *Memoires de Dr. Garcin*. (31) *L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 17. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 805. *Histoire des Indes*. (32) *Memoires de Dr. Garcin*. (33) *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 193. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 837.

not much above an halfpenny, and every body knows at what rate they are sold in *Europe*.

The manner in which cloves are gathered, collected, and cured, in Amboyna.

THIS island of *Amboyna* is the centre of this rich commerce; and, to keep it more effectually in her hands, the company takes care to have all the clove-trees in the adjacent islands grubbed up and destroyed; and sometimes, when the harvest is very large in *Amboyna*, part of the produce there is burnt likewise. A few days after the fruit is gathered from the tree, they collect the cloves together, and dry them before the fire on hurdles, by which means they lose the beautiful red colour they derive from nature, and change into a deep purple, or rather black, which is perhaps occasioned by their being sprinkled with water. It is pretended that this sprinkling is necessary to hinder the worm from getting into the fruit; but it is thought a better reason may be assigned for it, which is, adding weight to the cloves^s.

Very difficult to gain a distinct account of these matters, which are also liable to alterations.

IT is very difficult, even with the greatest care, and after comparing the best memoirs that are to be met with upon this subject, to speak of it with that certainty and precision we could wish; because these accounts frequently contradict each other, and it is very difficult to distinguish where truth lies. Besides, the *Dutch* are continually making alterations in their methods of managing the spice trade, so that the most exact account of it becomes in the space of a few years very imperfect. One ought to attribute to this a great many things set down by writers of great credit, which are not at all agreeable to truth at this day. As for instance, that the cloves are shaken or beaten off the trees, whereas they are gathered very carefully with the hand; and if, by chance, any of the twigs are broken, it is no small prejudice to the tree. It has been said by some, that cloves are gathered but once in several years; by others, that they are gathered several times in one year. Both may be true, if spoken of different places, and in different periods of time: at present there is but one great harvest, which is between the middle of *October* and the middle of *December*, sometimes sooner, sometimes later, according as the fruit comes to its maturity. Some years the produce is four, five, or six times, as much as in others; but, taking it at a medium, for seven years, and it may be well fixed at a million of pounds; and it is computed, that, one with another, this is four pounds from every bearing tree^h.

^s Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 145, 146, 147.
^h Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 888.

THERE is a vulgar error prevails in respect to the hot nature of this plant, which is reported to be so great, that it suffers nothing to grow under it. The fact is, that nothing is permitted to grow under or about it, which is one great point in its cultivation. The *East India* company have published a long ordinance for the improvement and security of the clove plantations, which are divided into five districts, through all which the people are obliged to comply, under severe penalties, with what is directed in that order. The wild clove is larger, and more spongy; the cultivated clove less, harder, and much more aromatic in smell and taste. It is out of question that the *Dutch* have been at very great pains to extirpate the cloves in all the ten isles dependent upon that of *Amboyna*; and even in *Ceram*, where formerly the best cloves grew; and it is now highly penal for any to be found out of those districts which have been before mentioned. To prevent this, the governor of *Amboyna* makes the tour of his government with a fleet of curricurries, consisting sometimes of twenty, and at others of thirty, forty, or fifty sail; which expedition is made with all the pomp imaginable, in order to gratify the pride and folly of the *Indian* chiefs. The true reason of their taking all this pains is, because experience has shewn, that no contracts, however solemn, could restrain the inhabitants of those islands from selling their cloves to strangers; and even now frauds are so frequently practised by the *Dutch* themselves, though the company is inexorable in punishing them, that the common people call them *Galken-kruid*, that is, the gallows-spiceⁱ.

As to the force the company has in *Amboyna*, it consists in *The* the garrison in their great fort, which is very numerous, seldom less than six hundred, composed of their best troops, and kept constantly in excellent order. The fort itself, called *Victoria*, is so strong from art and nature, that it is in a manner impregnable; and so effectually commands the harbour, that it is impossible for a vessel to go in or out without being sunk by the cannon of the fort, if the governor give orders for that purpose. One would imagine, that so rich a commerce as that of cloves might be a sufficient return for the expence the company is at about this island. But such is their care to improve every thing to the utmost advantage, that of late years they have caused coffee to be planted, which is like to turn to great account^k. Under the government

Method taken to destroy all the clove-trees in the Moluccas by the East India company.

ⁱ *Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 148, 149.*
^k *Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 885, 886.*

of Mr. *Barnard*, however, there was a discovery made of a commodity still more valuable than coffee or cloves; for, through his vigilance, it was found that in some of the mountains there were considerable quantities of gold-dust washed down by the torrents; and this discovery he pursued with such effect, as at last to find out the mine; so that the wealth of these *Indian* countries is ever increasing when in the hands of those who know how to make the best use of every thing¹. There is one thing more of which we must take notice, before we leave *Amboyna*, and that is, a kind of red wood which grows in this island, that, beside the beauty of its colour, is exceedingly firm and durable; and, which is still more extraordinary, is naturally embellished in its grain with abundance of beautiful figures. Of this wood they make tables, cabinets, escritaires, and other pieces of furniture, for the principal persons in the government, and the rest is sold all over the *Indies* at a very extravagant rate; so that this article is to be added to those already mentioned, of the riches in *Amboyna*^m (Z).

¹ L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 152. ^m Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii, col. 887. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 153.

(Z) If we may yield intire credit to those who have taken pains to examine most closely into the affairs of the *Dutch East India* company upon the spot, and while in their service, we must believe that things are every day improving in that part of the world, where their governors are become now quite another sort of men than they were; and, instead of following the barbarous practice of the natives, or paying any deference to antique notions, or vulgar superstitions, they prefer the dictates of good sense, and the lights of experience, by which they have intirely changed the face of things, produce many more trees upon a less spot of

ground, collect from them much greater quantities of spice, and that spice better in its nature, better cured, and better packed, than formerly. Amongst other governors, Mr. *Schaghen*, who had the direction of affairs in the *Moluccas* from 1691 to 1696, when he was removed by death, is still famous for the improvement which he introduced in the culture and curing of cloves. His example has been followed by succeeding governors; and these plantations are now so regular, so beautiful, and the air so odoriferous and wholesome, that they contribute no less to the health and pleasure of the inhabitants than to the profit of the company (34).

(34) *Memoires de Dr. Garcia*,

S E C T.

S E C T XVIII.

The Government of the Islands of Banda, State of the Nutmeg Trade, Precautions taken to secure the Monopoly of Spices in the Indies, as well as in Europe; how far this hath hitherto succeeded.

THE next government is that of the isles of *Banda*, which are in number six, lying in the latitude of four degrees thirty minutes south, and at the distance of about four hundred and fifty leagues from *Batavia*. The first of these was called by its inhabitants *Bandan*; but, when the Dutch came thither, they established their factory at a place called *Lonthor*; and though that be long ago destroyed, yet the island bears its name still, and is the largest of the isles of *Banda*, and produces most nutmegsⁿ. The island of *Neira* is next in size, where the Dutch have two forts, that of *Nassau*, which commands the narrow strait between this island and *Lonthor*; and the other *Belgica*, on the top of a hill in the midst of the island. The governor commonly resides in this island, and for the most part, in *Fort Nassau*. *Gounong-api*, that is to say, the mountain of fire, in the *Malayan* language, lies to the west of *Neira*, with a very narrow chanel between them. It derives this name from a large burning hill, which throws out from time to time vast quantities of ashes, and has thereby corrupted not only the air of that island, but of all in its neighbourhood, to such a degree, that scarce any will inhabit them that are at full liberty, and have it in their power, to subsist any-where else^o. *Poulo-ay* is a small island to the west of the three former; but the soil and climate is better than any of them; and in it the company has a good fort. *Poulo-rhon* is that island about which they have had so many disputes with the crown of *England*, under the name of *Poleron*; and perhaps it may not be amiss to observe, that the word *Poulo*, in the *Malayan* language, signifies an island^p. This, of which we are speaking, is very small, barren, and almost destitute of inhabitants: and this description may likewise serve for the remaining island of *Rosingein*; so that they are no otherwise considerable than by their situation, which has induced the Dutch to erect a blockhouse on each of

ⁿ Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 190, 191.

^o L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 158, 159. ^p Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 274. 277, 278, 279.

The nature, culture, and advantages, of the nutmeg plantations in these isles.

them, where they keep a serjeant's guard, in order to prevent the few miserable inhabitants there are, from having any intercourse with their neighbours or strangers ² (A).

THIS is a true and fair representation of the state of these islands at this day; notwithstanding which they are of infinite consequence to the *Dutch*, and not inferior in value to *Amboyna*, into which, through policy, they have crowded all the wealth of the *Moluccas*. This arises from the important commerce in nutmegs, which grow there in such prodigious quantities, as to enable the *Dutch* to supply all the markets in *Europe*. The tree, which produces this excellent fruit, in size very much resembles a pear-tree; but its leaves are like those of a peach, except that they are larger. The nutmeg, when ripe, is pretty near the size of a walnut; and is covered with two skins, or shells, the first is very tough, and of the thickness of a man's finger, which falls off of itself as the fruit ripens. When it is candied, it has a very fine taste. The second is of a red colour, and has a very odoriferous smell. On the opening of this, the fruit appears with a little flower at the top, which is very beautiful, and in its form resembles the lily of the valley. They gather the nuts, and dry them; but, in the first place, they are thrown into quick lime, for otherwise worms would breed in and destroy them ³.

² Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 877, 878.

³ Mémoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 191, 192.

Mémoires de Dr. GARCIN.

(A) The reader may perhaps receive some satisfaction from being made acquainted with the true state of things in these islands, and knowing the exact distribution of the nutmeg parks in each of them. The island of *Lonthor*, which is the biggest, contains twenty-five parks, some larger, and some less; but which, all together, are thought to comprehend about seventy thousand toises square. The island of *Neira* is the next in size, as has been observed in the text; yet in this there are but two nutmeg parks, containing five thousand

four hundred toises square. The island of *Poulo-ay* is very small, but exceedingly fruitful, containing no less than six nutmeg parks, comprehending more than one hundred and forty thousand toises square. It is also generally observed, that both the mace and nutmegs produced in this island are preferable to those of the other two, which is intirely owing to the richness of the soil; for as to the air, it is just as bad here as in any of the adjacent isles, of which there has been enough said in the text (35).

(35) Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 878, 879, 880.

THERE

THERE are, besides those above-mentioned, several islands *Vast pains* in the neighbourhood of *Banda*, in which nutmegs would *taken by* grow, if the company did not take care to have them de- *the compa-*stroyed every year; which at first sight may seem extraordi- *ny's orders* nary, since one would imagine, that their being thoroughly *to prevent* rooted out once might prevent their growing again. But *the propa-* this difficulty is easily solved, when it is known that the birds *gating* carry them annually into all these islands, whence the *Dutch* *nutmegs* *elsewhere.* stile them properly enough the gardeners of the spice-trees¹. It is not agreed how this is performed by the birds, though almost all travellers allow that it is performed by them. Mr. *Tavernier* tells us, that the nutmeg being ripe, several birds come from the islands towards the south, and devour it whole, but are forced to throw it up again before it be digested². That the nutmeg, then besmeared with a viscous matter, falling to the ground, takes root, and produces a tree, which would never thrive if it was otherwise planted. Mr. *Thevenot* again informs us, that the tree is produced after this manner³: There are, says he, a kind of birds in the island, that, having picked off the green husk, swallow the nuts, which, having been some time in their stomach, they void by the ordinary way; and they fail not to take root in the place where they fall, and in time grow up to a tree. This bird is shaped like a cuckoo; and the *Dutch* did formerly, as we are told, prohibit their subjects, under pain of death, to kill them⁴ (B).

IN

¹ L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 155. ² Voyage des Indes, Part iii. liv. ii. p. 299. ³ Voyage des Indes Orientales, vol. v. p. 329. ⁴ Sir THOMAS POPE BLOUNT's Natural History, p. 48.

(B) It is a little difficult to say whether there might not be some truth in these accounts formerly, that is, in respect to the kindness shewn for these spice-planting birds, but at present they are in quite a different situation (36). There are in the islands of *Banda*, and at *Amboyna*, several sorts of birds, but more especially a kind of turtle-doves or pigeons, that,

by swallowing cloves and nutmegs, and voiding them again, propagate wild trees over all these islands, which the company oblige the inhabitants to pull up and destroy; and the birds also have no quarter given them in the plantations (37). As to the silly notion that these trees will grow no other way than by this kind of plantation, it has been long ago banished from all rational

(36) *Voyage de Gautier Sebouteau aux Indes Orientales*, vol. i. p. 148. (37) *Mémoires de Dr. Garcia*.

heads;

The manner of the Dutch plantations more largely described.

IN a long series of time the servants of the company have discovered in respect to this, as well as in regard to cinnamon and cloves, the best methods of cultivating and improving nutmegs, which we shall represent to the reader's view as concisely as it is possible. They grow now only in the three first islands; and, being very tender and delicate, are planted in parks, some larger, some less. These are so called, not because of their being inclosed by walls or pallisades, but from their being fenced with other trees, taller and stouter than the nutmeg, in order to cover and protect the plantation from the winds to which those islands are subject. In these parks a great many slaves are constantly employed in weeding and keeping the ground clear, and in picking up the fruit that falls of itself, which is commonly the most perfect and valuable. The great harvest is in the months of *June* and *August*, which being the rainy season in those countries, accompanied also with strong gusts of wind, is frequently attended with great disasters, such as beating down and bruising the fruit green and ripe, before it can be gathered; which, however, is not lost, but is preserved in sugar, and becomes, either wet or dry, an excellent sweetmeat^Y.

Account of the nutmeg harvests, and some guesses at the produce and value of this spice.

IN the month of *November* there is a kind of latter harvest, or gleaning, consisting only of such fruit as was left to ripen; but in the month of *April* they visit the trees again; and, tho, the nutmegs gathered at this time be very few, yet they are by far the finest, as the fruit at that time hangs but thin, and has not been exposed to any bad weather. One year with another, it is computed that in these three islands there grow eight hundred thousand pounds weight of nutmegs; and, if the common opinion be right, about a fourth part of the same quantity of mace, in the following proportions: The island of *Lonthor* produces six hundred thousand; the island of *Neira* eighty thousand; the island of *Poulo-ay* one hundred and twenty thousand: the slaves that are employed in attending the trees, and curing the fruit, are between two and three thousand^Z. There is a wild nutmeg, as well as wild cinnamon and wild cloves, but of very little value, and easily

^Y Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. ^Z Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col 877, 878.

heads; for the fact is, that these trees are but too easily propagated, and it is this circumstance alone that makes the Dutch so jealous and uneasy about them (38).

(38) *Dictionaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 878, 879. *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 21, 22.

distinguished

distinguished from the genuine spice, which is long like a small egg. Wild nutmegs are very seldom, if ever, brought into *Europe*, because they will not keep, the worm breeding in them, either from their natural moisture, or from their not being treated in a proper manner at their being first gathered, in which it is said some niceties are observed, that the company's servants keep very secret. It is allowed, that, when ripe, the taste of this fruit, that is to say, of the pulp between the two outer coats, is harsh, rough, hot, and, upon the whole, disagreeable; and yet nothing more pleasant, when either pickled or candied. There are, among the inhabitants of this island, a sort of burgesses, who have the sole right to keep parks for the cultivation of nutmegs, for which they receive a very moderate gratification, and yet live at their ease. There grows here, as well as at *Amboyna*, a sort of tree called *Caliputte*, from whence they draw a very rich and salutary oil, which is sold at a very high price * (C).

* L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 156.

(C) It is not a little strange, that, before the coming of the *Europeans* into these countries, the natives themselves made no use of spices in the manner that we do; but endeavoured to extract from them oils or balsams, which they held very salutary in pains in the head, gripings in the stomach, or numbness in the limbs (39). The emperor of *Ceylon* causes the flowers of cinnamon to be boiled, and, the oil being skimmed off the water, and suffered to dry in the shade, become white and hard, of which candles are made, that are burnt only in his presence (40). His subjects, however, are allowed to extract an oil from the tree mentioned in the text, which they burn in lamps, and use also externally with great success (41). What is stiled *Oleum Malabathri* is an oil

drawn from the leaves of the cinnamon-tree, which is thick and bitter, and tastes very like the oil of cloves mixed with a small quantity of the true oil of cinnamon, and then it serves both for external and internal uses (42). In *Amboyna* the natives use the oil of cloves in the like manner, but chiefly against cold diseases; they sometimes mingled a little powder of cloves with their tobacco, but, as this exceedingly disturbed the head, it was rarely practised. In the islands of *Banda* oil of nutmegs was used in case of cramps or numbness after sleeping in the open air; an accident common in all these countries (43). By degrees the oil mentioned in the text, being cheaper, and full as odoriferous, is grown more into use than any, or indeed all the rest (44).

(39) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par l'Abbé Gayon, vol. ii. p. 198. (40) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. i. col. 647. (41) *Memoires de Dr. Garcin*. (42) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. i. p. 647. (43) *Voyage de Gautier Schouten*, vol. i. p. 148. (44) From particular information,

State of the
Dutch
forts and
garrisons
in the
islands of
Banda.

THE castles and blockhouses in the islands of *Banda* are exceedingly well fortified; yet, to prevent any accident that might happen in case an enemy should get into the port under *Dutch* colours, there is always a squadron of small vessels plying round the coast, which, upon the first appearance of a strange ship, immediately surround, and examine whence she comes, whither bound, and of what strength. The garrison is numerous, but in a much worse condition than any other in the company's service; which arises from the want of victuals, the islands being in general of a barren, sandy soil, producing very little food of any sort, which is the reason that the soldiers eat cats, dogs, and any other animals that come to hand^b. The rest of their provisions is tortoise, of which they have a reasonable plenty for about six months in the year; and, after this, they think themselves very happy if they are now-and-then able to get a little forry fish. They make their bread of the juice of a tree, which resembles, when first drawn, the grounds of beer, but, when dried, it grows as hard as a stone; yet, when put into water, it swells and ferments, and so becomes fit to eat, that is, in a country where there is nothing else. As for butter, rice, dried fish, and other eatables, they are all sent thither from *Batavia*, and come much too dear for the soldiers to have any plenty of them. To speak the truth, as the inhabitants are none of the happiest, so they may be said to live full as well as they deserve, since there hardly ever was an honest man upon these islands^c.

Peculiar
misfortune
of these
islands to
be always
inhabited
by the
worst of
men.

THE natives were such a race of cruel, perfidious, and untractable people (at least as the *Dutch* say), that the company was forced to root them out for their own security, and to send a *Dutch* colony into the islands; but then it is such a colony as hath not much mended the matter, being composed intirely of a worthless rascally people, that, not being able to live any-where else, were content to come, or were otherwise sentenced to be sent to starve here. The best is, that their misery is of no long date; for in a very short time they are destroyed by the dry gripes, or twisting of the guts, which is the epidemic distemper of the country. It is for this reason, and because young fellows that are wild are sometimes sent thither by their relations, that the *Dutch* at *Batavia*, generally speaking, call *Lonthor*, or *Bandan*, the *Island of Corruption*^d. The only people who live tolerably there are the negroes, who were settled in it before the *Dutch* conquest,

^b HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 142.

^c L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 157, 158. ^d Mémoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 191.

and have lived quietly ever since in their mountains. Some of the latest accounts from this part of the world inform us, that the company have begun to make trials in *Amboyna*, whether nutmegs might not be cultivated there to a degree of perfection, with a design, it is believed, of transferring that spice thither intirely, as they have done the clove, as the eruptions of the vulcano before-mentioned become more and more frequent, and consequently the climate of the isles of *Banda* grows worse and worse^e.

S E C T. XIX.

Account of the Two great Governments ; of Macassar in the Island of Celebes, and of the Molucca Islands, out of which the Cloves are extirpated, though in most geographical Descriptions these are still called the Spice Islands.

THE city and fortress of *Macassar*, in the island of *Celebes*, City and is considered as the fourth government in the *East India* fortress of company's disposal. That island lies between *Borneo* and *Macassar*, the *Moluccas*, at the distance of about one hundred and sixty ^{the fourth} leagues from *Batavia*. Its form is in a manner circular, and its diameter about one hundred and thirty leagues. It is called, and with great reason, the key of the spice islands. The form of government here is pretty much the same as in the other islands. Since the time the *Dutch* drove out the *Portuguese*, they have taken care to fortify themselves effectually on the sea-coast, and have always a very numerous garrison in the fort of *Macassar*, where the governor resides ; which is so much the more necessary, because this island is very populous, and the people are beyond comparison the bravest and best soldiers in the *East Indies*^f. This nation, as we have already shewn, for a long time gave the *Dutch* inexpressible trouble, and rendered their commerce very precarious. Yet at last they were totally subdued ; and, in consequence of the measures taken since the last treaty, stand at present as much in fear of the company as any other nation in that part of the world. The expence, however, of maintaining the troops, and the other charges of the government, are so large, that, till very lately, the company were no great gainers by their conquests, though the slave trade is here very beneficial &.

^e Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 888.
 dition de trois Vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 160, 161.
 sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 195.

^f L'Expe-
 Memoires

The reason that the company laid out such large sums, and took so much pains, to possess themselves of this island, was, in order to render it a bulwark to the *Moluccas*: for, before the last war of *Macassar*, which ended in the complete ruin of the power of the prince of that country, he found means to procure great quantities of mace, nutmegs, and cloves, which he sold to the *English*, and other nations, at a much more reasonable rate than the *Dutch* company; and therefore, as we hinted, they ought, in good policy, to have supported him ^b (D).

Produce
and im-
portance of
this part of
the noble
island of
Celebes.

THE island is very fruitful, especially in rice, which is a commodity of great value in the *Indies*. The inhabitants are of a middle stature, of a yellow complexion, but good features, and are extremely brisk and active. They are said to be naturally thieves, traitors, and murderers; and that to such a degree, that it is not safe for any Christian to venture, after it is dark, without the wall of the *Dutch* forts, or to travel at any time far into the country, for fear of being robbed and murdered, than which nothing is more common. Yet there live under the protection of the *Dutch* forts abundance of the natives, who are free burghesses, and carry on a considerable trade; as do also the *Chinese*, who sail from hence in their own vessels into all the ports of the company's dominions, deriving immense wealth from their extensive commerce, which they manage with a dexterity peculiar to themselves. The

^b HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 153.

(D) It is universally agreed by all who have visited the *Indies*, that the *Macassars* are in all respects much superior to the inhabitants of the other islands. Their complexions are of a light olive, their features regular and agreeable. They are generally speaking a middle-sized people, active, brave, ingenious, courteous, and well disposed to strangers. If well used, there are no people more faithful, or more obedient; but, if ill treated, they are very revengeful, and very seldom discover their resentment but by its effects (45). It is from this island that the *Dutch*

company draw their best soldiers, who, as we have before observed, use little poisoned arrows, which they blow thro' a trunk. Since the *Dutch* became masters here, other nations, instead of repairing to *Celebes*, go to *Gilolo*, where they sometimes get considerable quantities of cloves and nutmegs; but, whether they grow in that country, or are smuggled thither from *Amboyna* and *Banda*, is more than these adventurers themselves pretend to determine (46). The *Dutch* are indefatigable in their endeavours to prevent this clandestine trade.

(45) *Nicoboff, Tavernier, Graaf, &c.*
the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.

(46) *Hamilton's Account of*

inland country is under the dominion of three different monarchs, who, very happily for the company, live in a constant bad intelligence with each other; and, if it were not for this, they might at any time drive the *Dutch* out of the island¹.

ONE of these princes is also stiled the company's king, because he lives in a good correspondence with them, and promotes their interest as far as lies in his power. They make him from time to time presents of gold chains, coronets of gold set with precious stones, and other things of value, in order to keep him steady to his alliance, and prevent his inclining to a good understanding with the other two monarchs, which might be attended with consequences very fatal to their power and commerce². About the year 1720 there happened an extraordinary event, which it was thought would have given a great turn to the company's affairs, and this was, the discovery of a rich gold mine, conceived then to be of so great a consequence, that not only a great number of workmen, but a director, was also sent from *Batavia*, to carry on the work there³. How far this has been attended with success, we are not able to say, and perhaps it is a secret that never will be known in its full extent, since it is a maxim with the *Dutch East India* company never to boast of her power or riches, but rather to lessen both in the representations she makes from time to time to the States General; which is a caution very necessary to be remembered, in order to have a just notion of those accounts, in which they do not state the affairs of the company as they really are, but as they would have them understood to be, the better to intitle themselves to the favour and protection of the state⁴.

THE fifth of the company's great governments is that of the *Moluccas*, or, as it is generally called, from the governor's residence in that island, the government of *Ternate*. The very mention of this is sufficient to shew us, that there is nothing so fluctuating as power. This very island, which makes now but a part of a single government, bestowed by the directors of a trading company, was once the mistress of many nations; and its monarch boasted of having seventy-two, or, as others affirm, ninety-two, tributary princes, who were at the same time sovereigns of as many islands⁵. There is still

¹ L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 162, 163.

² Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 873.

³ L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 161.

⁴ Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 195, 196.

⁵ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 875, Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 20.

a king, who has the honour to be stiled the chief ally; which is only a civil expression for the first subject of the *Dutch East India* company. It is true that the force of this island was in some measure exhausted before the *Dutch* arrived in these parts; first, by the revolt of several of those tributary princes, and afterwards by the long and bloody wars they maintained against the *Portuguese*, who sometimes held them in subjection. Neither did they tamely submit to the *Dutch* company, but defended themselves as well and as long as they could, till, by a conjunction of arts and arms, or, in plainer *English*, by force in some measure, and in some measure by fraud, they were compelled to submit, and, by the treaty of 1638, engaged to have no commerce with any other nation, nor even with any *Dutch* ships that did not come with a passport from the governor and council at *Batavia* ° (E).

The strange alteration that has happened in respect to these once rich and celebrated islands.

BUT it is not only the power of the king, and the condition of his subjects, but the very state of the country, that is altered, and that in the highest degree. We have seen in the foregoing sections, that the *Moluccas*, strictly taken, that is, the five islands of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Bachian*, *Motir*, and *Makian*, which are precisely the places within the extent of this government, were the great objects of the *Portuguese* ambition, when they began to erect their empire in the east. We have seen what a high dispute was raised about them between the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; we have seen what prodigious efforts the united forces of those two crowns made to

° Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. p. 876.

(E) The king of *Ternate* was a Christian in 1722, and in all probability his successors will follow his example; but the kings of *Tidore* and *Bachian*, as well as all their subjects, are *Mohammedans* (47). The reader will not be displeased if we inform him that these three monarchs are fully persuaded, that it was their predecessors who went to visit our Saviour, upon the appearing of his star in the east; and it is very remarkable, that the *Mohammedans* are as warm in support of this fact as the Chri-

tians, affirming, that an account of this transaction is preserved in an antient oriental chronicle still remaining at *Mecca*. However this matter may be, the *Dutch* sailors, upon the feast of *Epiphany*, find their account in carrying painted stars, which they present to each of these monarchs, and are handsomely rewarded; that feast being celebrated with much solemnity, and a little too much superstition, both by *Mohammedans* and Christians (48).

(47) *Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 352.
(48) *L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 18, 19.

preserve them from the *Dutch*; and we have also seen with what pains, with what expence, with what danger, and with what difficulty, the *Dutch* carried their point at last, so as to become absolutely masters of them ^p. Let us now inquire to what end? These five little islands were esteemed the most valuable possession in the world, because in them, and in them only, grew cloves, and this it was that made such a stir about them. But, after the *Dutch* had held them about twenty-six years, they conceived it for their interest that cloves should grow no longer there. Accordingly by a treaty made in 1638 with the king of *Ternate*, and the other petty princes, they stipulated that all that kind of spice should be extirpated in every one of the islands, and not a clove-tree permitted ever to raise its head in one of them again. This treaty has been renewed twice since, and in consideration of annual pensions granted to the king and to the nobility of *Ternate*, and to the rest of the princes, which, after being twice augmented, do not amount, in the whole, to three thousand pounds sterling ^q. This article is very punctually performed: for the company's farther security in this particular, they maintain three strong forts, *viz. Orange, Holland, and Williamstadt*, with good garrisons, in the island of *Ternate*, and eight or nine more in the rest of the islands, where they vend a kind of cloth from the coast of *Guiney*, which brings them back most part, if not all their money; and, with other merchandize of small value, purchase rice and tortoise-shell, the only commodities that are now to be met with in the *Moluccas* ^r (F).

^p ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas. ^q Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 22.
^r Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 193, 194.

(F) After all this pains taken, and expence in maintaining so many garrisons, it is very doubtful whether the *Dutch* company would be able to preserve their monopoly, if these seas were visited by any other ships than their own; which seems to be the true reason why they will not suffer even *Dutch* vessels to enter their ports without certificates from *Batavia*. In order to understand this, it is necessary to observe, that some hints are to be met with, as if the free

burghesses in *Ternate* and *Tidore* made sometimes trips to the country of *New Guiney*, where, for bits of iron, small looking-glasses, and other trifles, they obtain excellent nutmegs, mace, and cloves, birds of paradise, and gold-dust, which are carried to *Gilolo*, and there, except the two last commodities, sold to the *Chinese*, who, either by the permission of the *Dutch*, or by stealth, carry on a great trade among these islands (49).

(49) *Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Maluques*, tom. iii. p. 354, 355. *Hamilton's Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 142, 143. *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 14, 15, 16.

S E C T. XX.

The Government of the Cape of Good Hope. Detail of the vast Improvements made there; and a brief View of the present Condition of the Hottentots, their Subjects. The Method of the Company's Fleets touching here, and other curious Particulars.

Of the Cape of Good Hope, the sixth government in the East India company's dominions.

THE sixth government bestowed by the company in the Indies is that of the *Cape of Good Hope*. The governor is always one of the counsellors of the Indies, and has likewise a council to assist him in the administration of affairs, as the rest of the governors have. The *Cape* is situated on the coast of *Caffres*, and is the most southern point of the continent of *Africa*; and in the year 1653 it was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch. It is justly esteemed one of the most important places in the hands of the company, though it is certain that the profits they draw from it are not comparable to those arising from some of the islands in the *East Indies*; and formerly things were in a worse situation, the revenues from that settlement falling short of its expence*. Yet it would be impossible to carry on their trade to the *East Indies*, if they were not possessed of this place; because at the *Cape*, and only at the *Cape*, they can meet with fresh water, and other refreshments, in their outward and homeward bound voyages, which are absolutely requisite, especially for such as are eaten up with the scurvy, who seldom fail to be recovered by the helps they meet with here.

The vast abundance of provisions at the Cape, and the prodigious advantage of this to the company.

THERE is such an abundance of all sorts of provisions at the *Cape*, that, notwithstanding the vast annual demand both by outward and homeward bound ships of all nations, never any scarcity arises, but all ships meet with the succours they expect at a moderate rate. In order to have a just notion of the great importance of this place, it will be proper to observe, that, in the space of a year, at least forty outward-bound ships touch there from *Holland* alone, and in these there cannot be less than eight or nine thousand people†. The homeward-bound ships from the *Indies* cannot be fewer, in the space of a year, than thirty-six, and on board these there are usually three thousand souls; not to speak of foreign vessels that likewise put in here, and have also all kinds of refreshments. This must appear very surprising, when one

* P. KOLBEN Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 17. 21, 22. † Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 672.

considers

considers what vast quantities such numerous fleets must require. But this is not all ; these ships do not enter the port, and sail again directly, but continue there for some time, in-
somuch that there are always ships in the road, except in the months of *May, June, and July*, when it is dangerous on account of the north-west wind, that blows with the utmost violence during these three months *.

THE description of this country, as it is situated in *Africa*, By a belongs to another place ; and therefore here we shall confine ourselves only to what immediately concerns the port, and the oeconomy of the company's government, in what we have farther to add upon this subject. But, previous to this, it will be requisite to observe, that this country had not only been rejected both by the *Portuguese* and the *English*, as not worth the pains of keeping, but was actually fifty years in the hands of the *Dutch* before they judged it capable of any improvements * (G). That they changed their sentiments

By a strange fatality this country was abandoned by the Portuguese and English, and long neglected by the Dutch.

* L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 169, 170, 171.

▼ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 672.

(G) The fortune of this country is so extraordinary, that the reader will be certainly pleased to find the hints given in the text somewhat more fully explained. We have before shewn, that a famous *Portuguese* sea-officer, *Bartholomew Diaz*, was the first *European* that doubled this cape, *Anno Domini* 1493, by whom it was called the *Stormy Cape*, which was changed into that it now bears by the *Portuguese* monarch *John* the second. It was certainly a capital fault in his subjects, for which they have paid very dear, that they did not make a proper settlement here ; which if they had done, might have been of great consequence to their establishments in the *Indies*. Instead of that, they were continually squabbling with, and destroying the natives, whom they represented as the basest, most cruel, and perfidious, barbarians in the world ; which was a character they by no means deserved ; and at the same time gave them so bad an impression of white men, that they looked upon them with abhorrence (50). In the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* several *English* ships touched at the *Cape*, and at length took possession of it with the usual forms, three condemned persons being sent to remain there. Accordingly they stayed some years, and were then brought off by another ship, to whom they made a dismal report of the country and the people, begging heartily to go home, and be hanged, rather than stay there any longer. Upon this representation all thoughts of fixing a colony there were given up ; though the necessity of having

(50) P. Kolben Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, vol. ii. p. 17. 21.

in this respect; and, of a wild and waste desert, rendered it the fairest, finest, and fruitfulest spot, upon the globe, was intirely owing to the judicious foresight of a private man, and to the ready acceptance his project met with from the company's directors. The name of this extraordinary person was Mr. *Van Riebeeck*, a surgeon on board one of their ships; who, being some time on shore, conceived in his mind the plan of almost all that has been since done*.

The whole settlement made, and all its consequences, due to the sagacity of Mr. Van Riebeeck. In his passage home he digested his thoughts in writing; and, having laid his scheme before the directors, they not only approved it, but fitted out immediately a squadron of four sail of large ships, laden with every thing requisite for putting it in execution, giving the sole command of them to *Van Riebeeck*, with instructions drawn from his own papers. This man laid the basis of his new establishment in equity; he purchased the country he resolved to settle from the natives, and gave them for it such goods as they chose, to the amount of fifty thousand florins: he did not oblige them to remove, nor did he put the least constraint upon their freedom. When they were disposed to work, he paid them; when they were sick, he relieved them. As they had not the use of letters, there could be no written agreement between them; he took no advantage of this: he performed his promises punctually, by which the *Hottentots* came to have a confidence in the *Dutch*. It quickly appeared that his notions were perfectly well founded, and that the country was every way capable of improvement; but, as all things necessary for that purpose were to be brought from *Europe*, these improvements could not be made but at a vast expence, from which however there could not be expected any immediate return. The company considered this in a very right light; they comprehended presently the importance of the design, and chearfully fur-

* P. KOLBEN Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 23. † Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 673.

some place of refreshment for outward and homeward-bound ships to and from the *Indies* was so apparent, that the island of *St. Helena* was fixed upon, and has served for that purpose ever since (51). The *Dutch* began to touch at the *Cape* as early as 1600, and very prudently built a fort there, the ruins of which are still visible; but the first project of a settlement was in 1648; of the rise and progress of which the reader has a succinct account in the text, which it is hoped these dates and remarks will render sufficiently clear (52).

(51) *Hamilton's Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 1, 2, 3, 4. (52) *Voyage de Siam*, lib. ii. p. 52.

nished at the rate of a million *per annum* for twenty years; that is, in plain *English*, they spent two millions sterling to make this country and colony what they are². In this, beyond all doubt, they acted a wise and great part, worthy not only of praise and imitation, but of that prodigious success with which Providence has been pleased to bless their prudence and perseverance (H).

THE bay is very fine and large, of an oval form, and entering two or three leagues within land; about nine miles in circuit, and is capable of holding one hundred sail of large ships very commodiously; yet it must be allowed, that the anchorage is not every-where alike good, and near the shore there is some danger. The middle of this bay is commanded by a very strong fort, which is a regular pentagon, each bastion mounted with twenty pieces of heavy cannon. The fort and the town are both situated on the edge of a plain, three leagues in extent, at the bottom of three very high mountains; the first is stiled the *Lion Mountain*, because it has a resemblance of a lion couching upon his belly; the next is the *Table Mountain*, which is much higher, so that in a clear day it may be seen twenty leagues; the third is called the *Devil's Mountain*, and is not so remarkable as either of

Bay at the Cape exceedingly spacious, admirably secured, and wonderfully advantageous.

² P. KOLBEN Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 27, 28, 29.

(H) There are few persons who have left posterity clearer memorials either of their virtue or ability than this ingenious surgeon; and it is very happy for the *Dutch* nation that the principles he laid down have been steadily pursued in the management of this country ever since; because it would be no difficult thing to shew, that this system could never have been changed for a better. The company have now a vast territory, the soil of which is fruitful, the climate wholesome and pleasant, the country wonderfully improved, and daily improving, and this in the way most to their advantage, that is,

by agriculture, vineyards, and feeding of cattle; so that their provisions and their people increase in the same proportion; and this colony, in the space of a few years, will become so populous, and the people, from their manner of living, so vigorous and hardy, that they will not only be secure from any attempts that other nations might make, but be also in a condition to furnish supplies of well seasoned and serviceable men for the protection of any of their settlements in the *Indies*, in case of emergencies; a point of true policy, which the *French* have very wisely begun to imitate (53).

[(53) See our Account of their Settlements in the Isles of Bourbon and France.

the former. The houses of which this town is composed are very neat, yet not above two stories high, because of the furious south-east winds that sometimes blow here. The people who dwell at the *Cape*, and on the coast, are for the most part Christians, and are stiled *Africans*; those who inhabit the country farther within land are called peasants. They are all of them either *Europeans*, or descended from *Europeans*^a.

State of the
inland
plantations;
and of such as
in this
country the
Dutch
stole peasants.

THERE are some who are settled three hundred leagues from the coast; notwithstanding which, they are all obliged once a year to appear at a place called *Stellenbech*, where the *Droffard*, or magistrate of the country, resides. The design is, that they may pass in review; for the peasants, as well as the townsmen, are formed into companies commanded by proper officers. After the review is over, they return to their respective dwellings, and generally carry home such tools as they have occasion for in their country work. These people cultivate their ground, and sow rye, barley, beans, &c. They likewise plant vines, which produce very fine grapes, of which they make excellent wine. There are some of these peasants that are in very happy circumstances, having, besides large and well cultivated plantations, great quantities of sheep and cattle. Amongst other colonies, there is one at the distance of eight leagues from the town, intirely composed of *French* refugees, who have there a large tract of country very well cultivated. The place where they live is called *Drachonstein*, and they are allowed churches and ministers of their own nation^b. Part of the inhabitants of the town are in the service of the company, and the rest are free burgeses. They have their proper magistrates, who decide causes of small consequence, and regulate little disputes that happen amongst them; but, as to matters of any importance, they are carried before the governor and his council, who determine finally, and without appeal. It is pretty much the same thing in the flat country, where the *Droffard* terminates all things of small consequence; but any thing of importance is always carried before the governor and his council, by whom it is determined; and their sentences, in civil and criminal affairs, are executed without delay. As for the military establishment, it is exactly on the same foot as at *Batavia*; the officer who commands in chief has the rank and pay of a major-general. The officers under him are captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, who take care to keep their companies always complete, and well

^a L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 228, 229.

^b P. KOLBEN Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. ii. p. 52.

disciplined;

disciplined; so that, in case of an attack, they can draw together at least five thousand men well armed, and as good as any regular troops; every peasant knowing whither to repair, in order to range himself under his proper standard^c (I).

THE country round the town, at the *Cape*, is full of vineyards and gardens; the company have two, which are perhaps the finest in the world. The one lies at the distance of two hundred paces from the fort, between the town and *Table Mountain*; it is about fourteen hundred paces in length, and two hundred thirty-five in breadth: a fine rivulet from the mountain runs through the midst of it: it is divided into quarters; and they cultivate therein, with the utmost success, the fruits and flowers of all the four parts of the world. The other garden is at the distance of two leagues, in that which is called the new country, and is likewise kept in the best order that can be by the slaves of the company, which are seldom less than five hundred^d. The country thereabouts is moun-

A succinct account of the country, the inhabitants from Europe, and the discoveries made there.

^c L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 231. ^d Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé DE CHOISY, p. 82. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 234.

(I) It must be admitted, notwithstanding some imperfections and mismanagements to which the *Dutch East India* company, as well as all other great bodies, must be liable, that they are in many respects better served, and have their affairs managed with more œconomy, than perhaps any other company in *Europe*; of this the establishment we are now speaking of is a sufficient proof. The company have there a governor and council, with the civil, military, and ecclesiastical establishment, the ordinary and extraordinary expence of which is borne by them in a very honourable manner; so that upwards of twelve hundred persons are maintained at their charge, exclusive of a numerous militia, both horse and foot, that serve at their own

charge, or that of the colony. The company likewise defrays the necessary expence of her ships outward and homeward bound, and maintains an hospital for diseased seamen; all of which, taken together, comes within the sum of forty thousand pounds sterling *per annum*, which is answered by the sale of goods at the *Cape*, and by the customs and excises; so that, upon the whole, they are little or nothing out of pocket, tho' near one half of their disbursements ought not to be placed to the account of this colony; so that in this sense they may be said to draw from thence a clear revenue of twenty thousand pounds sterling a year, with this additional advantage, that their income is constantly increasing (49).

tainous and stony; but the valleys very agreeable, and exceedingly fertile. The climate is the best in the world, for cold and heat are never felt there in any excessive degree; and the people live to great ages without diseases, which are never known but when produced by intemperance. The very mountains, besides contributing to the wholesomeness of the place, are supposed to be full of gold, and other valuable metals; some essays have been made, but as yet no mines have been discovered in such a situation as would permit the working of them to advantage. The late Mr. *Van Steel*, when he was governor of the *Cape*, travelled over the country, and examined it with great care and attention. He caused gardens to be laid out, and pleasure-houses to be built, in several places; but the peasants, who were employed in building those houses, and cultivating these gardens, sent over a complaint to the company, alledging, that it was prejudicial to their private affairs, and put it out of their power to maintain their families. Upon this, the governor was recalled immediately. His discoveries, however, were of very great consequence, inasmuch as they made known not only the inner parts of the country, but the nations who inhabit them*.

*A short
view of
the Hot-
tentot na-
tions dwell-
ing in the
neighbour-
hood of the
Dutch
colony.*

THESE, so far as they are yet discovered, consist of seven different nations, all comprehended under the general name of *Hottentots*. The first of these, and the least considerable, are without a chief, live in the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, and are most of them in the service of the company, dwell with townsmen, or are employed by the peasants and farmers in cultivating their lands. The second inhabit the mountains, or, to speak with greater propriety, live in the caverns of the mountains. They are thieves by profession, and draw their subsistence intirely from plundering the peaceable *Hottentots*, with whom they are in continual war. There is one thing, however, that is very singular with respect to this thievish nation, which is, that they never rob or molest a Christian. The third nation is called the *Little Macqua*; the fourth the *Great Macqua*; the fifth the *Little Kricqua*; the sixth the *Great Kricqua*. These words *Macqua* and *Kricqua* signify king or chief. They are constantly engaged in war with each other; but, when any nation is in danger of being ruined, two or three nations immediately join them; for the balance

* P. KOLBERN Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. ii. p. 35.

of power is a maxim as well understood and supported by the *Hottentots* as by the potentates in *Europe*†.

PART of these *Hottentots* have submitted themselves, and are therefore stiled the company's *Hottentots*. The Dutch send annually about fifty or sixty persons to trade with these people, who purchase their cattle, and give them in exchange arrack, tobacco, hemp, and such seeds as they have occasion for, by which means a good understanding is preserved. These *Hottentots* of the company are very often attacked by the other nations; and, when they find they have so far the worst of it that they are no longer able to defend themselves by their own force, the king puts himself at the head of a small body of troops, and marches down to the *Cape* to demand assistance. As soon as he arrives, he goes to the governor, with the principal people of his nation, holding the commanding staff in his hand, given him by the company, and which has their arms upon it; and, extending it towards the governor, desires he would grant him succours. If the governor does not think fit to yield to his request, but contents himself with giving him good words, he, without more ado, throws his staff at the governor's feet, and tells him in bad Dutch, *Voor my niet meer Compagnies Hottentot*, that is, *For me, I will be no more the Company's Hottentot*. The governor, however, generally sends an escort of troops back with him: for it is the interest of the company to be upon good terms with this sort of a prince, because he is always ready to do whatever they desire of him‡.

THE seventh nation is that of the *Caffres*. These are properly the *Anthropophagi*, who have made so much noise in the world. The *Hottentots* are exceedingly afraid of them; *Caffres*, and take all the care they can to keep out of their way, for fear of being roasted or boiled if they should be taken prisoners. This abominable nation would never enter into any sort of commerce with the Christians; but, on the contrary, take all the pains they can to entrap them, in order to murder, and, as is generally believed, to eat them. It is indeed reported of late years, they are grown somewhat more tractable, and entertain some sort of trade with those who will venture to have any dealings with them. They are a very potent and warlike nation, being all of them strong well-made men;

† L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 235. P. KOLBEN Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 109.

‡ L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 236, 237.

and,

and, though their hair is curled and black, like that of other negroes, yet they have better faces, and a much more manly appearance ^a (K).

^a HAMILTON's Account of the *East Indies*, tom. i. p. 5. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 240, 241.

(K) What is said in the text of the *Caffres* is taken from the *Dutch* writers in general, who perhaps have given a little too much credit to the *Hottentots*; for, after all, there is some reason to doubt whether these people are men-eaters, or void of civility and virtue (50). An author, whose veracity is justly esteemed, informs us of an *Englishman*, that a *Dutch* captain, who went into this country to trade, found living there à la mode de *Caffre*, who had two wives, and was very rich. The captain exhorted him to leave his family which was very numerous, and retire with all his effects to the *Cape*; to which the *Englishman* was easily persuaded. But the king of the *Caffres*, having intelligence of these conferences, sent for his white *Caffre*; represented to him the baseness, ingratitude, and inhumanity, of such a behaviour; told him that his wives and children must starve and perish; that it was a wicked and profligate return for that humane and generous treatment

which he had received amongst them; and that he ought to consider that as his country, where, by choice, he had taken wives, by whom he had many children. The *Englishman*, says this author, was so wrought upon by the eloquence of the black monarch, that he not only abandoned his design, but prevailed upon one of the *Dutch* captain's seamen to remain in that country, and bear him company. A writer of our own country gives us much the same account of these *Caffres*; and adds a remarkable instance of their honesty and humanity (51). It is true that the accounts given here and in the text contradict each other, but there is no help for that; and it is much better to give the reader notice of these contradictions, than to make choice of either account as certain, when in reality this cannot be affirmed of any hitherto received. The utmost that can be said, is, that the latter seems to be the more probable of the two.

(50) Hamilton's Account of the *East Indies*, vol. i. p. 5. Description du Cap de Bon Espérance, vol. i. p. 136, 137.

(51) P. Kallier

S E C T. XXI.

The Government of the Fortrefs and Territory of Malacca, the laft, but not the leaft confiderable, of the Company's Firft-rate Governments. The Difficulties of reducing it, which fixed them in the Indies; and the great Importance of this Settlement, from its admirable Situation.

THE last government is that of *Malacca*, which city is the capital of a small kingdom of the same name, the inhabitants of which are called *Malayans*. The governor here is a merchant, and the establishment much the same with those in the other governments. The kingdom of *Malacca* makes the south part of the peninsula of *India*, beyond the *Ganges*; and is divided from the great island of *Sumatra* by a streight, which bears the name of the streights of *Malacca*. The *Dutch*, after several attempts, took this place from the *Portuguese* in 1641, and have maintained themselves in the possession of it ever since. It may not be amiss to describe the manner in which they acquired this strong fortress. They were informed that great disputes subsisted between the garriſon and the king of *Johore*; from which they immediately conceived hopes of reducing it. With this view they fitted out from *Batavia* a strong fleet, with a great body of land-forces on board: and at the same time concluded an alliance with the king of *Johore*, offensive and defensive, as long as the sun and moon gave light to the world. On which the king of *Johore*, with twenty thousand men, laid siege to the fort by land, while the *Dutch* distressed it by sea; and yet, for all that both the fleet and army could do, they could not have taken it but by reducing them thro' famine, which would have taken up a great deal of time; so what they could not effect by force they did by fraud¹.

THEY heard that the *Portuguese* governor was fordid and avaricious, for which ill qualities he was much hated by the garriſon; the *Dutch* therefore tampered with him by letters, promising him mountains of gold if he would contribute towards their reducing the fort. At length the price was set; 80,000 pieces of eight were to be the reward of his treachery, and he was

¹ HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 76. *By what means, after various unsuccessful attempts, it came into their hands.*
 Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 317.

to be safely transported to *Batavia* in their fleet, and be made a free denizen there. Upon this he gave secret instructions to the *Dutch* to make an attack on the east side of the fort, and he would act his part; which was accordingly done. He next called a council, and told the officers he had a mind to circumvent the *Dutch*, by letting them come close to the fort-walls; and then to fire briskly from all quarters, and destroy them at once. In consequence of this, the *Dutch* made their approaches without molestation, and placed their ladders^k. The garrison sent message after message, to acquaint the governor of the danger they were in for want of orders to fire or sally on the *Dutch*, as was agreed on in council; but he delayed so long, till the enemy got into the fort, and drove the guard from the east gate, which they soon opened, to receive the rest of their army; who, as soon as they were entered, gave quarter to none that were in arms, marching directly towards the governor's house, where he thought himself secure by the treaty; but they forthwith dispatched him, to save the eighty thousand dollars.

The advantages and inconveniency of this settlement, as they stand at present.

THE city is large, and drives a great trade in consequence of its excellent situation, which renders it the storehouse and magazine of all that part of *India*; but there is one great inconveniency at *Malacca*, and that is, the scarcity of provisions; and even what little is to be had consists only of different kinds of fish. The inhabitants are of a dark complexion; a brisk, cunning, active people, and great thieves. Some of them are idolaters, but generally speaking they are *Mohammedans*. The *Portuguese* had no less than three churches and a chapel within the fort, and one without. That which the *Dutch* now use for their worship stands conspicuously on the top of an hill, and may be seen up or down the streights at a good distance; and a flag-staff is placed on the steeple, on which a flag is hoisted on the sight of any ship^l. The fort is both large and strong; the sea washing the walls of one part; a deep, rapid, but narrow river, the west side; and a broad deep ditch the rest of it. The governor's house is both beautiful and convenient; and there are several other good houses in the fort, and in the town without the fort; but the road is at too great a distance for ships to be defended by the fort, the shallowness of the sea obliging them to lie above a league off, which is a very great prejudice: for,

^k HAMILTON's Voyage to the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 77, 78.

^l Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 803.

in 1709, the *French*, coming into the streights with a squadron of three or four sail, and seeing a large ship in the road from *Japan*, stood in; and had certainly carried her out, if the wind had not failed them when but a market-shot from her^m. At *Malacca* the streights are not above four leagues broad; for though the opposite shore on *Sumatra* is very low, yet it may be easily seen in a clear day; which is the reason the sea is always as smooth as a mill-pond, except when ruffled with squalls of wind, which are commonly accompanied with lightning, thunder, and rain; yet, tho' they come with great violence, they are soon over, seldom exceeding an hourⁿ.

THE country produces nothing for a foreign market, except a little tin, and elephants teeth; but several excellent fruits and roots for the use of the inhabitants, and strangers who call for refreshments. Yet, after all, this is a matter but of small consequence, and would by no means compensate the charge, or justify the prudence of the *Dutch* company, in taking so much pains, and being at so large an expence, for the preservation of this small district. It is the importance of its situation that makes *Malacca* so much regarded. It stands as it were in the midst of the sea; and, if one may be allowed the expression, divides *India* from *India*, that is, there can be no commerce safely carried on from the coasts of *Malabar*, *Coromandel*, or the bay of *Bengal*, to *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Java*, or the rest of the islands, or to *China* and *Japan*, without the leave of such as are masters of it^o. This was a thing known before the *Europeans* found a passage in these seas by the *Cape of Good Hope*; it was a just sense of this that put the *Portuguese* upon taking it; in which however they found more difficulty than in almost any of their conquests. It was this that made the *Dutch* so restless till they had it, and this makes them so cautious and so jealous in the preservation of it. They know that if ever a war should happen, its importance would quickly appear; and they very well know, that it is the sense that both *Indian* and *European* nations have of this that in a great measure contributes to their enjoying peace. These are the arguments, therefore, that have prevailed upon them to make it one of their principal governments; and these are the arguments which

* HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 79.

ⁿ Voyage de GAUTIER SCHOUTEN, tom. ii. p. 134, 135.

^o Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 201.

all competent judges of the trade of *India* must necessarily approve P (L).

* *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 803.

(L) What is said in the text will give the reader a general sense of the condition and consequence of this fortress, in which there are about three hundred *Dutch* families, and a much larger number of *Chinese*, *Malayans*, and other *Indian* nations (52). Besides their governor, who has the supreme direction of civil and military affairs, the *Dutch* company has another officer here, who is intirely independent, and is charged with whatever regards customs, licences, and duties, from whence the best part of the company's revenues spring. He is still distinguished by the title of *Schambander*, which is the usual title of this officer in all oriental ports; was borrowed from the natives by the *Portuguese*, and is still retained by the *Dutch* (53). This was formerly the place to which the company's ships repaired on their return from *Japan*; and here their cargoes

were landed, and new assortments made for the different ports of *India*. But this method has been laid aside for many years, upon account of the great frauds to which it was exposed; and those ships now return to *Batavia*, that the distribution of their cargoes may be made under the eye of the general and council of the *Indies* (54). This must certainly have diminished the commerce of *Malacca*, which however is very far from being so inconsiderable as it is generally represented; since, as the countries behind it abound with gold, so it is well enough known that the company's servants find ways and means to come in for a share, and very seldom fail of raising good fortunes in a few years, notwithstanding all the complaints made of the vast decay of commerce, and the great expence the company is at for its preservation and defence.

(52) *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 201. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 803.

(53) *Janichon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 369. *Memoires de Dr. Garcin*.

(54) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 803.

S E C T. XXII.

An Account of the secondary Governments, or, as the Dutch stile them, Directions, on the Coast of Coromandel, in Bengal, at Surat, and at Gonibroon; as also of the Commandants on the Coast of Malabar, and elsewhere.

WE have now done with the Dutch East India company's *Directors*, governments; and the reader will observe, that, as we *the inferior* hinted before, these are confined to those places of which they are absolute masters, and where other nations have no rank and trade at all, or none but by their permission. But, as they carry on a prodigious commerce to places that are not immediately in their own possession; so those who have the superintendency of their concerns in these places, are distinguished by different titles. The directories of *Coromandel, Surat, Bengal, and Persia*, are all of great consequence, and the direction attended with great profit. The directors have, within the extent of their jurisdictions, the same power with the company's governors. The sole distinction is, that the director cannot execute any criminal sentence where he resides, but must cause it to be done under the company's flag; so that all criminals are executed on board a ship^a. *appointments, have the same power with governors.*

THE directory of *Coromandel* is the first of the four, and he who presides there has the fort and factories belonging to the Dutch under his inspection; as, in the commerce on this coast, the *English* and *Danes* have a share, and have built several good fortresses for its protection. The company have, notwithstanding, a very considerable interest in this part of *India*. Besides *Negapatan*, which lies on the southermost point of *Coromandel*, and the fort of *Guedria*, in which the director resides, they have the factories of *Guenepatnam, Sadrespatnam, Malispatnam, Pelicol, Datskorom, Benlispatnam, Nagernauty, and Golconda*. The whole extent of the coast from *Negapatan* to *Masulipatan* may be about one hundred leagues. The Dutch director has a council; and, if he discharges his office with reputation, he is commonly, after a few years, chosen one of the counsellors of the *Indies*. This is a very wise provision in the management of the company's affairs, that the honour and rank of a counsellor of the *Indies*, though a post of much less profit than that of a director or governor, makes it aspired to by such as are already in more

^a L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 175.

profitable employments; for it is not a very extraordinary thing in the *Indies* for a governor, in the space of a few years, to acquire an estate equal to the original capital of the *East India* company, that is, six millions and an half of guilders, which amounts to upwards of half a million sterling. *Messieurs Disboek, Heilman, Swaardekroon, Pattras, and Van Cloon*, within memory, acquired prodigious fortunes. There are also places at *Batavia* so very profitable, that, when the principal merchants are possessed of them, they sometimes decline the dignity of counsellor of the *Indies*, because, however honourable it may be, the profits are but small in comparison of these lucrative employments; such as the *Shabandar*, or chief of the custom-house, the *Fiscal* of the sea, the *Drossard* of the flat countries; all which bring in prodigious sums.

An account
of the pre-
sent condi-
tion and
importance
of this
commerce.

HERETOFORE the country of *Coromandel*, being divided into a great number of principalities, these little princes or chiefs laid such high duties, and gave such interruptions to trade, as made the *Dutch* very uneasy; but, after the war of *Golconda*, which cost the company a great deal of money, but ended at last to their advantage, these princes grew more tractable than formerly. At present the kings of *Bisnagar* and *Narsinga*, who are the most powerful in *Coromandel*, live on pretty good terms with the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans* (M). The chief trade carried on there is in cottons, muslins, chintzes,

* L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 176. * Voyage de NICOLAS GRAAF, p. 300, 301.

(M) In consequence of the company's success in the war mentioned in the text, they not only freed themselves from all the hardships to which their trade had been exposed from the ambition, injustice, or caprice, of the king of *Golconda*, but likewise obtained some great privileges, which they still enjoy, though that country is now under the dominion of the *Great Mogul*. The first is, that no merchant or trader among the natives, with whom their servants have any dealings, shall be liable to have his goods seized, on any pretence whatever, till the debts of the company are first satisfied. Next, that whatever weavers, painters, or other manufacturers, are employed by the company, shall not be compelled to undertake any kind of work till they have intirely complied with those contracts. Lastly, that the company shall be at full liberty to employ what brokers they please, and not those of the government, or of the *Raja's*: and, besides these, they enjoy, in common with the other *European* nations, an intire exemption from

chintses, and such kind of goods; in exchange for which the *Dutch* bring them spices, japan copper, steel, gold-dust, sandal and siampan woods. The inhabitants of the country are some of them pagans, some *Mabommedans*, and not a few Christians. During the east monsoon the weather is exceedingly hot, yet the country is very fertile in rice, fruits, herbs, and whatever else is necessary for the support of man^t. All the manufactures of this country are transported in the company's ships to *Batavia*, from whence they are sent home to *Holland*, and thence, with great profit, distributed throughout all *Germany* and the north.

THE seats of the second and third directions are fixed, the former at *Ouglia*, on the *Ganges*, thirty-six leagues from the mouth of that river; the other in the city of *Surat*; both in the territories of the *Great Mogul*. Those marts are the most considerable for trade in all *Asia*^u. The *Dutch*, *English*, *French*, and other *Europeans*, traffick to both, and have erected factories and magazines for their security and convenience. The best part of the trade is carried on by negro merchants, who deal in all sorts of goods, such as opium, diamonds, rich stuffs, and all kinds of cotton manufactures. The empire of the *Great Mogul* is of a prodigious extent, and the countries under his dominion are esteemed the richest in the world. The air is tolerably pure: and yet the head-ach, and a kind of malignant fever, are common diseases here. The latter generally attacks strangers, and is a kind of seasoning sickness, in which if the patient escapes the third day, he generally recovers^w. Most of the inhabitants of this country are tall, black, robust men, and of a gay, lively disposition. In point of religion, they are many of them idolaters, more *Mohammedans*, and some Christians; but that of *Mohammed* is the prevailing religion. As for the idolaters, they are split into abundance of sects, some of which believe firmly the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, and for this reason they will not take away the life of any living

^t *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 205, 206.

^u *L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 179. ^w *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 30.

the duty filed *Chappa-dellala*, and amounts to twelve per cent. for marking their cloths, which (55). the natives are obliged to pay,

(55) *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 204, 205. *Jarigon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 378, 379. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 791.

creature. They employ themselves, when they reside in towns, in the silk, cotton, and linen manufactures; and in the country, they cultivate their plantations, with the utmost diligence: so that they annually transport prodigious quantities of grain from hence to *Batavia* *.

Surat,
which is
also in the
Mogul's
dominions,
the seat of
the third
direction.

SURAT is a town of no very great antiquity, but very large, and immensely rich. It is in compass about five miles within the walls, and the number of inhabitants are computed at two hundred thousand. The *Moorish*, and even the *Indian* merchants, are many of them prodigiously rich. The former addict themselves chiefly to the diamond trade, which is very precarious; for, with some, a small stock produces an immense fortune, whereas others waste prodigious sums, without finding stones of any great value; for, at the diamond mines, they purchase so many yards square at a certain price, pay the slaves who dig and sift the earth, and take whatever stones are found in that spot, which sometimes are of great value, and sometimes so small and so few, as not to quit costs †. Other *Moorish* merchants deal largely in foreign trade; and, as the *Mogul* is a very easy master, so there are some that arrive at prodigious wealth, and carry on such a commerce, as can scarce be credited in *Europe*. About 1720, there died a *Moorish* merchant at *Surat*, who fitted out annually twenty sail of ships, from three to eight hundred ton, the cargoes of which ran from ten to twenty thousand pounds; and he had always goods in his magazines equal in value to what he sent abroad ‡. The customs of *Surat* amount every year to upwards of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds; and, as the merchants pay there, at a medium, three *per cent.* the value of the goods imported amounts to upwards of five millions. It is fit to observe, that, at this port, and indeed through all the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, *Europeans* deal chiefly for gold and silver, with which they find they purchase commodities upon the easiest terms; and in this the *Dutch*, who settled here about 1616, have a considerable advantage; for, instead of coin or bullion, they bring fine silver from *Japan*, which bears a better price, as the *Indians* consume most of the rich metals they obtain in vast services of plate, very rich brocades, or in gold and silver stuffs, of which much is worn in their own country, and not a little transported into *Persia*, and other

* L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 181. † Miscellanea Curiosa, vol. iii. p. 242. ‡ HAMILTON's History of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 149.

places; so that the common opinion of their hoarding up and burying silver is not over well founded * (N).

THE fourth and last establishment under a director; is that at *Bandar-Abassi*, on the coast of *Persia*. The director has a council, and a fiscal, to assist him. As this city stands on the

The fourth and last direction fixed at Gam-broon, or Bandar-Abassi, on the coast of Persia.

* *Histoire des Indes*, vol. ii. p. 46. HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 149.

(N) We find it very positively asserted, in some books of travels which are in good repute, that the *European* factories at *Surat* are very strong, and well fortified, particularly that of the *Dutch*; which, however, is directly contrary to truth. If the reader is desirous of knowing how this can possibly happen, since it is a point about which an eye-witness can hardly be mistaken, it may afford him some satisfaction, when he is told, that many of these writers, and some of note, to render their books more complete, describe places where they never were, according to the best accounts they can get, and receiving these from persons that speak very indistinctly, fall into frequent mistakes. The *Dutch* settled here about the year 1616; and their factory is nothing more than a large house in the midst of the city, at a good distance from the river; and so far from being fortified, that it is really out of repair; not through any neglect in the company and their servants, but for want of a licence from the *Mogul*, his ministers being rather more jealous of the *Dutch* than of any other *European* nation (56). When their ships arrive in the road of *Surat*, their goods are brought on

those, and placed under a great tent at the foot of the castle, and under the command of the guns of that fortress, with a small guard of the company's soldiers, where they remain during the fair monsoon; before the end of which, the best part of them are sold, and sent away, and what remain, on the approach of foul weather, brought to their magazines, which are very far from being large. The three great commodities in which they deal are spices, sugar, and elephants teeth; upon all which, but more especially upon the last, they have a prodigious profit, since ivory sells no-where better; they likewise vend copper, tin, tortoise-shell, camphire, vermilion, and *European* cloths of all sorts; their returns are made in a variety of goods, which would take up more room than we can spare to mention; and we shall therefore only remark, that they carry from hence great quantities of silver coin, *viz.* roupies, with which they purchase goods in the bay of *Bengal*, and also rough diamonds. Upon their factory at *Surat* depend the establishments they have at *Amazabad*, and in some other places in the dominion of the *Mogul* (57).

(56) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 423, 424. *Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 208, 209.

(57) *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 208, 209. *Ouvignon's Voyage to Surat*.

gulf of *Balsora*, and is the only port which the *Persian* monarchs have on the *Indian* sea, it lies at a great distance from *Batavia*; which is one reason why this direction is not so much sought as others: but there is another more potent, which is, that the heat is greater there than in any other place, and the air excessively unwholesome. To balance these inconveniences, the director of *Gambroon* has an opportunity of making, in a short time, a vast fortune; so that some, who have been in that direction four or five years, have acquired such estates, as rendered it unnecessary to concern themselves any farther in commerce ^b. There are other *European* nations settled there besides the *Dutch*; but they have by far the best factory, and have fortified it so effectually, that though the highlanders in its neighbourhood, who are a crew of bold and barbarous robbers, have often attacked, yet they never could master it. This city is but a disagreeable place to live in, since in *August* it is so hot, that there is no bearing it, and in the winter so cold, that they not only wear *English* cloth, but line it with furs ^c. They have here black cattle, sheep, goats, fowl, and fish, very good in their kind, and tolerably cheap; grapes, melons, and mangoes, in the utmost perfection; excellent wine, esteemed by the best judges superior to that of all other countries; and, as a proof of this, it is asserted, that it will bear four times its quantity of water, and still preserve a very rich flavour. In those troubles which have now for many years disturbed the whole dominions of *Persia*, all trading nations have had their share, and the *Dutch* amongst the rest; neither is it possible to say in what state their affairs stand in this empire at present (O).

AFTER

^b Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 709, 710. ^c HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 94, 95.

(O) Though the *Dutch* came later into the *Persian* trade than the *English*, yet, by their indefatigable industry, and their extraordinary address, in the management of commercial affairs, they came very soon to have a considerable share in this traffic, and went on improving it continually. At first, the company were not a little uneasy on the score of the superior privileges granted to the *English*, in return for the services they had rendered to the *Persian* government. But, in the year 1652, they found means to indemnify themselves, by a treaty which they made with the *Persian* court, by which they were allowed to bring in a certain quantity of goods, without paying any duties outward or inward; in consideration of which, they obliged themselves to take annually six hundred bales of silk, amounting, in the whole, to near seventeen thousand pound a year.

AFTER directors, the next rank in the *Dutch East India Company's* service is commandant, or chief. In some places, where military skill, and a strict attention to the safety of the place committed to his care, is chiefly required, the power is intrusted with an officer, who has the title of commandant; and in other places, where almost the sole concern is trade, a merchant is at the head of the company's affairs, who is styled the *Dutch* chief. As directors are restrained from causing criminals to be executed, except under the company's flag, on board one their of ships; so there is a farther restriction upon a commandant, or chief; for his sentence is not valid, till revised, and confirmed, by the general and council at *Batavia*. This employment, though in the third rank, is very considerable, and the person raised thereto is respected within his jurisdiction, and his orders as punctually obeyed, as if he had a superior title; but, in case he exceeds the bounds of his authority, like the rest of the company's servants, he is liable to be called to an account; by the civil magistrates, if he be a chief; and by a court-martial, if a commander; which keeps them pretty well to their duty^d. We shall take the same method in speaking of these that has been pursued,

ants and chiefs, officers of the third rank in the company's service.

^d L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 188, 189.

weight, at the price set by the officers of the Shâh (58). By this bargain they would have been no great gainers at any time, and must have suffered often very much, if they had not been wise enough to take certain precautions. In the first place, they lived very handsomely in the factory, where the Shâh's officers were elegantly entertained, and received, from time to time, valuable presents. In return for these, they sometimes procured an abatement in the number of bales, and permitted, at all times, twice the quantity of goods to enter duty free, that had been stipulated in the

treaty. In consequence of these relaxations, the *Dutch* were very considerable gainers; which induced them to build a new factory here, much handfomer, and more convenient, as well as much more spacious, than their old one (59). Upon this depended their house at *Ispahan*, and another in *Kirman*. But, as we intimated in the text, it is not easy to say how things stand there at present, since the trade of all the *European* nations has suffered severely, during the civil wars that have so long distressed that empire, and from which it is as yet far from being recovered (60)

(58) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 707, 708, 709. *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 209, 210. *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 182, 183. (59) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 709, 710. (60) *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 185.

in giving an account of the governors and directors, as, indeed there is no other method by which the power and influence of this company in the *Indies* can be thoroughly shewn, or an adequate idea given of its present state, and strength.

Couchin, the residence of the company's commandant upon the coast of Malabar.

THE coast of *Malabar* extends about an hundred and fifty leagues in length, and in breadth about twenty. The climate, though very warm, is very wholesome; the soil also is fertile, in rice, fruit, and all sorts of herbs. This country is divided into abundance of small principalities; among which, the following have the title of kingdoms; viz. *Cananor, Calecut, Cranganor, Couchin, Calicoulang, Porca, Coulang, and Travankor*°. As the capital of the *Dutch* possessions in this country is the city of *Couchin*, where the commandant resides, we shall particularly describe that little kingdom. It reaches from *Chitwa*, about twenty-four leagues to the southward, and, on the coast, is divided by the rivulets that run from the mountains of *Gatti*, into a multitude of small islands; and these rivers have two great mouths, or outlets, one at *Couchin*, the other at *Cranganor*. The *Portuguese* built, at the first of these, a fine city, on the river-side, about three leagues from the sea; but, the sea gaining on the land yearly, it is not distant now above one hundred paces, which makes it strong by nature, but art has not been wanting to fortify it. The city built by the *Portuguese* was a mile and an half long, and a mile broad. The *Dutch* took it about the year 1662, when *Heitloff van Ghonz* was general of their forces by land and sea, and the king of *Couchin* assisted with twenty thousand men†.

The manner in which the Dutch reduced this place when under the Portuguese.

THE *Dutch* had scarcely invested the place, before *Van Ghonz* received advice of a peace between *Portugal* and *Holland*; but that he kept a secret. He therefore, having made a breach in the weakest part of the wall, proceeded to an assault for eight days and nights, without intermission, and relieved his men every three hours; but the *Portuguese* keeping theirs continually upon duty all the while, and finding the city, at last, in danger of being taken by storm, delivered up the place. In the town there were four hundred *Topasses*, who had done good service, but were not comprehended in the treaty. As they knew the cruelty and licentiousness of the *Dutch* soldiery, they drew up on a parade, within the port at which the *Portuguese* were to go out, and the *Dutch* to enter, and swore, that if they had not the same favour granted as

° Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 783, 784, 785.

† HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 323.

the *Portuguese*, they would massacre them all, and set fire to the town. The *Dutch* general knew his interest too well to deny what they desired, and offered, moreover, to take those who had a mind to serve into *Dutch* pay; which many of them accepted. The very next day, came a frigate from *Goa*, with the articles of peace; and the *Portuguese* complaining loudly of the general's unfair dealings, were answered, that the *Portuguese* had acted the same farce towards the *Dutch*, at their taking *Fernambuco*, in *Brasil*, a few years before ¹.

THE *English* had then a factory in *Cochin*; but the *Dutch* Upon this ordered them to remove, with their effects, which they ac- revolution, cordingly did, to *Pennany*. The *Dutch*, thinking the place the Eng- too large, contracted it to one tenth of what it was. It is lish, who about six hundred paces long, and two hundred broad, for- had a fac- tified with seven large bastions, and curtains so thick, that tory there, were obli- gged to with- stand, Some streets built by the *Portuguese* are still drawu. standing, with a church for the *Dutch* service, and the ca- thedral, which is now turned into a warehouse. The com- mander's house, a stately structure, is the only house built after the *Dutch* mode, and the river washes some part of its walls. Their flag-staff is placed on the steeple of the old ca- thedral, on a mast of seventy-five feet high, so that the flag may be seen above seven leagues off. The garrison here ge- nerally consists of three hundred effective men: and from hence to *Cape Comorin*, are allowed for garrisons, in all their forts and factories, five hundred soldiers, and one hundred seamen, *Europeans*, besides some *Topasses*, and the militia. They have their rice from *Barfalore*; because the *Malabar* rice will not keep above three months out, but in the husk a year. The country produces great quantities of pepper, but lighter than that which grows more to the north. Their woods afford good teak for building, and angelique and paw- peet for making large chests and cabinets, which are carried all over the west coasts of *India*. They have also iron and steel in plenty, and bees-wax, for exporting. The sea af- fords them abundance of good fish, of several kinds, which, with those that are caught in their rivers, make them very cheap ^b (P).

GRAN-

¹ HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 329, 330.

^a L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 190, 191. HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 330, 331.

(P) We have, in the former the *Dutch*, in virtue of their part of this chapter, shewn how conquests upon the *Malabar* coast,

A considerable settlement of the Jews at Cranganor, from the time of the captivity.

CRANGANOR lies a league up the river from the sea, and the Dutch have also a fort there. This place is remarkable for having been formerly the seat of a Jewish government, that nation having been once so numerous there, that they could reckon above eighty thousand families, but at present are reduced to four thousand. They have a synagogue at Couchin, not far from the king's palace, about two miles from the city, in which are carefully kept their records, engraven on copper-plates, in Hebrew characters; and when any of the characters decay, they are new cut: so that they can shew their history from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to this present time.

A succinct history of this Jewish monarchy, published by Mr. Van Reede, from their own records.

MYNHEER Van Reede, about the year 1695, had an abstract of their history, translated from the Hebrew into Low Dutch. They declare themselves to be of the tribe of Manasseh, a part whereof was by Nebuchadnezzar carried to

¹ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 784.

coast, have engrossed, in a great measure, the trade in pepper and cardamoms, by exclusive treaties with most of the petty princes; upon which advantageous footing, that commerce still continues, and by which, consequently, they are very great gainers. It is true, that sometimes attempts are made to throw off their yoke, but they have hitherto been so far from having had that effect, that they have, on the contrary, contributed to make it more heavy. The Samorin, who was so great a prince when the Portuguese came upon this coast, retained some appearance of grandeur, and, which was much better, a real independency, till, about the year 1714, he engaged in a war with the Dutch company. It seems they had begun to build a fort at Cbitwa, on the frontiers of the Samorin's dominions, which, without any previous complaint, or declara-

tion of war, he surpris'd, and put a garrison into, which brought on a war. As the Dutch have, in their several fortresses upon this coast, a body of at least a thousand European troops, and a considerable maritime force besides, they distressed the Indian monarch exceedingly; and, in the end, obliged him to conclude a peace, upon very disadvantageous terms: for he agreed to rebuild the fort which, soon after the war began, he had demolished, at his own expence; to pay all the charges of the war, which amounted to a large sum; and, which was infinitely the worst part of the bargain, granted the Dutch company a duty of seven per cent. upon all the pepper exported out of his territories, for ever; so that he is now a vassal as well as the rest, though not altogether so much under their dominion (61).

(61) Hamilton's Account of the Indies, vol. i. p. 715, 716, 717.

the most eastern province of his large empire, which, it seems, reached as far as *Cape Comorin*; which journey, twenty thousand of them travelled, in three years from their setting out from *Babylon*. When they arrived in the *Malabar* country, they found the inhabitants very civil and hospitable to strangers, giving liberty of conscience in religious matters, and the free use of their abilities, and industry in commerce. There they increased in number and riches, till, in process of time, either by policy or wealth, or both, they made themselves masters of the little kingdom of *Cranganor*; and one family among them being much esteemed for wisdom, power, and riches, two of the sons of that family were chosen by their senators to govern the common-wealth, and reign jointly. Concord, the strongest bond of society, was, in a short time, broken, and ambition took place; for one of the brothers inviting his colleague to a feast, and, picking a quarrel with his guest, basely killed him; thinking, by that means, to reign alone. But the deceased leaving a son, of a bold spirit, behind him, he revenged his father's death, by killing the fratricide; and so the state fell into democracy, which still continues (Q).

But

(Q) In the travels which go under the name of *Benjamin de Tudela*, there are some passages which have been believed to relate to this kingdom of *Cranganor*; but that writer is so obscure, and his relation so confused, that, if his credit was better than it is, it would be no easy task to discover his meaning (62). Other authors of the same nation, but much later in point of time, have spoke of this country more clearly, but, at the same time, have swelled their accounts with such unconnected and incredible fables, that if we had no other evidence, we should scarce suspect they contained any truth. For, instead of one kingdom, they make many, and those very populous and powerful, and this at a period

when, in fact, this very kingdom which they speak was much sunk and decayed (63). The famous traveller *Marco Polo* mentions them in his writings; and though, at first, this was looked upon as an improbability, yet it has been since considered as a proof of the authenticity of his relations (64). The learned *Spanheim* takes notice of the several countries of the east through which the Jews are scattered (65). The famous *Mr. Du Pin* mentions a long letter, written by the Jews at *Cochin* to the synagogue at *Amsterdam*, in which was contained a short history of their establishment at *Cranganor*, to which he doubts what credit should be given (66). But that this letter was really genuine,

(62) *Ebn. Tudela's. Itiner. cap. 19.*

Gelilich Eretz Ysraël.

Spanhem. Introductio ad Sacram Geograph. cap. 7. p. 67.

Juifs, liv. v. c. 26.

(63) *R. Gersom ben Eliezer, Sepher*

Gelilich Eretz Ysraël.

(64) *Marc. Paul. lib. iii. cap. 43.*

(65) *Fred.*

(66) *Histoire des*

there

But the lands have, many ages since, returned into the hands of the *Malabars*, and poverty and oppression have made many apostatise ^k.

Island of Bayhin.

BETWEEN *Cranganor* and *Couchin*, there is an island called *Bayhin*. It is four leagues long, but no part of it is two miles broad. The *Dutch* forbid all vessels or boats to enter at *Cranganor* and at *Couchin*. The chanel is about a quarter of a mile broad, but very deep, though the bar has not above fourteen feet water at spring-tides. It is from the large extent of country, and the considerable body of troops, over which he has an intire command, that the officer who presides at *Couchin* is looked upon as the first of his rank ^l.

Ponta de Galo, on the island of Ceylon, the second post in which the Dutch have a commander.

THE second commandery in the company's service is that of *Ponta de Galo*, in the island of *Ceylon*, the first fortress of consequence that fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, and a place, both from its situation and strength, of very great importance. The port is more capacious, and much more commodious, than that of *Columbo*, but is somewhat exposed to the west winds. The commander is subject to the orders of the governor of *Ceylon*, and can do nothing without his approbation. The reason of preserving this distinct command is, that, before the rest of the coast was reduced, this officer was at the head of the company's affairs in the island, and it still remains a post both of honour and profit, from whence, in process of time, such as discharge it with reputation are frequently raised to be governors ^m. It is here that the greatest part of the trade of the natives is carried on; and it may not be amiss to observe, that, as amongst the *Chingualeys*, every trade, and every profession, is confined to a particular tribe, or, as they style them, casts; so those who exercise merchandize are divided into four casts; which are thus distinguished; the *Chittays*; that is to say, Merchants who deal in drugs of all kinds, linens, and other manufactures, and who are sometimes also concerned in shipping. The *Caverchittays*, who deal in gold, silver, and other metals, in which they make assays, and are very skilful. The *Cometi-chittays*,

^k HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 324. 325.

^l L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 190.

^m Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 851. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 192.

there does not seem to be any good ground to doubt. It was from this country that numbers of Jews went to *Goa*, in the time of its prosperity, where

they were received, had large privileges granted them, and were exempted from the power of the inquisition.

they

they vend grain, roots, herbs, and other kinds of provision. The *Valigi-chittays*, whose traffic consists in jewels, crystals, toys of their own making, and all sorts of minerals. Each of these casts live distinct and separate, never intermarry, nor so much as eat and drink one with another; which is also an inviolable rule amongst the casts of other professions; so that every branch of business remains precisely in the same hands, from one generation to another. Some writers say, that there is also a commander established in the fortrefs of *Jafanapatan*, in the same island; but whether this is an old regulation, and is since laid aside, or whether it be still kept up, we cannot take upon us to decide" (R).

THE fourth commandery is that of *Samarang*, in the island of *Java*, which stands at the distance of sixty-eight miles from *Batavia*, and is one of the most considerable towns in that great island. It is very agreeably seated, in a fine and fertile plain, with a large river running through it, navigable for small vessels. It is computed that the town does not consist of fewer than twenty thousand houses. The Dutch factory is very large and commodious, the fort strong, well

" Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 851. HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 337, 338.

(R) The Dutch writers are not very distinct in what they report concerning the authority of the commandant at *Ponte de Gallo*, who is sometimes represented as dependent upon, and sometimes as free from any subjection to, the governor of *Ceylon*. The truth seems to be, that they are checks upon each other; for the commandant is not appointed by the governor, nor can he remove him. On the other hand, the commandant can not go out of the road of his ordinary functions, without giving advice to, and receiving the approbation of, the governor-general. As this is the chief and proper port of the island to which the Dutch fleets constantly resort, it is impossible to conceive, that any considerable

defection could be made, while the commandant here remained firm to his trust, to which he must be necessarily excited, by the first appearance of want of fidelity in the governor, as his pursuing a contrary conduct would be the most probable method of becoming his successor. As for the governor of *Jafanapatan*, it seems very likely that he should have the like title, and enjoy the same privileges, with the commandant of *Ponte de Gallo*, as he has a large tract of country under his direction, particularly the island of *Maanaar*, which lies opposite to the coast of *Coromandel*, in which the company keep their state prisoners, and where they have sometimes had several Indian princes confined at a time (67):

fortified, and held by a garrison that is always complete. The commander has under his direction all the adjacent coast. And the commerce here is very considerable, as well with the *Chinese*, who resort thither in great numbers, as the natives of the island of *Java*, who are continually bringing great quantities of provision and merchandize thither. It is from hence that the *Dutch* correspond with the emperor of *Java*, who holds his court at *Cartafoura*, which is distant from thence about four days journey, and is a city consisting of about thirty thousand houses, some built of stone, some of wood, and some of bamboo-canes. He resided formerly at *Mataram*, which is a day's journey farther from *Samarang*, being without comparison the largest city in the whole island, two full leagues in length, and containing upwards of sixty thousand houses. The commander of *Samarang* is always an officer of distinction, one upon whose judgment, activity, and fidelity, the company can intirely rely; for otherwise, any mistake or omission of his might be very fatal to their affairs, in a country where the people are restrained only by an apprehension of superior force; which, however, seldom keeps them from carrying on secret intrigues, and dark contrivances °,

S E C T. XXIII.

The Third Order of Governments under those who are styled only Chiefs; viz. Bantam, in the Isle of Java; Padang, Puclambam, and at the River Bencalis, in the Island of Sumatra, than which, no Country in the Indies is more abundant in Gold, though no great Sums are brought to the Company's Account.

First chief established at Bantam, in the same island, which is an office of great importance. **A**T Bantam, on the same island, the head of the factory has the title of chief. There is a very strong fort there, and a numerous garrison, to keep the people in awe, who are very mutinous, and far enough from being well affected to the *Dutch*. The king has also a fort, at the distance of some hundred paces from the company's fort, in which he has likewise a good garrison, for the security of his person. The only commodity of the country is pepper, of which they are able to export annually ten thousand tons. The bay of *Bantam* is very safe and pleasant, in which are many islands, that still retain the names given them by the *English*, who had formerly

° Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 865. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 190.

a very fine factory at this place, from which they were expelled in 1683^p. The *East India* company oblige the king to furnish them with a certain quantity of pepper; in all other respects they treat him kindly enough, because it is their interest so to do. He is the sovereign of a great country well peopled, and his subjects are a hardy enterprising nation, perfidious, revengeful, and naturally hating all Christians to the last degree. After giving this character of the people, the reader will know what to think of the dexterity and address of the *Dutch*, who are able to constrain such a nation, and to make them submissive, though not obedient. At the same time, however, we may take notice, that they are kept continually upon their guard; no private person, nay, no company of a score, or better, dare stir from under the cover of their fortifications; if they did, the first *Javanese* that had it in his power would infallibly deprive them of life^q.

At first sight, this seems to be a terrible inconvenience, *Dangers to* and such as scarce any nation would support, for any consi- *which the* deration. But do the company consider things in this light? *Dutch are* It may be not. This villainous disposition in the natives keeps *exposed.* the company's servants always upon their guard, confines their thoughts to their business, that it may be thoroughly and punctually dispatched, and themselves so much the sooner released from a place where they must live in continual disquiet. One may the more readily conceive this to be the case, because it seems to correspond with other maxims of the company's policy, very different in that respect from the *Portuguese*, who, by associating too much with the natives of the countries which they possessed, fell, by degrees, into all their customs, and began to forget the interest of their mother-country; which, whatever other faults they may have, is not to be reckoned among the vices of the *Dutch*, to which quality alone may be, in some measure, ascribed the stability of all their settlements in the *Indies* (S).

THE

^p HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 127.
^q L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 194.

(S) Though the company grant various privileges to the meaner sort of people, in order to engage them to remain and settle in the *Indies*, more especially in the islands of *Ambogna*, *Banda*, and the *Moluccas*, yet they pursue a contrary policy with respect to those who attain to the first employments in their service, and acquire considerable estates, and frequently put them under such difficulties, as oblige them to return home. This, joined with that natural affection which the *Dutch* preserve for

The second post of chief fixed at Padang on the coast of the island of Sumatra. THE second, who is stiled chief, resides at *Padang*, on the coast of *Sumatra*, otherwise called the *Gold Coast*. This chief has his council and fiscal, like the rest, and it is usually considered as a very profitable employment. *Sumatra* is a very large fine island, separated from the continent of *Asia* by the streights of *Malacca*, and is justly regarded as one of the richest countries in the *Indies*. It is, according to the best accounts, upwards of four hundred leagues in circumference. The greatest and most powerful monarch therein is the king of *Achem*, or, as it is written in the *Indies*, *Atcheen*. It was formerly governed by a woman; and Queen *Elizabeth* entertained a close correspondence with the queen of *Achem*, who was living in her time. It is not above forty years since the government fell into the hands of a man; and several attempts have been made, since to restore the old constitution, under which the people were much happier than any of their neighbours. It is to this day a free port, to which *English*, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Chinese*, and in short all the nations of *Europe* and *Asia*, trade with safety. The goods which are brought thither are rich brocades, silks, muslins of all sorts, raw silk, fish, butter, oil, and ammunition, for which they are paid chiefly in gold, the great commodity of the country, and remarkably fine. The country is mountainous, which is not looked upon as a great inconveniency, since almost all these hills abound with gold, silver, lead, and other metals; and the company is possessed of some mines of gold which are very rich, and great care taken both to secure and conceal the profits that are made of them. There are likewise great quantities of gold-dust found in the rivulets of this country, especially during the time the west monsoon reigns, because then

* *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 202.

for their own country, and the desire they have of displaying in *Europe* the effects of their good fortune in the *Indies*, is a matter of no small consequence, since it equally contributes to keep every thing quiet in the *Indies*, which would not be altogether so easy if there were many rich and potent families in each of their settlements, and proves the means of returning annually immense riches into the United Provinces; many of which, as they were acquired, would be

spent in these, if their possessors could promise themselves that ease, independency, and security, which naturally becomes the wish of every man, who, after many years danger, and fatigue, finds himself at last master of a large estate. A contrary conduct would certainly make their colonies more flourishing, but the advantages derived from them to their mother country would not then be so great.

the

the torrents roll from the mountains with great rapidity (T). There is also abundance of copper, of which they make great guns; several sorts of precious stones; and a mountain of burning brimstone, which continually throws out flames, like mount *Gibel* in *Sicily*. There are not any of those sorts of corn that grow in *Europe*, but plenty of rice, millet, and fruits, which afford good and sufficient nourishment for the inhabitants. It produces likewise abundance of honey, bees-wax, ginger, camphire, cassia, pepper, &c. white sanders, and especially cotton, of which the inhabitants make their garments, and a variety of manufactures.

* *Geographic Moderne*, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 685.

(T) Upon comparing the best accounts that can be had of this island, it very fully appears, that not only gold abounds in almost all parts of it, but, what can scarce be said of any other country, there are found in *Sumatra* all the different sorts of gold of which we find any mention made by such as are best acquainted with that precious metal, and the different methods in which it is collected. We have, in the text, spoken of the more common ways of coming at gold in *Sumatra*; but, beside these, there are others not so generally known (68). Some of the servants in the *Dutch* factories have, at the proper season of the year, staked flannel waistcoats in the small rivulets running down from the mountains; and, by wringing them twice or thrice in twenty-four hours, have obtained considerable quantities of gold-dust. By washing the mud taken out of holes in the rock, they obtain bits of gold from the bigness of pins heads to pieces weighing a

quarter of an ounce, and sometimes more, but the latter are very rare. Larger pieces of gold are sometimes taken out of a rich, black, soft, mold; but, except the gold-dust, these are of a low touch, that is, are far from being pure. The high mountains in the centre of the island are inhabited by a race of wild and savage people, who exchange with their more civilized neighbours for necessaries, and more especially, when they can get them, for arms and ammunition, a sort of rock gold, than which there is none finer in the world; and from these people are sometimes purchased pieces of the rock, which appears to be a kind of white solid marble, through which there run sprigs, or, if we may be allowed so to call them, veins of pure gold, some scarce bigger than a hair, and others as large as a common quill. These rocky fragments are preserved as curiosities in the cabinets of persons of distinction at *Batavia* (69).

(68) *Voyages de Nicolas Graaf aux Indes Orientales*, p. 22. *L'Expédition de ses Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 198. *Mémoires sur le Commerce des Hollandais*, p. 203.

(69) *Mémoires de Dr. Garçin. Histoire des Indes*, par Guyon, vol. ii. p. 212, 13. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. iii. col. 1539.

Few countries richer in gold than this island of Sumatra, in different parts.

THERE is no country in the *Indies*, where, during the western monsoons, the rains fall with greater violence, or are attended with more terrible storms of thunder, lightning, and earthquakes, than *Sumatra*; but the natives, being used to them, are not much alarmed, bear them patiently, and are seldom heard to complain of their climate. These people are generally speaking *Mohammedans*, and are very expert in making all sorts of gold plate with very few tools, and yet with such inimitable dexterity, that what is of their workmanship sells at a very great rate throughout all the *Indies*¹. The company sends every year a great number of slaves to work in their gold mines. The kings in that part of the country are very rarely upon good terms with the *Dutch*, and sometimes quarrel with the company, and draw all their subjects out of their service. The principal places where gold is found by the natives of the country are *Triou* and *Manincabo*. Their most usual method of coming at it is thus: They dig, at the bottom of the mountain, ditches, where the water being stopped as it pours down the sides of the mountains in the winter, in the summer they draw it off, and, by washing the mud which remains at the bottom, obtain from thence considerable quantities of gold-dust. It is generally believed that this island furnishes annually five thousand pounds weight of this precious metal; yet very little, if any, is ever brought to *Europe*, the *East India* company employing it in other places where gold is valuable, and where they can purchase other commodities which at home turn to a better account².

Another Dutch factory fixed at Pullambam, on the coast of the same island.

THE *Dutch* have a factory at *Pullambam*, about eight leagues from the coast, on the banks of a very large river, that empties itself into the sea by four different channels. The great trade carried on there is that of pepper, which the *East India* company would willingly monopolize in the same manner they do cloves, cinnamon, and nutmegs: in order to this they are at a very great expence to keep several armed boats cruising at the mouth of this river, to prevent what they are pleased to call smuggling. It must be allowed that they have made a contract with the king to take off all the pepper in his dominions at the rate of ten pieces of eight for a *Rupia*, or four hundred pounds, which is a very fair price. They have, however, a saving clause in their contract, in which it is provided, that half the purchase of the pepper shall be taken in cloth, at such a rate as greatly reduces the value

¹ L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 198, et Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 21. ² Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. ii. p. 213.

of their cargoes ; and it is for this reason that the *Dutch* are so much afraid of smuggling (U). Yet, in spite of all their armed barks, it is a thing notoriously known, that for a thousand florins to his majesty of *Pullambam*, and as much to the

(U) It may not be amiss to take this occasion of giving a general account of the pepper trade, so far as is consistent with the nature of a work of this kind. We have before observed, that this is the only sort of spice the *Dutch East India* company have not hitherto been able to monopolize, which has been chiefly owing to its being the produce of different countries, and growing very plentifully in all these countries. The pepper plant is a kind of feeble vine that grows to no great height, and is usually planted at the bottom of a larger tree, that it may be the more conveniently supported. The leaves resemble in shape those of ivy, but are not near so green ; on the contrary, they are generally speaking more or less yellow ; the fruit hangs in clusters like our currans, and, like them, appear first green, then become red, and, when dried in the sun, black (70). There has been a great dispute whether there is not also white pepper ; but, if we may rely upon the opinion of a skilful physician, who speaks of his own knowledge, there is really no such thing in nature ; and what is sold under that denomination in *Europe*, is only black pepper blanched, either by rubbing the shell off

before it is quite dry, or by suffering it to take moisture afterwards in a degree sufficient to fit it for that operation (71). The pepper of *Ceylon* is commonly reputed the best in the *Indies*, but is not much cultivated in that island. The rest of the pepper the *Dutch* distinguish by the names of *Malabar*, *Jambe*, and *Bilipatan*. The greatest part of the *Malabar* pepper comes through their hands, and the rest falls to the share of the *English*. The *Java* and *Sumatra* pepper, which is the second sort, is transported in vast quantities into *Europe* by the *East India* companies of both nations. As for the last, which is a *Malabar* pepper, and derives its name from a great trading town in the kingdom of *Cananor*, the *Dutch*, *English*, and *French*, all deal in it ; but, being smaller, more wrinkled, and milder in taste, than any other pepper, there comes but little of it into *Europe*, where it is in no esteem ; whereas it is preferred to all the other sorts over all the east, which makes it a very valuable commodity (72). It is said, that a great deal of the pepper from *Java* and *Sumatra* does not stand the *Dutch* company in above a farthing a pound prime cost (73), and is sold in *Europe* for twelve pence.

(70) *Sir Thomas Pope Blount's Natural History*, p. 49. *Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, vol. ii. p. 289. (71) *Memoires de Dr. Gergin*. (72) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. iv. col. 270, 271. (73) *Remarks on the Trade to East Indies*, p. 31.

Dutch chief, a cargo of a thousand *Bahaars* of pepper may be carried off the island without any great trouble *.

A third, on
the river
Bancalis,
which af-
fords vast
profits to
the factors,
tho' little
to the com-
pany.

ON the banks of the river *Bancalis* they have another very considerable factory, which produces annually vast sums from the sale of cloth and opium, which are paid for in gold-dust. This was discovered by a factor in the company's service, who, after he had carried it on privately for about ten years, and acquired by it upwards of ten thousand pounds sterling per annum, prudently resolved to secure what he had got by making a discovery of this branch of commerce to the company. There are likewise several other *Dutch* plantations on this island, which are all together comprehended under the general title of the west coast *. Besides these, and all the places beforementioned, the *Dutch* have a strong fort and great factory at *Jambie*, and another at *Siack*, which is excessively unwholesome. It stands on the great river *Andraghira*, into which, at a certain season of the year, there come vast quantities of shads of a very large size; one third of which is owing to their roes, which are accounted a great delicacy; and therefore, after taking these out, the rest of the fish is thrown away, and, lying in great heaps, corrupt, and exhale pestilential vapours that infect the air. The persons, therefore, that are sent to *Siack*, are much of the same stamp with those that are sent to *Banda*, that is to say, men of abandoned characters and desperate fortunes *. To speak plainly, there is too much gold in this country, if any credit may be given to the accounts of the *Dutch* themselves, for honesty to take any deep root; the chiefs of *Padang* being more exposed to suspicion, and falling oftener under prosecutions, than any other persons of their rank in the company's service; which is ascribed to some strange circumstances that attend the company's mines, which produce no great matters; tho' these chiefs, and all their under-officers, acquire great estates in two or three years, by methods which the general and council at *Batavia* are seldom able to discover (X). The company some-
times

* HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 118, 119.

* Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

* HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 122, 123.

(X) We find, in the few accounts that have been written of the *Dutch East Indies* by such as have resided long there, that frauds are as often committed by their servants as by those of other companies, notwithstanding that some severe examples are now and then made; and if we may credit *Graaf*, who seems to be a plain honest man, it is no easy matter to put an end

times build ships at some of their settlements in this island, not for the sake of saving expences, but on account of the excellency of the timber; those vessels lasting at least twice as long as ships of the same bulk built in *Europe*.

S E C T. XXIV.

A complete History of the Commerce and State of the Dutch Company at Japan. The Manner in which their Factors, Officers, and Seamen, are confined during their Stay in that Country, while they deal with the Inhabitants, and make up their homeward-bound Cargo. Immense Produce of this Trade, and how disposed of at Batavia.

THE third chief resides at *Japan*; he is always a principal merchant, and is assisted by some writers in the company's service. The profit which they formerly made by this establishment was very considerable, amounting frequently to eighty or one hundred *per cent.* but is now sunk, as some writers affirm, to such a degree, that they rarely make above eight or ten. This great diminution is chiefly owing to the practice of the *Chinese*, who for some time past have purchased all sorts of goods proper for that market at *Canton*, and exported from thence to *Japan*. It is also said that they have contracted with the *Japanese* to furnish them with all sorts of

The person entrusted with the company's affairs in Japan is the third chief.

Y Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 202, 203.

to these practices. He seems to think that men are more frequently punished for want of friends, or from a want of liberality, when they are become rich by dishonest means, than for their crimes. He likewise observes, that the company gain so little by confiscations, after the fiscal, and other officers, have had their shares, and the expences of prosecutions are defrayed, that it is seldom worth while to proceed to extremities (74). In respect to the spice

trade, and the gold mines, however, there are some exceptions; and, where clear proofs have been had, many have lost their estates, and some their lives, but without striking any great terror into their successors; tho', after all, it is not impossible that these gold mines may be more beneficial to the company than they are generally reputed, since there is no body of traders in the world more given to complain, or less inclined to boast (75).

(74) *Voyages aux Indes*, p. 303—312. *Évén. Généraux*, par Daniel Broins, &c.

(75) *Raport véritable fait aux*

merchandize at the same price as the *Dutch*. Another cause is, a practice established by the *Japoneſe* themselves, which is, fixing the price of goods*. It is very possible that some improvements of this notion have been suggested to them by the *Chineſe*, who were treated in the same manner formerly at *Batavia*. The governor-general, *Van Zwol*, thought proper to set a price on all sorts of silks, and other goods, the *Chineſe* brought to *Batavia*; and at the same time fixed the rate of the commodities and manufactures which the company were to give in exchange. This the *Chineſe* looked upon as a prodigious hardship, and a thing incompatible with the nature of commerce. They represented this in the strongest terms to the general, but to no manner of purpose. They then addressed themselves to their sovereign; and complained of this innovation so warmly, that, after various expostulations with the governor, all commerce ceased between the two nations; and things continued in this posture till the death of Mr. *Van Zwol*. But his successor Mr. *Swaardekroon*, acting upon quite different principles, restored things to their former state, and put their commerce on the old foot*. With no small difficulty things were brought to this pass also in *Japan*; and, upon repeated applications, trade restored to its old channel. Yet not long after the court gave into a new project, to the full as oppressive; and this was, fixing the quantity of goods which should be brought on board each squadron, that is to say, the *Dutch* were left at liberty to bring what they would, to sell and buy at what price they would, provided they kept the whole of their dealings within the compass of a sum prescribed. Upon this they had recourse to fresh remonstrances; which were not altogether ineffectual, and yet did not procure an intire abolition of this troublesome edict † (Y).

UPON

* *Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN.*
Vaisseaux, p. 202, 203.
 tom. ii. p. 450.

* *L'Expedition de trois*
 P. CHARLEVOIX *Histoire du Japon*,

(Y) We are told from pretty good authority, that the original of this quarrel between the *Japoneſe* and the *Dutch*, and which turned so much to the prejudice of the latter, was owing to the pique of a great minister, of so singular a nature, that it deserves to be remembered. The name

of this *Japoneſe* statesman was *Mino-Sama*, who, by complying with the emperor's humour in trifles, governed him absolutely in all matters of consequence. He took it into his head that his master would be very well pleased to have a large *European* lustre of chrystal hung up in the imperial

UPON the whole, there is no place in the *East Indies* where *No place the Dutch* have so little authority, and where their establishment is become of so little consequence, as in *Japan*. They *in the Indies where* have, it is true, a little island allowed them, where they have *the Dutch have so* magazines for their goods; and a few ordinary houses, in *little au-* which such persons live as are in the company's service. But *thority as* then this is in effect a prison, in which they are shut up the *in Japan.* time they stay here, and are not so much as allowed to pass the bridge that joins this island to the city of *Nangazaqui*. The only shadow of liberty that is left consists in the chief's going once a year, attended by two or three other persons, to the court of the emperor, in quality of ambassador, to renew the treaty of amity and commerce which subsists between that monarch and the company. One great cause assigned for the holding the *Dutch* to such hard terms, is, their having attempted familiarities with *Japanese* women; but the true reason is, a well-grounded suspicion that the *Dutch* have an inclination to fix themselves by force, of which they have more than once given some very apparent tokens, the last of which notwithstanding it fell out many years ago, yet is like to be ever remembered^c.

It happened, as is reported, thus: Mr. Carron, their chief *Mr. Carron,* in *Japan*, was a person of great parts, and one, who, in several journeys he made to the emperor's court, had found means *chief at* to ingratiate himself with that monarch, by entertaining him *Japan, &c.*

^c HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 202, 203.

imperial vault where his ancestors were interred. He sent, therefore, his orders to the *Dutch* chief to procure him such a one as soon as possible; which were immediately complied with, and the lustre sent from *Batavia* by the next ships. But, the prime minister having given no notice of his intentions to the *Japan* governor of the port, he directed this lustre to be put into the list of the presents to the emperor; which was accordingly done. *Mino-Sama* attributed this to the *Dutch* chief, and looked upon it as an arrogant attempt in him

to make his court to his imperial majesty; and upon this presumption, without making any inquiries, became a violent enemy to the *Dutch*, and inspired his family with the same hatred, who, as they succeeded him in the ministry, plagued that nation for many years with edict after edict, full of concern for the welfare of their country, and breathing nothing but public spirit in their expressions, tho' dictated only by private vengeance, and a perverse disposition (76).

(76) P. Charlevoix Hist. du Japon, vol. ii. p. 431.

tempts, tho'
unsuccess-
fully, an
establish-
ment: by
force.

with accounts of the state of *Europe* at that time, which that prince, and indeed all the *Japonefe* emperors, are very curious to know. Having by this means frequent access to the imperial presence, he, presuming on his credit with the emperor, begged permission to build a house on the little island where their factory stood, on his masters account; which the emperor granted. Accordingly the foundation was laid; the business went chearfully on, till it grew into an handsome fortification of a regular tetragon. The *Japonefe*, being intirely ignorant of the art of fortification, had not the least suspicion of deceit, but suffered them to complete it. When it was finished, Mr. *Carron* advised the general and council at *Batavia* of the progress he had made; and desired, by the next shipping, to have some cannon sent him in casks filled with oakum or cotton, the casks to be well bound with iron hoops, and the heads securely fixed in; with some casks of the same make filled with spices: which advice was accordingly followed. When the shipping arrived, the cargo in a proper time was landed; but, in rolling the casks, one, in which was a brass gun, fell to pieces, and the cheat was discovered. This put a stop to all commerce till the emperor's pleasure was known; and gave that monarch a very bad impression of the *Dutch*, and of all who were employed by them. He would not however prohibit trade; but gave orders to put any *Dutchman* to death who should presume to stir out of the island; and directed that Mr. *Carron* should be sent to answer for this fault to *Jeddo*, where he resided. On his arrival, being interrogated, he was able to say nothing in excuse; when the emperor reproached him with abusing his kindness: for which he had his beard pulled out hair by hair; and then, being dressed in a fool's coat and cap, was exposed in that condition through all the streets in the city. After this he was sent back to his factory, with orders to return in the first ship that was sent to *Batavia*. This seems to be a more probable account of his disgrace, and of demolishing the *Dutch* warehouses, than what we find elsewhere given^d; as also for the bad reception that *Carron* met with at *Batavia*, which induced him to desert the *Dutch East India* company's service, and to put himself into that of the *French* king, of which we have before said something, and of which we shall again be obliged to speak more at large (Z).

THE

* Recueil de Voyages au Nord, tom. iii. p. 246.

(Z) According to the accounts *Dutch* chief incurred the aver-
given us by other writers, the sion of the *Japonefe* by his high
spirit

THE government in *Japan* is despotic ; and, as is usual in all absolute governments, the prime ministers, while in favour, exercise the supreme authority in the name of their masters ; so that it is very difficult, if not altogether impracticable, to obtain any relief from the grievances they impose, or any redress of such acts of injustice as they are disposed to do, more especially when the sufferers are strangers. The *Japoneſe* ministers have their maxims of state as well as other nations ; and those who have negotiated with them, allow, that they want not either parts or penetration. The reader, perhaps, will not think it any objection to the truth of what has been advanced, that, in the space of one hundred and fifty years that the *Dutch* have been settled here, they have been able to learn but little with certainty concerning the extent of this empire, or the true situation of things in it ; from whence it appears, that, with them, secrecy passes for the very basis of policy ; and, though their ministers are not wanting in good sense, learning, or politeness, yet the humour of talking of their affairs, or of giving more light than is absolutely necessary as to the motives upon which they act, is not among the number of their foibles (A) ; otherwise we should

A concise account of the nature of the Japoneſe government, and its ruling maxim.

spirit and lofty temper, which the *Japoneſe* ministers thought preposterous in a merchant who came to them as a deputy or servant to other merchants. Those accounts say, that the *Dutch* buildings were demolished at *Firando* upon the score of their having the year of our Lord engraven upon them ; and at the same time occasion was taken to transfer the factory from *Firando* to this island of *Defima* (77). But the relation given in the text from Captain *Hamilton*, who was a very inquisitive man, and found means to pick up much secret history in the *Indies*, carries a greater appearance of truth, since it suggests a rational motive for this

jealousy and severity ; whereas all the other accounts shew us plainly, that the *Japoneſe* took offence at the strength of the *Dutch* edifices, without assigning any cause ; and, which is still more extraordinary, acknowledge, that themselves, upon the emperor's first order, fell immediately to demolishing ; which, they say, was very lucky for them that they did, since otherwise the magistrate, who summoned them to hear that order read, had a party of men ready to cut them to pieces upon the spot, in case they had made the least expostulation (78).

(A) There is no country in the world where reason of state is oftener urged, or better un-

(77) *Recit historique de la Demolition d'une Fortresse, et de quelques Edifices construits à Firando dans le Japon par les Hollandois établis dans cet Empire. Tiré et traduit de leur Journal de l'année 1640.*

(78) *Recueil de Voyages au*

should not be so much at a loss upon this head as we really are, notwithstanding so many descriptions and accounts of the islands of *Japan* that have been published in various languages, from the perusal of which a judicious reader will reap but little satisfaction.

That vast abundance which reigns in this empire makes foreign commerce unnecessary.

WE are indeed very certain, that the countries under the dominion of the emperor are very large and very fertile, so that no part of the world, *China* not excepted, enjoys all the necessities of life in greater abundance. Besides these, the inhabitants are in possession of many valuable commodities, and of rich and curious manufactures. Arts and sciences flourish in this empire, agreeable to that taste which prevails amongst them; so that they stand in need of nothing that may contribute to the convenience of life, or even to the support of magnificence and luxury, visible marks of which are every-where conspicuous in their buildings, dress, equipage, and whatever else contributes to make distinctions between the

• Relation concernant l'Empire et le Gouvernement du Japon, par FRANÇOIS CARON, President de la Compagnie Hollandoise du Japon, dressé par ordre de Monsieur Lucas, Directeur-General des affaires de la même Compagnie des Indes Orientales, p. 4.

derstood, than in *Japan*, as might be shewn from a multitude of facts, as well as orders, judgments, and other authentic papers, published by the missionaries, and by some of the *Dutch* writers, which are penned in a very elevated and swelling, but at the same time clear and expressive stile, so as to leave no doubt with the judicious reader that the measures were taken, upon which these pieces were founded, by very sound and intelligent politicians, who were not at all at a loss how to give colourable pretences for the violent exercise of their power, without letting the world into the real secret of their councils, or divulging their sense of things in such a manner as to give strangers an opportunity of

interfering with their affairs. Their conduct towards the ambassadors from *Macao*, the ship in which their own people were sent back, the answers returned to the ambassadors of King *Jabu* the fourth of *Portugal*; and the turning upon the *Dutch* themselves the hardships, which, through their suggestions, had been put upon other nations; are so many plain and indubitable proofs of this: for, except that insolence which naturally accompanies arbitrary power in all countries and climates, we see nothing barbarous in their proceedings, or at all more shocking and absurd, than in the manifestoes published in *Europe*, with an intent to give a colour of equity even to acts of the most crying injustice (79).

(79) See the instances referred to in the several parts of this work.

several ranks of men, as all travellers agree ^f. But, notwithstanding this, there is a wonderful regularity, and a very strict discipline, observed, which is owing to the exactness of their laws, and to that rigorous severity with which they are put in execution, without which, perhaps, it would be impossible to retain the numberless inhabitants of these populous islands within just bounds of obedience ^g.

As to the temper and genius of this nation, it is better to collect some notion of them from facts, than to take them implicitly from authors, who, as they frequently contradict each other, so no great weight can be laid upon their sentiments. In point of religion, the common people, as in other countries, are inclined to superstition; but the wiser and better educated part of the nation seem rather to lean to the contrary extreme. For, with respect to their persecutions, and the measures taken to prevent the revival of Christianity amongst them, it seems not so much the effects of religious zeal, as of a political principle of aversion to our faith, which in all probability took rise from the indiscretion of the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* missionaries, and the use they made of their influence over their disciples. In reference to their abilities in civil affairs, we have no reason to doubt that they are very great, since they have all sorts of learned professions amongst them; and merit is chiefly esteemed, even amongst nobility, and persons of the first rank. That their artificers are very ingenious, we see from the works that come out of their hands; and that the nation in general are haughty, enterprising, sprightly, brave, and capable of great actions, all who have written about them agree; and the excesses of these qualities will sufficiently point out their vices ^h (B).

IN

^f KÆMPFER, TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, CARRON, CHARLEVOIX. ^g *Histoire du Japon*, tom. i. p. 66. ^h *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, tom. iii. p. 126.

(B) Whoever will take the pains of looking either into the particular pieces that have been written concerning these islands, and their inhabitants, or into the general collections in which the substance of them is contained, will find that the nobility, and persons of distinction, amongst the *Japonesi*; are remarkable for sound understanding, true greatness of mind, and a noble contempt of danger or death. They live in a manner suitable to their dignity; and in their houses, attendants, and diversions, discover the elegance of their taste, and this at a great expence; yet without being at all enslaved by these exterior marks of grandeur, since, in case of any reverse of fortune, or of being disgraced at court, they support their poverty with an air

Are naturally and generally as much addicted to traffick as any nation whatever.

IN reference to commerce, it is generally allowed that the bulk of the nation have a strong propensity thereto, inso-much that in their villages, as well as great towns, almost every private house is a magazine for some kind of traffick or other, so that it has been thought no bad description of the *Japoneſe* to ſtile them a nation of ſhopkeepers. Yet this does not hinder perſons of rank, and of learned profeſſions, from entertaining a very low and mean opinion of trade, from a notion that the deſire of gain is a principle of fraud, and muſt conſequently produce many vices; to prevent the bad conſequences of which, they have had recourſe to that remedy which is moſt common amongſt them, ſevere and ſanguinary laws; which without doubt have a very conſiderable effect, as they are executed without relaxation, and yet have not intirely rooted out a deſire of eluding them, and of practiſing upon the weakneſs, inexperience, or neceſſities, of mankind, though in the management of intrigues of this ſort they are more adroit than moſt other people; and in point of arithmetic, and the art of keeping accounts; they are held to excel even the *Italians*, who yet have given leſſons to other *European* nations¹. What has been hitherto ſaid relates to the

¹ *Memoires pour le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 197. *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, tom. iii. p. 129.

air of fortitude that preſerves to them all the reſpect formerly paid them in their proſperity (80). The whole country is thoroughly cultivated; the induſtry of the people appears in the vaſt abundance of neceſſaries, as their ſagacity is ſhewn in the choice of the propereſt places for the different productions of their ſoil and climate. Their rivers, creeks, bays, and ports, are full of boats, barks, ſhallops, and other ſmall veſſels; for, ſince the government has prohibited foreign commerce, they are not permitted to build large ones that are very neat and commodious. Their manufactures of every kind, ſuch as

their porcelain, lacquered ware, wrought ſilks, graving, and paper, are exquisitely perfect. In ſhort, they are the very reverſe of the *Chineſe*; for, as that nation value themſelves upon the calmneſs of their diſpoſition, that nothing can ruffle, which at the bottom is founded in ſelf-interest; ſo the ruling paſſion among the *Japoneſe* is the point of honour, in which they are more tender than almoſt any other nation in the world; and, as the former are remarkable for a mean, falſe, tricking, double, artificial, behaviour, ſo the latter are lofty, ſupercilious, ſuſpicious, haſty, and vindictive (81).

(80) *Relation concernant l'Empire et le Gouvernement du Japon*, par F. Carreaux, p. 51. (81) P. Charlevoix *Hiſtoire du Japon* vol. i. p. 46.

state of their interior commerce; we will next say something of that which they had, and still have, with foreign nations, which their government now tolerates, and formerly encouraged (C).

THE *Japoneſe* heretofore had a pretty general intercourſe with the nations of the eaſt, both by receiving their commodities, and transporting their own; and it is in a great measure probable at leaſt, if not certain, that the government would be inclined to a free trade with all nations, if they were not withheld by theſe two political conſiderations: The firſt is, the dread of having their religion inſulted, which, from a miſguided zeal, was very frequent while there were Chriſtians among the *Japoneſe*. The other, their averſion to any innovation in the manners of their people, from which they apprehend the worſt conſequences. When the *Dutch* were firſt eſtabliſhed there, the prime miniſter of *Japan* gave their embaffador this account of the matter^k: “ We do not condemn your cuſtoms, or cenſure your way of living; “ but we are determined to preſerve our own. We know “ very well the advantages that reſult from the ſyſtem of go-

Antiently the commerce of Japan is entirely free and open to all nations, tho' now reſtrained.

^k P. CHARLEVOIX *Histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 134, 135.

(C) According to the antient fundamental maxims of this empire, there is no ſuch thing as duty, impoſition, cuſtom, or exciſe, upon any kind of commodity or manufacture exported or imported, nor is there any thing levied for the uſe of the emperor or the prejudice of their interior traffick, but every man enjoys the produce of his own goods, and the fruits of his own labour. But, to prevent private perſons from impoſing upon each other, weights and meaſures have a legal ſtandard, and an iron ell is fixed at each end of every public ſtreet, that, if any body ſuſpects any foul dealing, it may be detected upon the ſpot, and, in that caſe, nothing leſs than death is the puniſhment; but for frauds of a deeper and more ſerious nature,

not only the party offending, but his whole family ſuffers, that it may be a warning to the neighbourhood. In ſupport of this the *Japoneſe* ſtateſmen ſay, that, where there are many traders, there muſt be ſevere laws to keep them honeſt; and that a few rigorous executions is the only way to prevent a great many (82). As for large payments amongſt them, they are made by purſes of gold ſealed by one of the emperor's officers; and, ſo long as the purſe and the ſeal continue whole, they paſs without ſcruple from hand to hand, without being ever opened, or the pieces counted, though ſome of theſe purſes contain five hundred, and ſome a thouſand pounds, of our money (83).

(82) *Memoires du Japon*, p. 131.

(83) *Tavernier, Caron, Charlevoix.*

“ verment

“vernment established amongst us, and we will not run the hazard of a change : we know, too, that great revolutions are brought about by imperceptible degrees, and therefore we are resolved to cure the itch of novelty by the rod of punishment.” Upon this maxim that law is founded, by which no *Japonefe* dares leave his country ; and, if he does, he must never return. Before this prohibition took place, they traded to *China*, *Siam*, and to the *Philippine* and *Molucca Islands* ; but at present, as far as we can learn, they carry on no foreign commerce whatever ¹ (D).

Terms on which the foreign commerce of Japan stands at present.

THESE general observations will enable us to state more clearly that so much envied trade which the *Dutch East India* company still enjoy in this empire ; in which though they have no *European* competitors, yet the *Chinese* are still permitted to send thither annually goods to the value of six hundred thousand *Taels*. The *Siamefe* likewise send thither two or

¹ *Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. Recueil de Voyages au Nord, tom. iii. p. 130.*

(D) According to some accounts, said to be taken from the *Japonefe* themselves, the first motive to this prohibition was an act of vengeance and jealousy committed by the emperor of *China*, who, finding much difficulty in reducing a handful of *Japonefe* that had rebelled in one of his cities, drove the rest of the nation out of his dominions, and forbad all intercourse with *Japan*, which it is said the government of that country took so much to heart, as to resolve not to put it in the power of any monarch whatever to offer another like insult, which they knew not how to revenge (84). Mr. *Carron* reports, from the *Dutch* writers, reasons of a very different kind ; such as, that they held it dishonourable for the subjects of so great a prince to risk their safety in foreign

countries for the sake of subsistence ; that they were jealous of exporting arms and ammunition by this means to their enemies ; and that they were apprehensive of their traders being converted to Christianity when out of their own country, which they look upon as dangerous to the safety of the empire. But, as we have hinted before, some think the insinuations of the *Dutch* contributed chiefly to this measure, to which they were excited by a violent desire of monopolizing the whole trade of *Japan* (85) ; but were defeated by the superior policy of the statesmen of this nation, which gave rise to a saying common in the *Indies* ; viz. “ that the *Dutch* can over-reach “ all other nations, but that “ the *Japonefe* can outwit even “ the *Dutch*” (86).

(84) *Recueil de Voyages au Nord, vol. iii. p. 130, 131.*
Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 300, 301.
trois Vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 205.

(85) *Hamilton's*
 (86) *L'Expedition de*

three vessels every year; and the like number come from *Cambaya*, tho' it is generally understood that these are freighted by the *Chinese* who reside there; to these if we add the inhabitants of the island of *Liquios*, who have likewise some small share in the *Japan* trade, we may venture to affirm, that we have named all who have any concern therein^m. It is highly probable, that, from that spirit of jealousy which has long prevailed in the *Japanese* government, they would be inclined to shut out some of these, if they were not apprehensive of inconveniences; as it is, they make their commerce so troublesome and uneasy, that nothing but the vast profits arising from the commodities they vend could induce any nation to dispense with their regulations; but if it be true, that the *Dutch* gain annually half a million sterling, exclusive, as some think, of the private trade, it accounts well enough for their conduct; and what that is, we shall next endeavour to shew as perspicuously, and at the same time as succinctly, as possible; with this previous intimation, that none of the memoirs we have been able to procure reach lower than the year 1740ⁿ; and it is not impossible that some regulations have been made since then, as it is certain that our accounts differ very much from those that were looked upon as very authentic and exact but a few years before that period.

THE *Dutch* sent annually four ships from *Batavia* formerly, but now they send only two to *Japan*, of between thirty and fifty pieces of cannon; but indifferently armed, because there is little danger in these seas, and that they may give the less umbrage to the *Japanese*, who see with suspicion ships of great force upon their coasts. These vessels are laden with such *European* and *Indian* goods as are in demand at *Japan*, such as *English* and *Dutch* cloths, camblets of all sorts, brocades, gold and silver, very rich silks of all colours, and especially crimson and white raw silk, raw cotton, and spun cotton, tapestries, lead, steel, and refined sugars, and spices of all kinds, *Morocco* leather, and all sorts of skins, particularly buck and doe, of which they carry a prodigious quantity, and about half the quantity of ox-hides^o. They sail about the middle of *June*, and the first land they make is usually the island of *Poltimon*, which is in the latitude of two degrees fifty minutes north. There they take in water, and

^m *Memoires du Japon*, p. 135. ⁿ *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 893. *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 201. ^o *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 197. *Journal du Voyage de Siam*, par l'Abbé DE CHOISY. *Memoires de Dr. GARCIN*.

other refreshments; and then continue their voyage to *Japan*, where they arrive in *August*; and, finding every thing ready prepared for them, their goods are quickly got on shore, and brought into their warehouses, sorted, and fitted for sale. The merchants likewise are summoned from the adjacent countries, and have catalogues given them of the goods brought by the last fleet; so that all is over by the latter end of *October*, and the ships are ready to sail very early in the next month, when the *Japanese* never fail to press them to be gone^p (E). The *Dutch* were formerly settled in the island of *Firando*; and that in which they are now fixed is properly called *Desima*, being made by art, and originally raised to confine the *Portuguese* in the year 1635. This disgrace is generally reported to have been drawn upon them by the intrigues of the *Dutch*;

^p Voyage de GAUTIER SCHOUTEN, tom. ii. p. 118.

(E) This voyage from *Batavia* to *Japan* is accounted by the *Dutch* seamen seven hundred and fifty leagues; and, by reason of the tempestuous weather to which they are frequently exposed in all seasons, is extremely dangerous; and more ships have been lost in their passage to and from thence than in all the other voyages to the *Indies* (87). This seems to be contradicted by a note frequently entered in the journals, importing, that the best voyages are those to *Siam*, *China*, *Japan*, *Bengal*, *Cormandel*, *Surat*, and the coast of *Persia*; and the worst those to *Java*, *Macassar*, *Amboyna*, *Banda*, and *Ternate* (88). But the true meaning of this is, that in the former voyages they have an opportunity of getting money, which they have not in the latter. In respect to hardship, hazard, and

fatigue, the voyage to *Japan*, as we have before hinted, exceeds all the rest; and the rather, because men go from a very hot to a very cold climate. It may not be amiss to observe, that, while the *East India* company sent four, five, or six ships, every year, to *Japan*, they were very desirous of discovering a north-east passage; which if they could have done, they might have sailed from *Holland* to *Japan*, and from thence back to *Holland*, in less time than they usually make a voyage from *Holland* to *Batavia*. But when this trade began to decline, and would admit of sending no more than two ships, they have considered that passage in quite another light; and have been so far from labouring to discover, that they have endeavoured to represent it as impracticable (89).

(87) *Memoires du Japon*, p. 35. Voyages de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 118.

(88) Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes Orientales, p. 355.

(89) Discours preliminaire à la tête de Recueil de Voyages au Nord, p. xxxix.

and,

and, if the fact be true, they have suffered very justly for their contrivance.

THIS island is oblong, joined to the city of *Nangazaki* by a stone bridge, with a wooden drawbridge at the end. Where the bridge joins the city, there is a strong corps de garde posted night and day. At the entrance from the bridge there is a large stone pillar, upon which hang, in several tables, the emperor's edicts for the regulation of the *Dutch* trade; and three high posts are set up in the sea, to mark the places where the *Dutch* ships are to anchor, to prevent their coming near the city. The island is palisadoed like a park, and those palisades spiked. It is not, in its greatest extent, above two hundred and forty paces in length, and not more than eighty broad. There is a street across it, with houses, or rather huts, on both sides; the lower story of which serves for a warehouse, and the upper for the lodging-rooms of such as reside there. There is a very convenient house for the *Japoneſe* director of trade, who comes thither when the ships arrive; besides another handsome house for the *Japoneſe* magistrate, who always resides there, which has its garden: for in all their great cities the *Japoneſe* have a particular magistrate in every street, who is called the *Ottona*; and they look upon the island of *Deſima* as nothing more than a street added to their city of *Nangazaki*, and therefore there is an *Ottona* here as well as in other streets. Another proof that this belongs absolutely to the natives, and is not at all conveyed to the *Dutch*, is, that these last are obliged to pay a very high rent for their little wooden houses, to those who were at the charge of building them when the *Portuguese* were sent thither. By this account it is easy to perceive, that it produces nothing; and that there is no room to plant any thing, if they were permitted, which they are not, but are furnished from day to day with all the necessaries of life at a very high price, and by such only as have this monopoly.

THE *Dutch* resident in this island seldom exceed the number of forty-five; and the *Japoneſe* oblige them to change their chief every year, though, after he has been absent two years, the same person may be sent again; so that commonly there are three persons who have this post by way of rotation, viz. one resident in the island, another in his passage, and a third at *Batavia*, till his two years are expired. On the whole, though the *Dutch* have taken all the pains they

A short description of the little island of Deſima, in which the Dutch have their factory.

The strict regulations to which they are obliged to submit during their residence there.

† TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, CARRON, &c. † Mémoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 197. Mémoires de Dr. GARCIN.

can to make this place convenient, yet, in spite of their care, it is a very indifferent abode, and very little resembles any of their other settlements in the *East Indies*. They are also much restrained in their adding any thing either to their houses, magazines, or little wharfs for landing their goods, since they cannot build, or make the least alteration, without first delivering a petition, with a plan annexed, to the *Otona*, by whom it is transmitted to the governor; so that it is sometimes a full year before they can obtain this permission; and even then there is an inspector appointed, to see that in nothing they exceed their original plan. Such are the restraints to which those are liable that are left behind in the *Dutch* factory; which renders their course of life unpleasant enough, little, if at all, better than remaining all that time in a prison, and that too of a very narrow extent, where the inconveniencies to which they are exposed are many, and their amusements few. Let us now see how the new comers are treated upon the arrival of the annual vessels; but, previous to this, it must be observed, that no ships sent thither must have any figure whatever at their stern, because the *Japonese*, observing that the *Dutch* have no images, took it into their heads that they were placed there in derision of their idols, and therefore prohibited this custom as an insult upon their religion*.

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THE very moment that the ships arrive in the road, the governor sends several boats, filled with *Japonese*, on board, who take all their cannon small arms, sails, cordage, and spare anchors, into their possession. The crews of these ships are confined to the island, as well as the people of the factory, unless they have a licence to go into the city, and even this is restrained to four at a time. The prices of their goods are set by the *Japonese* directors of trade, as are likewise the prices of the goods they take in exchange, and sales are made when and how they please. It is true, they are allowed to send the chief of their factory, with two or three attendants, to *Jeddo*, to the emperor; but, in their journey, they travel under the escort of a *Japonese* guard, who will not suffer them to make any excursions by the way, or to visit any great lords. They are under the same or greater restraints during the short stay they make at *Jeddo*, where they have little other business than to deliver their presents to the emperor, and to particular princes and grandees of his court, to renew the treaty of commerce; which, being a thing of form, is speedily dispatched; and then they are ordered to return, having a guard about them while they remain there, and as

* KAMFFER, CHARDIN, CARRON, CHARLEVOIX, GARCIN.

other

other to escort them back'. Of all the restrictions their trade labours under, the *Dutch* are made most uneasy by their having the quantity of goods limited to the value of three hundred and eighty thousand fials, or one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling; and of this therefore they complained bitterly to the officers, and at last to the emperor himself. The *Japonefe* treated them, on this occasion, with great address; they told them, that they knew and understood the thing to be an hardship; insinuated, that it did not proceed from any diffidence or disrespect, but was done purely to justify the same restraint on the *Chinese*, the number of whose junks increased every year; and, as there were frequently *Tartars* amongst them, they could not help suspecting that they might have some worse design than getting money by trade; but, for fear of bringing that evil upon themselves which they were labouring to avoid, they thought it necessary to lay this restraint on the *Dutch* as well as the *Chinese*, that the latter might have the less reason to complain (F).

THEY

* L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 207, 208, 209.
Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. . "Memoires sur le Commerce
des Hollandois, p. 199.

(F) The shrewdness and sagacity of the *Japonefe* ministers will sufficiently appear from the manner in which they have sometimes answered the *Dutch* chief upon his making vigorous remonstrances to have these limitations of trade taken off: "To what end, say the *Japonefe* ministers, do you solicit this as a favour? you see that every year part of your goods are left upon your hands, and you complain that you are no gainers by what you sell. If therefore what you call your privileges were restored, it would serve only to crowd your warehouses, to lessen the price of your goods, and, from a small gain, bring upon you great loss by so tedious and dangerous a voyage. If, there-

fore, we do not restore these privileges, it is no mark of disrespect or diskindness, but quite the contrary; it is from an apprehension you should be disgusted by your losses, and lay aside this commerce altogether." The *Dutch* might easily answer this, by owning that they already exceed their allowance; that the goods left in their warehouses are employed in a clandestine trade; and that they could easily find the means of disposing of cargoes twice or thrice as great as those that are now sent (90). But as these are things they dare not mention, though perhaps they are not altogether unknown to the *Japonefe* ministers, they are forced, by their silence, to admit, that the *Japonefe* arguments are unanswerable. The whole

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They promised likewise that this regulation should be very tenderly executed, so as to give the *Dutch* very little trouble; in which it is said the *Japanese* have been as good as their words; for, abating their particular customs, and the warmth with which they are attached to them, there is no nation in the world more just, more reasonable, or even more civil to strangers. The *Dutch* took advantage of this stroke of policy at *Japan* to make a new regulation of their own affairs, and a very wise one it was. They are sensible that people do not settle in the *Indies* to make observations in natural history, but to acquire fortunes; that men submit to the hardships they endure for the sake of purchasing future ease; and that the navigation in the seas of *Japan* is commonly so perilous, that it is but reasonable even the ordinary seamen should find an extraordinary account in it. Upon these motives they have thus settled the commerce of *Japan*: Goods to the value of three hundred thousand taels are sent on the company's account; and the other eighty thousand is allowed in private trade, in the following proportion; viz. forty thousand taels on the account of the governor-general and council at *Batavia*; ten thousand on the account of the new chief, who goes on-board the fleet; eight thousand on the account of the chief who is to come home; and twenty thousand for the officers and seamen; so that every captain has eleven hundred taels on his own account, and every seaman twenty. If any of these people have not money to furnish their share of the cargo, it is either advanced on their wages, or they are allowed to dispose of their right to such as are richer than themselves. Thus every man is interested in the branch of trade in which he is employed, and finds his private account in the punctual discharge of his duty.

In despite
of all dif-

After their sales are over at their factory, and the wind is fair for their return home, they have their cannon, small

* Memoires de Dr. GARCIN.

secret of the matter is, that the government of *Japan* has an inclination to indulge its subjects in a foreign commerce, as far as they judge consistent with their own security; that they are sensible this could not be done if the *Dutch* were excluded, upon account of the company's great naval power, which would en-

able them to cut off all communication between *Japan* and *China*; and that, while they enjoy the small proportion of trade they have still left, it is sufficient to answer the views of the *Japanese* government, and to prevent things from coming to extremities (91).

(91) *Memoires du Japon*, p. 153.

arms,

arms, sails, anchors, and rigging, restored to them, and are directed to depart without delay; with which they are obliged to comply. In their return they touch again, towards the end of the month of *December*, at the island of *Poltimon*, where formerly all the gold was put on board one ship, that proceeded immediately for *Batavia*, while the rest continued their voyage to *Malacca*, where an assortment was made of the goods for the several markets of the *Indies*; but now the ships return to *Batavia*. It is allowed that the commerce of *Japan* is much sunk to what it was; and it is likewise true, that great losses are frequently sustained therein; but, after all, it is still very considerable; so that, on the best computation that can be made, it produces annually to the company better than five millions of guilders, or half a million sterling, exclusive of the great advantages that result from the distribution of the effects brought from *Japan* over all the *Indies*, which may perhaps amount to as much more; and then we are to consider farther the profit that arises in *Europe* upon the goods that are acquired in exchange for the commodities brought from *Japan*; and we are likewise to remember, that the *Dutch* have always in view the recovery of their former privileges, and even the exclusion of the *Chinese*, if it was in their power* (G).

S E C T.

* Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 893, 896. JANICON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 380, 381.

(G) An author whom we have often quoted assures us, that the private trade allowed by the company in *Japan* often turns to prodigious account, and much beyond what it ought to do, according to the established proportion. As an instance of this, he relates, that, in the year 1683, upon the return of the homeward-bound ships from *Japan* to *Batavia*, one Mr. *Kanfeis*, who had made the voyage, took the liberty of saying to Mr. *Speelman*, then director-general, *Our private people did their business this year in Japan pretty offensively, and I dare say their returns are more considerable than those of the company.* To this the director-general answered in a saucy tone, *Hold your tongue, rascal; who asked you any questions about the trade to Japan?* But, continues our author, Mr. *Kanfeis* was believed to be in the right, since, upon debarking the goods belonging to the private trade out of the ship in which he came, she rose full three feet and a half out of the water, which shews what room they took up (92). The same writers say,

(92) *Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes Orientales*, p. 306. *Memoires du Japon*.

S E C T. XXV.

A succinct View of the Dutch Residentships throughout the Indies, at Cheribon in the Isle of Java, in the Kingdom of Siam, and at Mocha in Arabia. The Company have slighted their Factories in the Isle of Borneo, and are not very solicitous about their Commerce with China.

The first chair of an independent resident is fixed at Cheribon, in the island of Java.

WE come now to the lowest rank of officers bearing supreme command in the *Dutch* settlements, and of these there are only three, who, notwithstanding they have no higher title than that of resident, which is also given to those in the direction of all their factories, yet these are quite independent, as being appointed by, and having recourse to, the general and council at *Batavia*, without the least dependence

that, in 1686, the *Japonesse* made some unlucky discoveries in reference to the conduct of these private traders, in consequence of which nineteen interpreters and brokers lost their heads, sixteen had their bellies ripped open, and four were nailed alive upon crosses. These were all *Japonesse*; but their *Dutch* confederates did not intirely escape, for two merchants suffered a long imprisonment. Mr. *Andrew Klier*, who was then chief, and some others, were banished from *Japan* during life; and all the goods in the warehouses, belonging to the private traders, were confiscated. The government at the same time declared they did not impute any of these misdemeanors to the company, and for that reason did not touch any part of their stock (93). Upon the whole, the profit on the private trade, supposing it to be no greater

than it ought to be, is computed at about twenty-five thousand pound sterling a year; and, as one half of it comes to the governor and council at *Batavia*, it makes a considerable addition to their appointments. But, after all, is the company to blame? Be it private, or be it public trade, all the gains arising from it center at last in *Holland*; the desire of conveying their riches thither makes those who have acquired them glad to return home; and therefore, taking all things together, the company are very excusable, if, by suffering some loss themselves, they contribute to the emolument of their mother-country. The company might possibly gain more by a stricter administration; but the people of *Holland* would then gain much less, and the remedy might consequently be worse than the disease (94).

(93) *Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes Orientales*, p. 305. *Mmoires de Dr. Garcin.*

(94) *Id.*

on any governor, director, or chief whatever¹. The first of these independent residents has his dwelling in the factory at *Cheribon*, on the coast of *Java*, at the distance of forty-eight leagues from *Batavia*, where the company carries on a very advantageous commerce in coffee, cardamoms, indico, cotton, &c. The land is as fertile in rice, and other provisions, as perhaps any in the world. It is of considerable extent; and the people who inhabit it are under the dominion of four great lords, formerly stiled *Pangerangs*, *i. e.* princes; but now *Sultans*, *i. e.* kings, though their authority is not much extended in consequence of their new titles. There is one of them who is particularly called the company's sultan, because he is always attached to the *Dutch* interest. To say the truth, they might all four be very properly called so, since they are under her protection, and delivered from all apprehensions from the king of *Bantam*, who was continually at war with them; and had undoubtedly reduced them long ago under his subjection, if the company had not assisted them, and driven the *Bantamese* out of their territories². These princes have since that time, as well out of gratitude for favours past, as in expectation of protection for the time to come, granted the company great privileges in their dominions; among the rest, that of erecting a fort at *Cheribon*, where they have a garrison of sixty men, as well as a factory very well situated, and in perfect good order. About half a league from this fort are the tombs of the princes of *Cheribon*, in a vast temple erected for that purpose: they are three stories high, and are built of various kinds of fine stones. It is said that these tombs contain immense riches, which, though left unguarded, they are in no apprehension should be carried away, from a persuasion that they are protected in some supernatural manner; and report many instances of persons who have dropped down dead, on approaching the places where those riches are hid, with a thievish intention. There was formerly a very considerable *English* factory at *Cheribon*, with a little town belonging to it; but the persons belonging to the factory intriguing with the natives wives, as the *Dutch* say, this so provoked the people, that in one night's time they massacred them all, and destroyed the town³. It is not very improbable, if we could come at the truth of this

¹ L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 110. ² Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 865. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 211.

³ HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 128. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 211, 212, 213.

story, that they were put upon this cruel action by some of their Christian neighbours, for their residence in Java was an intolerable eye-sore (H).

An account of the precious birds nests which are so much admired throughout the Indies. BEFORE we quit this place, it will perhaps afford some pleasure to the reader if we give him a distinct account of a certain curious merchandize for which *Cheribon* is particularly famous; and of which great quantities are sent from thence to *Batavia*. These are the famous *Indian birds nests*, which are eaten in sauces and soups, and which are commonly ranked amongst the greatest delicacies of the table. The bird that

(H). There is no place in the island of *Java* where the people carry on a brisker trade than at *Cheribon*, where there are many of the *Japanese* merchants that are rich, and make a great figure; at which we shall be the less surprised, when we consider, that one of these traders manages different sorts of businesses, which would be altogether incompatible in *Europe*. He has perhaps a large house in the town, with a very commodious shop, where the principal commodity he deals in, whether china-ware, silks, plate, or jewels, is disposed to the best advantage; and every thing shews with such an air of respect and civility, and its perfections explained in so agreeable a manner, that it is almost impossible for an *European* to quit the place without buying something, tho' he has no occasion for it (95). Besides this, perhaps, he has two or three slaves that keep shops of quite a different kind, and others hawk things about the streets. To support this retail trade, he has several vessels employed on the coast of *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Celebes*, and perhaps in the *Moluccas*; and, by the help

of their returns, he stocks his own, and also his slaves shops. In the country, if his substance be considerable, he has a large house with all sorts of conveniences, such as orchards, gardens, fish-ponds, and whatever else may contribute to luxury and pleasure; but even here business is not forgotten, for his slaves are employed in cultivating his land, raising fruits of all sorts, sowing corn, weaving nets; or it may be they exercise these employments at their own risque, and pay their masters a certain consideration monthly. But all their accounts are kept by the merchant himself, either in his own, or in the *Malayan* language; which being expressed by a few characters, they dispatch every thing in much less time, and with much less trouble, than the *Europeans*, and yet with equal exactness. The women, and even the little children, are all some way or other employed; and it is wonderful to see with what dexterity and address they entertain their customers, and endeavour to put off the commodities they deal in (96).

(95) *Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 403, 404. *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 39, 40. (96) *Memoires de Dr. Garcin*.

builds these nests is a kind of swallow; her head, breast, and wings, of a shining beautiful blue, and the body milk white. This bird builds in mountainous and rocky places, fixing her nest, either by the side or by the bottom, to the solid stone. It is composed of a glarous viscous substance, and, when thoroughly dry, is in some measure transparent; the colour commonly white tinged with red, and now-and-then there are specks of purple at the bottom^b. It is shaped like the oval shells of which snuff-boxes are made, about an inch deep, and something more than three inches in compass, weighing about half an ounce, or a very little more or less. We have been the more particular in this description, because of the many fabulous reports concerning them; such as, that they are composed of twigs from spice-trees, and, when dissolved, afford the richest and highest taste imaginable; whereas in truth they have very little taste, and what taste they have is far from being agreeable. Others have reported, that the bird forms them from a kind of froth or foam flowing from her own bill; but it is now known that this is likewise false, and that she brings the jelly out of sea-stars, and other fishes, and disposes it gradually in rings one above another, as is manifest to the eye. When these nests come to be considered as an oriental luxury in food, they are a very valuable commodity; and vast quantities of them are consumed over all the *Indies*, but more especially in *China*, and the adjacent countries. They are, when properly seasoned with salt and spices, a very wholesome, nutritive, and delicious jelly, either boiled in soup, or eaten by themselves in the manner of a ragout. These birds nests are sold at *Batavia* for eight or ten shillings a pound^c.

ANOTHER resident has the direction of the company's affairs in the kingdom of *Siam*, and has an assistant or book-keeper under him. The company carry on a very considerable trade here in tin, lead, elephants teeth, gums, lack, wool, and other commodities. The king is a very formidable prince, his territories are near three hundred leagues in extent, and he encourages all nations to trade freely through his dominions. Ships, however, of any great burden, are obliged to come to an anchor at the distance of thirty-six leagues from his capital, because the river *Menan*, upon which it stands, is so rapid, that they could not warp up without great difficulty. This river, like the *Nile*, and many others in the *Indies*, overflows its banks at a certain season, so that for half the year

The second resident charged with superintendence of the company's affairs in the kingdom of Siam.

^b Voyage de Siam, p. 184.
civ.

^c Memoires de Dr. GAR-

the best part of the country is under water, and for this reason the houses are all built upon posts.^d The country of *Siam* is very rich and fruitful, and there is a considerable trade carried on by the *Chinese*. The *Dutch* have great privileges there, and are considered as the most favoured nation ever since the great revolution, which happened at *Siam* a little after the departure of the *French* ambassadors; for the *Dutch* grew then into credit with the new king, because the *English* were intrusted with the best places in the government, civil and military, by his predecessor, whom he had murdered. It was not therefore consistent with his policy to have any great correspondence with a nation that he knew was not well affected to his title. The favour he shewed the *Dutch* became a rule to his successors; and, as we before observed, they have been very much caressed ever since.^e They have a factory about a mile below the city of *Siam*, on the side of the river, which enables them to collect great quantities of deer-skins, which are annually sent to *Japan*; and this commerce, together with that of tin, which they have exclusively, and of which there is great abundance, and very fine, makes the company take more pains to oblige the king of *Siam* than most of their neighbours. The *Siamese* themselves are much addicted to trade, and the *Chinese* who reside there much more, so that they annually send ships to *Japan*; which, the difficulty of the navigation considered, is not a little extraordinary. They boast of having had the use of the compass above one thousand years before it was discovered in *Europe*; but the Jesuits have observed, that the compass with them, as with the *Chinese*, is very imperfect; which we may presume is owing to the regularity of the trade winds, that render an accurate division of the compass less necessary among them than with us^f (I).

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^d Voyage de Siam, liv. vi. tom. ii. col. 804, 805.
^e Dictionnaire de Commerce, Hollandois, p. 197.

^f Memoires sur le Commerce des

(I) There is hardly any country in the east of which we have more copious descriptions, and with which, notwithstanding, we are, after all, less acquainted than *Siam*. We may, however, venture to affirm, that no country in the east, of its extent, produces more valuable commo-

dities than this, which is the reason that the *Dutch* are so attentive to its commerce. There is one thing singular in the constitution of this country, which is, that the king is the sole merchant, and carries on a very extensive commerce, sending usually five or six large *junks* to *China*,

AT *Mocha*, on the coast of *Arabia*, the third residency is *Mocha is* fixed, where the resident is always a merchant, who has under him two book-keepers as assistants. This country is under the government of an *Arab* prince, who has the title of *Immaum*, or king, and who resides at a place two hundred miles east from *Mocha*. The sea-port of his dominions was formerly *Aden*; but, that being inconvenient, he removed it fifteen leagues farther, to *Mocha*, which was then but a fishing town. It is situated close to the sea, in a large, dry, sandy plain, that affords not either fruits or water, except what is so brackish and unwholesome, that such as are forced to drink it have long worms bred by it in their legs and feet, which are equally troublesome and dangerous ^{the seat of the third resident in the East India company's service.} They are supplied, however, with very good water from *Mofa*, which, lying at the distance of twenty miles, and coming by land-carriage, makes it as dear to the inhabitants as small beer is in *England*. The town of *Mocha*, notwithstanding this great inconvenience, is large, indifferently fortified, and makes a fine appearance from the sea. Their markets are well furnished with provisions, such as beef, mutton, lamb, and kid, camel and antelopes, flesh, common fowls, guiney hens, partridges, and pigeons ^b. The sea affords variety of fish, but not well tasted,

^a *Geographie Moderne*, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 613.

^b HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 41—43.

China, two to *Japan*, considerable squadrons to *Tonquin* and *Cochin-China*, as also to *Surat*, and even as far as the coasts of *Persia*. But though the goods belong to the king, yet the vessels are in a great measure manned and navigated by Christians. All the returns are laid up in his warehouses, from whence they are retailed at his own price to his subjects (97). The tin mines at *Ligor* are farmed to the Dutch company, which is a point of inexpressible advantage to them, and enables them to set almost what price they will upon that commodity; for,

if at any time they find the market begin to fall, they send it into *Europe*. By their interest at court they certainly sell more goods than any other *European* nation; which however does not turn to any great account, the company's profits arising rather from what is purchased, than what is sold. The common people in this country are in a manner all dealers in something or other; yet have so little distrust in their tempers, that the seller never tells his money after the buyer, and the latter seldom insists upon seeing the commodity weighed (98).

(97) *DiFionaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 804, 805. (98) *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 197. *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 213. *Hamilton's Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 178, 179.

which proceeds from the extreme saltness of the water, and the nature of their aliment. The town is well furnished all the year round with good fruits, such as grapes, peaches, apricots, and quinces, of which they make marmalade, both for their own use and exportation; though near the town there is not a tree or shrub to be seen, but a few date-trees, and they seldom have more than two or three showers of rain in a year; and often no rain falls for two or three years together. But amongst the mountains, about twenty miles off, seldom a morning passes without a moderate shower, which makes the valleys very fertile in fruit and corn, such as the soil will bear; but they have no rice, though plenty of barley and wheat. Since the Immaum made *Mocha* the chief port of his dominions, and a free port, it is become a place of great trade; for, besides the *Dutch* factory, and one belonging to the *English East India* company, they trade with *Portuguese*, *Banyans*, and *Moors*, and vessels from *Bassorah*, *Persia*, and *Muskat in Arabia Petraea*. The country of itself produces few valuable commodities besides coffee, and some drugs, such as myrrh, olibanum or frankincense from *Coffin*, and aloes foccotrina from *Socotra*, liquid storax, white and yellow arsenic, some gum arabic, and mummy, with some balm of gilead that comes down the *Red Sea* ⁱ (K).

W^B

¹ OVINGTON's Voyage to Surat, p. 460, 461. HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 44, 45.

(K) The commerce of *Mocha* has suffered great alterations; for those writers are certainly mistaken who suggest that it has been only of late frequented. On the contrary, its commerce was at a great height about the middle of the last century; but, towards the close of it, suffered so much by the *Madagascar* pirates, that the merchants began to forsake it, and the trade was diverted to several other ports in the *Red Sea*: but, in the space of less than twenty years, things took once more a new turn, and *Mocha* became more considerable than ever, and upon this

foot it has continued ever since (99). A few particulars may not be displeasing to the reader, as they are very consistent with the subject. The trading season extends from *May* to *August*; and in that space there seldom come in less than ninety or one hundred vessels from different parts of the world, such as *England*, *Holland*, *France*, and some other parts of *Europe*; *Goa*, *Diu*, *Dabul*, *Goga*, *Cauicut*, *Arben*, *Mazulipatan*, and even remoter parts of *Asia*; *Mozambique*, *Molinda*, and some parts of *Ethiopia*. But this is not all; for the trade by land is also very

(99) Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p. 477.

considerable,

We may discern what a prodigious advantage arises from the possession of any single commodity, which either from art or nature derives a degree of excellence not to be attained any-where else. The coffee trade brings in a continual supply of silver and gold from *Europe* and *Asia*; for it is a point settled here, that, notwithstanding other goods and merchandize may be bought and sold on credit for a certain time, coffee is always bought for ready, or, as the mercantile phrase is, present money*. The *Europe* shipping lade yearly at *Mocha*, about twenty thousand tons, rather more than less; and the other nations about the same quantity. The whole province of *Betlesackee* is planted with coffee-trees, which are never

A succinct account of the coffee trade, as managed in that port, in a manner exclusively.

* Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 701, 702. Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. ii. p. 422, 423. L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 218.

considerable, which commences about three weeks before the ships come in, and continues for a month or five weeks after. This arises from the two caravans from *Aleppo* and *Suez*, which are rarely composed together of less than a thousand camels; and which are never stiled rich, if the ready money they bring does not exceed two hundred thousand pieces of eight in silver, and a hundred thousand ducats in gold; which is to be understood barely of what is entered at the custom-house, and which those who are well versed in such kind of computations esteem to be above one half of the specie that comes in this way. These caravans bring likewise vast quantities of velvets, satins, armoseens, cloths of gold, camblets, fine cloths, saffron, mercury, vermilion, and other goods, as well of *Europe* as of the *Levant* (100). The royal vessel, as it is called, from *Suez*, has its cargo composed of much the same kind of mer-

chandize with the caravans; but is commonly richer in silver, as having rarely less on board than forty thousand pieces of eight; but this is not the case with respect to gold, of which that ship has rarely above fifty thousand ducats. All this is left behind; and, in return, they purchase some *Arabian* cloth, incense, myrrh, ambergrise, and perfumes of all sorts, precious stones, more especially pearls and cornelians, aloes, balm, cassia, dragons-blood, gum arabic, and other drugs, as also vast quantities of *Indian* goods that are brought from all parts, even *China* and *Japan*; to which we must also add coffee, as a very considerable article to these traders, as well as the most considerable one with respect to the *Europeans*, who bring likewise prodigious sums in specie, of which it is thought that the *Dutch* bring the least, on account of their spices, and some other commodities, which come here to a very good market (1).

(100) *Mémoires de Dr. Garcin*, Guyon, vol. iii. p. 406.

(1) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par

suffered

suffered to grow above four or five feet high, and the bean or berry grows on the branches and twigs, first green, then red, at last a dark-brown colour. The berries cling to the branches like so many insects; and, when they are ripe, they shake off. The *Dutch* have here, as in most other places in the *Indies*, a great advantage over other nations by their being possessed of the monopoly of spices, of which great quantities are consumed; and this consequently enables them to come at coffee at much easier rates than their neighbours: but this trade of theirs at *Mocha* is continually sinking on account of the vast quantities of coffee cultivated in their own colonies, especially at *Batavia*, *Amboyna*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*; though there is, after all, no comparison between the flavour of the coffee raised in their own plantations and that which is brought from *Mocha*¹. It may therefore be doubted whether the scheme of transplanting such kind of vegetables be really so profitable as at first sight it seems, since, the value of them arising from a certain peculiar flavour, it is impossible that imitations, where this flavour is wanting, should long preserve their credit; and therefore to penetrating people it will not appear very strange if the taste for coffee, which has so long prevailed, should at length decay; or if by some new invention (which is not at all impossible) the true *Mocha* coffee should be brought to *Europe* at so cheap a rate as to render the other imitations (which, without mending, begin to multiply very fast) despicable in the sentiments of those who must consume it, and who can be only tempted to consume it from their opinion of its flavour.

Motives which have induced the Dutch East India company to slight all settlements in Borneo.

WE have now run through the whole circle of the commerce carried on by the *Dutch East India* company in those parts of the world where they have any establishments; and it only remains to say something of two places with which though they have some correspondence, yet they have no settlement in either. The first of these is the great island of *Borneo*, which in point of extent is without question the largest in the *Indies*, and, as many believe, in the known world. Some writers say that it is six hundred leagues in circumference; but the *Dutch* tell us, that it is not quite so big^m. It is divided into abundance of little sovereignties, of the princes of which the most powerful is the king of *Banjaar Masseen*, and, after him, the princes of *Borneo* and

¹ See the article of Coffee in Dr. JAMES's Dictionary, towards the beginning.

^m Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 357.

Sambas. The air of this island is reckoned very unwholesome, which is occasioned by the country's being low in some places, and marshy. On this account it is but thinly peopled, though it abounds in very rich commodities. When the *Dutch* first settled in the *East Indies*, they were extremely solicitous about establishing their factories in *Borneo*; and accordingly they fixed them at the city of that name, at *Sambas*, and at *Succadano*; but they soon found, by the repeated plunder of their settlements, and murdering all that were in them, that there was no such thing as dealing with the inhabitants, who are certainly, if their relations be true, the basest, cruellest, and most perfidious people, in the world^a. The *Dutch* therefore quitted the island; and, though invited thither several times since, have absolutely refused to return; though they send ships occasionally, and manage with great caution; but, for the most part, they leave them to come and seek *European* commodities at *Batavia*, or to purchase them at second-hand from the *Chinese* who trade thither, and to *Borneo* also; their natural diffidence securing them from this innate spirit of fraud and cruelty which reigns amongst these treacherous islanders^o.

THERE is not now any *European* settlement in the whole island, and yet the commerce of *Borneo* consists in as rich goods as any in all the *Indies*. At *Samdas* and *Succadana* they deal in diamonds, of which there is a mine in the heart of the country. These stones are generally from four to twenty-four carats, and there are some found of thirty and forty carats; but the whole trade does not amount to above six hundred carats in a year. They always sell these stones for gold, though that likewise is the commodity of the island, and though there is a very considerable trade for gold-dust carried on at *Pahang*, *Saya*, *Calantan*, *Seribas*, *Catra*, and *Melanouha*. Bezoar of the finest sort is another article in their trade, not at all inferior in its value to the former^p. Sapan wood, fine wax, and several rich gums, are also met with there; but, after all, the staple commodity of the whole island is pepper, of which there is as much and as good as in almost any part of the *Indies*. Before the *Portuguese* discovered a passage to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, the *Chinese* were in possession of all the trade of this island; and, since the *Europeans* have declined settling there, it is again, at least in a great measure, fallen into their hands. The places

Other European nations being of the same mind, the commerce is reverted to the Chinese.

^a Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 870, 871. ^o Mémoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 201. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, p. 219, 220. ^p Mémoires de Dr. GARCIN.

where they are settled, besides *Banjaar Masseen*, are *Mampua*, *Teya*, *Lando*, and *Sambos*, where they carry on a very extensive commerce, and furnish the inhabitants in return with silks, chintz, callicoës, and in short all the manufactures of *China*¹ and *Japan* (L).

It is however the prevailing opinion among judicious persons, that a settlement there would be very advantageous.

It has been suggested, and with great shew of reason, that a more valuable trade might be established in this island of *Borneo* than in any part of the *East Indies*, because there arrive annually large fleets of *China* junks laden with all the commodities of that empire, which might be purchased as cheap or cheaper than even in *China*. There come likewise annually from the island of *Celebes* small vessels, which, in spite of the vigilance of the *Dutch*, bring considerable quantities of cloves, nutmegs, and other spices; which is the true reason that the *Dutch* are not able to put off any great quantities of these goods in their traffick with the inhabitants: yet sometimes they send ships hither to load with pepper, and endeavour to keep up a good correspondence with the kings of *Borneo* and

¹ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii, col. 871.

(L) There is nothing more difficult to be understood by one who is really inclined to penetrate the secrets of the commerce of the *East Indies*, than what regards the traffick of the *Chinese* in *Borneo*; and the rather, because we have good grounds to believe, that no direct commerce subsists between this island and the empire of *China*. We may therefore with some probability conjecture, that the *Chinese* established in *Borneo* carry the rich commodities of that country not only to *Java*, *Sumatra*, and *Celebes*, but also to *Siam*, *Tonquin*, *Cambodia*, and perhaps to *Surat*, from all which countries they bring back not only their native commodities, but also those of *Europe* (2). Besides, the *Chinese* junks that go to *Batavia*, and are so lucky as to sell off their cargoes early, frequently

purchase a fresh cargo for *Borneo*, in which perhaps *Javanese* and *Dutch* merchants are also concerned; and, if they cannot dispose of their goods speedily, the conveniency they have of living amongst their own nation till they can dispose of them lessens the sense of the disappointment, and perhaps makes them amends for it (3). One reason has been assigned in the text, why the *Chinese* are better able to deal with the people of *Borneo* than any other nation; and to this perhaps another may be added, which is, that these perfidious islanders are less jealous of the *Chinese*, who they know come there barely to trade, and who have neither temptation to attempt anything against their liberty, or force to execute it; if they should conceive any such design (4).

(2) Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 871. Garcin.

(4) Histoire des Indes, tom. ii. p. 222.

(3) Mémoires de Di.

Sambas; for, as to the king of *Banjar*, he has long ago declined having any thing to do with them. It is, however, not amiss to observe, that some, who are very well acquainted with the present state of things in the *East Indies*, look upon the *Dutch* as very much obliged to the inhabitants of this great island for the care they take in maintaining the ancient reputation of their ancestors for cruelty and perfidiousness, but above all for their copying them exactly in preferring sloth and ease above all things; since, with the assistance of common sense, common honesty, and common industry, they might make themselves the greatest, richest, and most respected people in *Asia*; there being good grounds to believe that there is full as much gold to be found here as in *Sumatra*; and still better authority for attributing what themselves say of their correspondence with the inhabitants of *Celebes* to their fear of the *Dutch*, the most intelligent persons being persuaded that the mace, nutmegs, and cloves, they sell the *Chinese*, are actually the growth of their own island. (M).

THE

† L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 221. HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 146, 147. * These particulars are chiefly derived from private information.

(M) We have, in another part of this section, given the reader a very curious and authentic account, of the true situation of things in the interior part of this great island, which is all inhabited by those, who, with the utmost propriety, may be stiled *Bornians*, those settled upon the coasts being for the most part *Malayans*. The principal reason of that obscurity, with which almost all writers speak of the produce of this country, is, that the *Europeans*, and even the *Chinese*, have no intercourse but with the inhabitants of the coasts, and they derive the most valuable of the commodities in which they deal from the savages, as they are pleased to

stile them, in the centre of the island; so that they cannot either give a good account of these commodities themselves, or settle any trade in them with certainty (5). A little reflection, however, will be sufficient to shew us, that, however unfavourable this may be towards fixing an intercourse with the people of *Borneo*, yet it affords us an unanswerable proof of what are the true products of that island, because whatever these people bring, they certainly have of their own, and in much greater quantities than we can form any just notion of from what they sell to the people settled on the coast (6); which is measured only by the want of

(5) Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 147.
r. Garcia.

(6) *Memoires de*

The Dutch THE other place, to which the *Dutch* company trades but
formerly little directly, is *Canton*, which is the only port in the empire
very safe of *China* where strangers are allowed a free trade; and one

those things for which they exchange them, and not at all by the plenty of the commodities in which they deal; for, as much savages as they are, they have cunning enough to make these go as far as they can (7). But, to come to the point, they furnish gold of several kinds, some fine, some coarse; they have also tin and iron. They bring down small diamonds that are very fine; and formerly they sold larger, and perhaps have them still, though they do not care to sell them. Fine pearls they furnish more freely. Cloves and nutmegs they vend in small quantities, which are in every respect as good as those in *Ambony*, and the island of *Banda*. It may be presumed that they have cinnamon likewise, because they bring down large quantities of the finest camphire that is to be met with in the *Indies*; and therefore a very intelligent writer had good reason to say, that *Borneo* produces all that is to be met with in *Sumatra*, and some very valuable commodities besides (8). The business is, to know how to come at these; and the reader perhaps will not judge that so very difficult, if he considers the following passage from Captain *Hamilton's* very ingenious book, in which he gives an account of the little kingdom of *Sambas*, on the coast of *Borneo* (9): "The prince and people are very hospitable and civil, so that strangers trade there with security.

"I knew a *French Armenian* who, coming from *Manila*, had the misfortune to lose his ship on that part of the coast that belongs to the king of *Sambas*. They had but little goods; for generally *Spanish* dollars are the common return for goods sold at *Manila*. When the people that were shipwrecked came ashore, they were carried to the king, who examined what they were, from whence they came, and whither bound, with what they were loaded, and several other interrogatories; and then ordered them provisions, and men and boats to assist them in saving their treasure, for there was but very little lost, besides the ship and stores, that were worth the trouble of saving. The king gave him pearls and beeswax for his silver, at such reasonable rates, that the *Armenian* gained forty per cent. at *Batavia* (whither he went in a *Chinese* vessel), for the goods he disposed of there. At *Batavia* he took passage on board a *French* ship for *China*, and in their way called at *Trangano*, where I met with him in the year 1719. I had the whole account from himself, and saw some beautiful pearls that he was carrying to the *China* market, and, among them, a pair of pearls worth fifty pounds sterling."

(7) *Remarks on the Commerce of India*, p. 31.

(8) *Memoires de Dr. Garcia*

(9) *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 148, 149.

would imagine the *Dutch* might have as much inclination, and to the full as much ability, to trade there, as any other people. We have seen that in former times they were very desirous of a strict and constant correspondence with the inhabitants of that rich and great empire; and, so long as they were masters of the island of *Formosa*, they carried on a direct trade thither to very great profit. After the setting up of the *Ostend* company, the *Dutch* did indeed send ships thither directly from *Holland*; but, whether the trade did not turn to account, or whether they were influenced by some other secret reasons, it has been in a great measure discontinued. Those who have a passionate desire of penetrating into secrets, and who, from their long acquaintance with these parts of the world, are esteemed as capable of gratifying their curiosity in this respect as any, have suggested two reasons why the *Dutch* in a great measure decline this traffick, so eagerly pursued by other nations, and to which heretofore none were more attentive than themselves.

BUT, whatever becomes of this general assertion, we may safely affirm, that the *Dutch* do not affect any settlement in this empire, may be very well accounted for from the two following causes, which are very weighty. The first is, that, being at so great a distance from *Batavia*, and in a country where it is easy to consign their effects to *Portuguese*, *English*, and other foreign merchants, the officers mind their own concerns more than the company's, of which a convincing proof has been had by the *Portuguese* vending their pepper at a greater advantage than the *Dutch*, though they bought it at an high price at *Batavia*. But the second cause is still more important: there is a prodigious trade carried on by the *Chinese* to *Batavia*, which, tho' it is a voyage of seven hundred leagues, the *Chinese* make in their junks in the space of six weeks, sailing from *Canton* in the beginning of *December*, and arriving in the middle of *January*. The company, in the first place, have a duty of four per cent. on all the goods they bring, which are, gold, silks of all sorts, tea, anniseed, musk, rhubarb, copper, quicksilver, vermillion, china-ware, &c. for which they receive in exchange lead, tin, pepper, incense, camphire, cloves, nutmegs, amber, and abundance of other things, on all which the *Dutch* set their own prices, and consequently buy much cheaper than other nations can purchase the same goods in *China*. They have also found by experi-

* L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 222. * Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 200, 201. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 222, 223.

ence, that a direct trade between *Holland* and *China* lessens very much this more profitable commerce at *Batavia*. Neither is it there only that they have an opportunity of dealing with the *Chinese*, but in many other parts of the *Indies*; where, when the *Chinese* merchants have completed their sales to the natives, they are very glad to part with the remainder of their commodities, at a very easy rate, to the *Dutch* *. Thus it clearly appears, that the *East India* company are able to send home vast quantities of *China* goods, without carrying on a direct trade with that country either from *Holland* or *Batavia* (N).

* HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, tom. II. p. 243, 240.

(N) These reasons, taken together, might very well determine the *Dutch* company to decline, or at least to abate of their fondness for, this commerce; more especially when they found by repeated experiments, that it still remained difficult for them to get the better of those prejudices which had been raised against them in the court of *China*, where the *Portuguese* had taken care to return them, at least as far as lay in their power, those civilities for which they thought themselves indebted at *Japan* (10). Yet the *Dutch* do not intirely slight, tho' they are far from cultivating, the commerce of *China*, because it is always a point of consequence to them to know the state of trade in that empire, that they may form the better judgment

of their dealings with the *Chinese* elsewhere; and because the knowledge of that is likewise necessary to settle the affords of their several cargoes, as well for *Europe* as the *Indies* (11). Upon occasion of the late bloody affair at *Batavia*, they found it expedient to send a kind of apology to *China*; and it is very remarkable, that, in so delicate as well as so important a business, they made choice of a native of *Britain*, one Mr. * * *, who succeeded beyond their expectations in that difficult commission; and would no doubt have been rewarded with some important office in the company's service, if he had not died before he could receive any adequate mark of the company's gratitude and respect (12).

(10) *Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, trois Volumes, vol. II. p. 222. Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandais, p. 200, 201.*

(12) This we have received from private information.

S E C T. XXVI.

An ample Detail of the Government gradually settled by the Company in the Indies, in respect to their Civil, Military, Commercial, and Ecclesiastical Establishments; the Provisions and Perquisites of Persons of all Ranks in their Service; and the Method constantly observed in making their Returns, and in sending their homeward-bound Fleets.

AFTER entering into so distinct an account, as well of the *The form* places to which the Dutch East India company trade, as of *and method of the* the territories they possess, we are next to shew in what manner *company's* the government of the Indies is administered, and how the dependence is preserved between the supreme council, to which *administration in* the ultimate direction of the company's affairs is confided, and *the Indies,* that numerous train of officers honoured with such a variety *and in* of titles, vested with such different powers, and residing in *Europe,* places at so vast a distance as the coasts of the Red Sea, and *equally cu-* the factory of Japan, are from the seat of government at *rious, and* Batavia. We have seen, from the history of this company, *important* the steps by which it rose, the prudence with which every *to the per-* fair opportunity was managed to the best advantage, the dex- *fect know-* terity and address with which imminent dangers were avoided, *ledge of this* the great sagacity, and manifold precautions, by which threat- *subject.* ened mischiefs were prevented, in consequence of their being foreseen; and hence the surprise at their acquiring so vast an empire, and in so short a time, is taken away. But, when all this is done, there seems to be an equal ground for admiration *left,* how such a dominion should be maintained. It would be no difficult thing to shew, that, according to the lessons laid down by the most eminent politicians, the management of such a mixed form of rule over territories so disjointed, and people of so many different dispositions, is altogether irreconcilable to any principles; and must have such a natural tendency to anarchy, as to render the stability of it for a considerable space of time a kind of prodigy. This, therefore, is what yet remains to be explained, together with the means by which this admirable plan, for the just regulation of all things in the Indies, is connected with that frame of direction which subsists in the United Provinces,

To set this matter in a clear light, it will be requisite to *By the* state first the general plan for the exercise of supreme power in *plan settled* the Indies, to which all these governments, directions, and in the ge- *factories,*

government
of the In-
dies, the
security of
the compa-
ny is esta-
blished.

factories, refer, from whence they receive their instructions, to which those employed in them are accountable for their conduct; and where too, upon any emergency, they must have recourse for orders and assistance. After this, we must enter succinctly into that private and particular œconomy by which the less considerable and even lowest of the company's servants have the terms of their duty prescribed, and a moral certainty of being rewarded or punished according as they fulfil or neglect them; for, after all, this is the sole and great point to which if a constant respect be not had, it is impossible that any system of government should long continue in good condition; and by a strict attention to which we see so complicated, so perplexed a system as this is, has nevertheless been kept in the most exact order. It is in bodies politic as in the natural body, in which health and vigour always depend on a free circulation of the juices through the smallest vessels; it is there the stagnations begin, from whence the most dangerous diseases ensue. It is to the care, therefore, taken by the company in this respect, their wisdom in settling the smallest things, and their great strictness, which some call unrelenting severity, in seeing what has been once prudently established punctually and perpetually complied with, that we ought to ascribe the solidity of their power, as well as the general success of their designs.

Of the two
supreme
councils at
Batavia;
that of the
Indies,
and that of
justice.

ALL the dominions which the company possesses in the *East Indies* are governed by two supreme councils, one stiled the council of the *Indies*, and the other the council of justice. They are both of them fixed in the city of *Batavia*, as the capital of their dominions. To the first of these councils belong all matters of government, and the direction of public affairs; and to the latter the administration of justice in all its branches. The governor-general presides in the first council, which is composed of eighteen or twenty persons, who are called counsellors in ordinary of the *Indies*. It very rarely happens that they are all at *Batavia* together, because they are usually provided with some or other of the seven governments which are in the company's disposal. This council assembles regularly twice a week; and extraordinarily, as often as the governor-general pleases. They deliberate therein on all things that concern the interest of the company: they likewise superintend the government of the isle of *Java*, and whatever depends upon it. If the affair be of very great importance, the consent of the directors of the company is likewise necessary. It is also from the council of the *Indies* that

orders issue, and instructions are sent, to other governments, which are implicitly obeyed. In this council all letters directed to the governor-general, or to the director, are read, debated, and answers agreed on by a plurality of voices' (O).

THE

7 BASNAGE Description Historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, cap. xxxvii.

(O) It is not easy to conceive how the company could provide better for the information and assistance of their governor and captain-general, and at the same time form a stronger barrier for their own security, than by appointing this council of the *Indies*. By the way, it may not be amiss to remark, that as much attached as the *Dutch* are, or would be understood to be, to a popular government in their own country, there are no marks of it at all in the *Indies*, where the government is mixed indeed, but without suffering what has the least tincture of democracy to enter into the composition. We have before observed, that the appointments granted to a counsellor of the *Indies* were very considerable, yet fall short of many offices less honourable in the company's disposal; which is certainly a very prudent and political regulation, as it has an indirect tendency to keep such as are inordinate lovers of money from aiming at this employment; nor can there be any thing more salutary to a state, than to make a proper division of posts of trust and honour, and posts of profit, that men of generous and noble dispositions may aspire to the former, while men of meaner qualifications are gratified with

the latter (13). It is true, that in spite of these, and other laudable cautions, a spirit of faction sometimes prevails in this council, of which several instances have been already mentioned, and some others will be hereafter hinted. But what then; this does not in the least reflect on the constitution settled by the company, which may be, and certainly is, admirably contrived, and yet not absolutely perfect. The same misfortune attends the best contrived political constitutions, that is visible in the finest machines executed by the wit of man; that is, time will discover certain faults that arise not from their structure, but from their materials. Friction will destroy the hardest metals; and then, how excellent soever the machine may be, defects will appear: so in all administrations, as they must be executed by men, the frailties inseparable from human nature will produce very apparent inconveniences; but in both cases, the remedy is the same; that is, when faults become conspicuous, necessary alterations must be made, not to destroy, but to restore, the first principles; and, to make the comparison complete, we must judge of constitutions as we do of machines, and, without requiring perfec-

(13) *Mémoires sur les Commerces des Hollandois*, cap. xiv.

Establishment of the latter, its numbers, jurisdiction, and principal members.

THE council of justice is composed of a president, who is usually a counsellor of the *Indies*, eight counsellors of justice, a fiscal, or attorney-general, for affairs of government, another fiscal for maritime business, and a secretary. The president is, by his office, keeper of the great seal; on which is represented a great castle, in the midst of which is justice, with her balance and sword, with this inscription round it, viz. *The Seal of the Council of Justice in the Citadel of BATAVIA*. All the counsellors of this college are doctors of the civil law. The first attorney-general has a vote, as well as the other counsellors, and has the third of all fines under an hundred florins, and a sixth part of the fines above that sum. The duty of his office consists in taking care that the laws are strictly observed, and in preferring informations against such as break through them. The other attorney-general, or fiscal of the sea, takes the like care with regard to frauds committed in commerce, acts of piracy, or whatever has a tendency to disturb the settled rules in maritime affairs. There are, besides these two sovereign boards, the council or tribunal of the city of *Batavia*, entrusted with the sole administration of this colony; which is composed of nine aldermen, including the president, who is always a counsellor of the *Indies*, and a vice-president; the bailiff of the city, and the commissary of the country adjacent, have likewise seats in that assembly, and, with the secretary, make up the board * (P).

THE

* JANICÓN Etat présent de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 354, 355, 356. * Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS DE GRAAF.

tion in either, allow both to be excellent, when they last a long time, and need but little mending.

(P) The settling a distinct and independent council of justice (which is sometimes also styled the council of the *Indies*), which has likewise the inspection of the finances, was another very wise step, as experience has shewn; inasmuch as these supreme councils are checks upon each other, and yet are so constituted, as not to be subject to frequent, much less to perpe-

tual oppositions, which would be highly dangerous. But if the curious and judicious reader should expect a reason why this council, and not that of the *Indies*, is vested with the distinguishing prerogative of calling to an account, in case of extreme necessity, the governor-general; he must be told, that they derive it from the States General, who confide to the president and members of the supreme council of justice the superintendency of their sovereignty; that is, they are charged

THE governor-general, as the head of the empire which the company has established in the *East Indies*, is in fact the monarch, captain-general, and admiral. He is, by his office, president of the council of the *Indies*, in which he has two votes. He has the key of all the magazines, and directs every thing relating to them, without being accountable to any body. He commands by his proper authority, and every body is bound to obey him: so that one might safely say, this authority equalled that of several kings in *Europe*, if he was not answerable to, and liable to be removed by, the directors of the company at home^b. In case, however, of treason, or any other enormous crime, the council of justice have a right to seize his person, and to call him to account. When a governor-general is dead, or resigns his charge, the Council of the *Indies* chuse another, by a plurality of voices. As soon as this is done, they write to the directors of the company at home, desiring them to confirm and approve of their choice: they likewise write for the same purpose to the States General, their High Mightinesses having reserved to themselves this power of confirming or excluding a governor-general, by their charter. It is usual, however, for the States, and for the directors, to approve of the governor-general that is chosen, and to send him his letters patent, conformable to the desire of the council of the *Indies*. Yet some instances there have been, of the directors rejecting the governor thus elected, and sending another^c.

THE company allow their governor eight hundred rix-dollars a month, and five hundred more for his table, and pay, besides, the salaries of such as compose his household.

^b L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 75. BASNAGE, JANICQ, &c. ^c L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 76, 77.

to prevent any steps being taken by the officers, or in the name of the *East India* company, inconsistent with the fidelity they owe to the States General; and consequently, as the only crime the governor-general could commit, which they would remit to the cognizance of any judicature in the *Indies*, must be of a treasonable nature; this prerogative is, with greater pro-

priety, and with less danger of being abused, vested in the council of justice, than it could have been in the council of the *Indies* (14). Besides these, there are four inferior councils in *Batavia*, the presidents of which are taken out of the superior council; to which, in cases of any difficulty or importance, appeals are allowed.

A kind of monarchi-
cal power
established
in the go-
vernor and
captain-
general of
the Indies.

Court and
magnifi-
cence of
this great
officer, and
the facility
afforded
him of
raising a
fortune.

But these appointments make but a very small part of his revenue, the legal emoluments of his office being so great, that, in the space of two or three years, he is able, without oppressing the people, or burdening his conscience, to raise an immense fortune. As he is in a manner sovereign of the dominions belonging to the company, it has been found requisite, in compliance with the mode of the eastern countries, to allow him a court, and most of those honours which are paid to crowned heads. Whenever he stirs out of his palace, to go to his country seat, he is preceded by the master of his household, at the head of six gentlemen on horseback, with a trumpet; two halberdiers on horseback go immediately before his coach; on the right he has his master of the horse, at the head of six halberdiers, on horseback; then follow the other coaches, which carry his friends and retinue; and the whole is closed by a troop of horse, consisting of forty-eight men, commanded by a captain and three quarter-masters, and preceded by a trumpet, richly clothed^d. If this office be extremely considerable by its revenues, its power, and the honours annexed thereto, it is likewise extremely fatiguing. The governor-general is employed, from morning till night, in giving audience to such as have business with him, in reading letters, and in giving orders for the company's service; so that he spares but one half hour for dinner, and even at table dispatches such affairs as are pressing^e. He also receives all the *Indian* princes, and their ambassadors, who come to *Batavia*, and of whom there are many that arrive every year, and who are received according to a settled ceremonial (Q.).

After

^d JANSŒON *Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 359. ^e *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 79. *Voyage de Siam*, p. 152, 153. *Journal du Voyage de Siam*, par l'Abbé de CHOISY, p. 186, 187.

(Q) We have elsewhere remarked, that the business of the company could never be carried on, if it was not kept in a constant uniform track; and the same thing may be affirmed of the function of the governor-general. His levee begins at seven o'clock, when the company's upper merchant, the commandant of the garrison of *Batavia*, the surveyor of the navy, and the major of the ar-

tillery, attend, to make their respective reports, and to receive his orders. At half an hour after ten precisely, the receiver-general brings his report of the vessels and cargoes that are arrived, with the list of the names of such as have landed. At twelve o'clock, he goes to dinner; half an hour after, he retires to his repose. Before two, he appears again in public, and dispatches business till between

After saying so much of these great officers, it will certainly afford satisfaction to the reader, as well as light to the fore-

between eight and nine o'clock. Whenever a messenger arrives, charged with a letter from any *Indian* monarch, the shawbander, or master of the ceremonies, upon notice given him, goes to receive it, with seven or eight of the principal officers in the company's service; then, the letter being laid in a large silver dish, covered with a piece of yellow flowered damask, is put into the hands of a halberdier, who carries it before the master of the ceremonies and the *Indian* minister, their respective trains following at a distance. The garrison, on such occasions, is drawn out, and takes post in two lines, which extend from the port to the governor's palace, between which the company march slowly, and with great solemnity, the soldiers resting on their arms, drums beating, colours flying, and all the military music sounding. As soon as the *Indian* minister is in the presence of the governor-general, the halberdier presents him the dish, out of which he takes the letter, and puts it into the hands of the governor. At that instant, upon a signal given, there is a general discharge of the cannon, and three salvo's of the musketry. Then the minister, and those who accompany him, are conducted into the great hall, where the minister sits down to table with the governor-general and the commandant of the garrison, his secretary standing near the

governor, and all the rest of the company at a distance, the table being surrounded by a guard of halberdiers. The entertainment being over, the minister is conducted back with the like ceremonies (15). On *Sundays*, immediately after dinner is over, follows what they style the parade, in which, however, the governor is not obliged to assist, as it is calculated purely for the amusement of the *Indians*, who love nothing so much as this kind of spectacles. The principal figure in this parade is the general's led-horse richly caparisoned, followed by a troop of cuirassiers; then come a company of grenadiers, and after them a battalion of the garrison, with their head-pieces. The horse are preceded by a trumpet richly clothed, the grenadiers by two bassoons, and six hautboys precede the battalion (16). Such is the state of a governor-general of the *Indies*, or rather, such are the trappings allowed to him, who is the greatest slave in the company's service, and which, in the judgment of a sensible man, contribute rather to heighten than to relieve the burden of so painful and so troublesome an office, and which, while they do him so little service, expose him to the envy of those who might be much more at ease than he, if they knew how to make a right estimate of their own happiness.

(15) *Voyage de Francis Leguat, tom. ii. p. 99. Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par Nicolas de Graaf. Janique Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 359, 360, 361.* (16) *L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 78. Voyage de Francis Leguat, tom. ii. p. 99.*

Conquests, Settlements, and Discoveries, of B. XIV,
going history, if we exhibit a list of the generals of the Indies,
and take notice of the times in which they succeeded.

*List of go- A chronological and historical List of the Governors-
vernors- central of the Dutch East Indies; with the Time of
general. their Accession, and Space in which they governed.*

A. D.
1610.

P*PETER Roth, of Amersfort. He was advanced to the government, when the affairs of the Dutch in the East Indies were in the most critical situation, Admiral Paul van Gaerden being then prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, who, by assembling a great force in the Philippines, entertained very strong hopes of driving the Dutch out of the Moluccas; but, through the prudence of this governor-general, who appears to have been a man of solid understanding, great temper, and much fortitude, their schemes were disappointed, and the Moluccas preserved. It was during his government that the Dutch made a great impression on the islands of Solor and Timor, countries which have not been hitherto mentioned; and of which therefore, and of their produce, something shall be said in the notes (B). He did not hold the government much above two years, and was then succeeded by*

G. ERARD

Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 135.

(R) This island of Timor lies east-south-east from Java, and the Dutch have still a fort, and a small factory upon it. The island is very well inhabited, and of very considerable extent; but the people, if we may credit either the Portuguese or the Dutch, are very barbarous, and, in some measure, savages. Yet some Englishmen, who went there with Captain Dampier, report otherwise; and that those people are no otherwise savages, than as they have a mortal aversion to slavery, and are not so stupid but that they have detected all the practices of both those nations to bring them under their yoke, and therefore have defended themselves, with equal skill and bravery, against force and fraud, and are still just as free as when they found them living under their own chiefs, and in the manner they like best (17). The Dutch continue to trade with them (though sometimes, it is said, that the profits of the commerce do not defray the expence of it) for three reasons. The first, which the reader will not find mentioned in many books, is the expediency of having intelligence from thence, in case of any ships coming to the Indies through the South Seas, of which the Dutch East India company are at least as jealous as the

(17) *Geographie Moderne, par Adrien de Bois, p. 698.*

Spaniards.

GERARD Reynst, of Amsterdam. He prosecuted, with great vigilance, the schemes of his predecessor, and was particularly

A. D.
1613.

Spaniards, let them be of what nation they will, their own not excepted. In this sense, the island of *Timor* is a kind of frontier, which vessels that take this route, and are not bound for the *Philippines*, seldom fail of coming to, and thereupon notice is given to all the *Dutch* fortresses in the *Moluccas* (18). The next station is, bechole this island is both large and tolerably fruitful, a thing of very great consequence for the supply of the *Moluccas*, where, between the barrenness of the soil, and the idleness of the people, a perpetual indigence prevails. Either of these reasons are pretty good ones, and either of them might suffice for keeping the island. But there is a third, superior to both; which is, that it affords them the monopoly of a very valuable commodity, which is *sandal*, *sental*, or *santal*, which last is the best way of spelling it, a kind of odorous wood, highly esteemed in *China*, and indeed throughout the whole *East Indies* (19). It is the same that we call *sanders*; but, as there are many mistakes about it, published in books otherwise in good credit, it may not be amiss to give a short description of it here. It grows to the size of a walnut-tree; the leaves resemble those of the *lentiscus*; its flowers are of a dark blue, inclining to a black; and its fruit resembles our cherries, being first very green, and as they grow ripe

turn black. The wood is not valuable till the tree is very old, which is easily distinguished by the leaves becoming smaller, and growing yellow. There are two sorts of wood in the same tree, one citron coloured, and the other white. The heart of the tree, and where-ever there are knots, are commonly citron; and sometimes in the midst of the branches, and even in the body of the tree, there are spots of this colour, occasioned, as it is generally supposed, by the stagnation of the oil; the rest of the timber is white. When it is first cut down, and split into billets, it has no smell at all, but, as it becomes dry, it acquires a very pleasant comfortable scent, the citron being much stronger than the white. It is used as a perfume principally in embalming, and vast quantities are annually exported to *China*, where it bears a great price. In some parts of the *Indies* they burn it, either in chips or in dust; but this is purely ostentation, since the smoke is without any smell. In the *Maldives*, and other islands, they reduce it to powder, and sprinkle it over their dead bodies. It is also used in medicine, to comfort the head and heart, but chiefly outwardly; in order to this, they cut the wood upon a stone, with a little water, till the water becomes thick, and then they anoint the head, face, stomach,

(18) *L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 21.
Conquête des Isles Maldives, tom. iii. p. 179, 184, 173.

(19) *Histoire de la*

ticularly careful in bringing the islands of *Banda* under the dominion of the company, which was undoubtedly a great acquisition. But as he was very active and indefatigable, so his zeal for the service is believed to have shortened his days, since, after enjoying the post of governor-general for one year and a few months, during the greatest part of which he was at sea, or otherwise in action, he died, December the 7th, 1615^a.

A. D.
1616.

LAURENCE Reaal, of *Amsterdam*, who was governor of the *Moluccas* at the time of the general's demise, succeeded him in his employment; which, while he held, though the *Spaniards* threatened much, they were able to do but little; and, while they spent a long time in preparing a most formidable fleet and army, the governor-general, who had perfect intelligence of all their motions, failed not to make a proper use of their delays, taking one fort after another, and worming them gradually out of what they had still left in the *Moluccas*, while they were meditating the intire conquest of them; which, as we have elsewhere shewn, came to nothing, after it had cost immense wealth, and exhausted the whole force of the *Philippines*¹. He held his government about two years, which then devolved upon

1618.

JOHN Peterfon Koen, of *Hoorn*. A man born to fix the hitherto unsteady fortune of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*. He it was who secured to them the full and intire possession of the spice islands; and, knowing perfectly the state of things in *Europe*, as well as the *Indies*, ventured to make use of the superior force they then had against both the *Javaneze* and the *English*^b. We have shewn, in the former part of this work, how he took the city of *Jacatra*, and having, at one bold stroke, subverted that capital and the kingdom, esta-

^a Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes, tom. vii. p. 213.

^b Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 177.

¹ Memoires touchant les Isles de Banda, p. 4. ² Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 196.

or break, with it. It is believed to be of great efficacy in head-achs, inflammations of the eyes, pluries, and all kinds of fevers. The true santal grows only in the islands of *Timor* and *Salor*, and is generally worth ten pounds sterling a bahar, or five hundred weight. As for the brown santal, or red san-

ders, it grows plentifully on the coast of *Ceromandel*, but is without smell, and employed chiefly in making chests and cabinets, highly valuable in one respect, that it resists all kinds of worms, and other vermin. This sort of wood comes frequently in the *Dutch* ships to *Europe*, under the name of *caliatour* (20).

blished, on the ruins of both, the noble city of *Batavia*, of which, while he first held the government, he was the founder¹.

PETER Carpenter succeeded, on his return to *Holland*. He regulated the interior form of his government with success, extended the commerce of the company very considerably, and had the honour to have a part of the south continent called by his name, which is sufficient to perpetuate it to latest posterity^m.

A. D.
1623.

JOHN Peterfon Koen, at the request of the company, and by the command of the States, took the reins of government once more into his hands, at a season when the whole island of *Java* conspired the ruin of the new *Dutch* settlement, as having judgment enough to foresee, that those whom themselves had beheld but strangers in the island; their posterity would be obliged to regard as masters. It was this that provoked the emperor of *Java* to besiege their chief settlement twice, with armies so numerous, that it could scarce have been expected any fortrefs should have withstood themⁿ. Yet General *Koen* made that monarch sufficiently sensible, that force was not comparable to prudence, and that multitudes ill conducted are but multitudes conducted to slaughter. After having baffled this powerful monarch, and seen the greatest part of his army the victims of his ambition, this great general departed this world, *September* the 20th, 1629. As he lived the founder, he died the defender, of *Batavia*; and was justly esteemed the ablest statesman, the completest officer, and the most fortunate person, that had been entrusted with the care of the *Dutch* affairs, to that time, in the *East Indies*^o.

1627.

JAMES Speks succeeded him in the post of governor-general, arriving at *Batavia* about the time of his decease. He distinguished himself by executing, with great skill, and equal exactness, all the dispositions of his illustrious predecessor; so that, in his time, *Batavia* became no less remarkable for its elegance and beauty, than it already had been admired for its happy situation, and great strength. But what gave the highest reputation to his government, was the settling of the *Chinese*, whom he took under his particular protection, and who, at his departure from his government, which he held about three years, made him a present of a

1629.

¹ NEUVILLE *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. i. p. 284. ^m *Geographie Moderne*, p. 906. ⁿ NEUVILLE *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. ii. p. 127. ^o *Conquête des Îles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 303.

most noble medal of gold, having on one side a very beautiful plan of the port, fortrefs, and city, of *Batavia*, and on the other, two inscriptions in honour of this worthy person, and expressive of their own gratitude, for the great indulgence which he had shewn towards them ? (S).

A. D. 1632. *HENRY Brouwer* succeeded in the government, followed the example of his predecessors, particularly in promoting trade, which flourished exceeding during his administration. He also held the government about three years ? (T).

1635. *ANTHONY van Diemen*, a good officer, and an experienced seaman, by whose name part of the south continent, as it is generally reputed, is distinguished, was appointed governor-general of the *Indies*, at a very critical season, and

? See the note.

? Conquête des Îles Moluques, tom. iii,

p. 305.

(S) This medal was an oval figure, and, on the reverse, the first inscription is in the *Malayan* language, written in old Chinese characters, in four lines, consisting, in the whole, of fourteen characters, forming a sentence of the following import (21): *The sun, by its irradiations, communicates the celestial light even to the earth; in the same manner, a wise administration, conveys the glory of him from whom it flows, down to the latest branch of his posterity.* The second inscription is in *Latin*; and runs thus:

"In perpetuam gratitudinis memoriam, hoc munusculum nos cives Chineses Bataviz, lubenter meritoque obtulimus Insigni heroi Jacobo Spexio, Indiarum Orientalium generali, patrono nostro observando, anno 1632, die 25 Novembris, Bataviz." That is: *In perpetual memory of our gratitude, we the Chinese citizens of Batavia, have freely, as well as conscious of his desert, presented this little gift to the il-*

lustrious hero James Spex, governor-general of the East Indies, our respected patron, A. D. 1632, the 25th day of November, at Batavia.

(T) It is requisite to acquaint the reader with a circumstance necessary towards the perfect understanding some passages in the *Dutch voyages and histories of the East Indies*, in which he may meet with the title of president of *Batavia*, by which he is to understand, the governor-general, whom the council of the *Indies* have an authority to elect, and to invest with all the prerogatives of his office, that of the title only excepted, which he cannot assume till he has had the approbation of the directors. In virtue of this distinction, the same person is sometimes called by both titles, in the same book, and in some catalogues it will be found, that such a person executed the office of president of *Batavia* so long, and was so long general of the *Indies*.

(21) *Histoire Metallique des Pays-bas, par M. sieur Gerard van Loon, tom. 2, p. 204.*

when it highly imported the company, and the *Dutch* nation, to have a man blessed with a sound head and a steady hand at the helm. They were not disappointed in the choice they made of this great man, who found the natives of the *Moluccas* much discontented, and a general spirit of uneasiness, and even mutiny, in some other places. He applied himself immediately to put the fortifications every-where in the best state of defence, and stationed squadrons so prudently, that the seditions became silent and afraid^r. He then changed his measures, and, instead of that sternness which he shewed at the beginning, declared, that he was willing to hear and to redress grievances, to give the utmost satisfaction to the allies of the company; to ratify old treaties, and to rectify any mistakes in them, by new ones. The princes of *India*, when they saw that he was not to be either frightened or outwitted, and that, at the same time, he was willing to listen to reason, took him at his word; and, upon his going in person to the *Moluccas*, negotiated and concluded with him, in the month of *June* 1638, the clearest and most explicit treaty that, perhaps, was ever made with any Christian nation^s. It was during his regency that the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* suffered so much in those parts, and at length lost the important fortress of *Malacca*, after a siege of four months and twelve days, in which the besiegers had a thousand men killed. It surrendered *January* 12th, 1641; and the *Portuguese* then lost, in effect, what was their greatest boast, being lords of the navigation of the *Indies*, all ships passing the streights paying a certain duty, and taking licences at *Malacca*. The rest of his government was equally fortunate and honourable; and his masters were so sensible of his diligence, fidelity, and capacity, in the execution of his trust^t, that they left him in the possession of it, till he was removed by death, *April* 19th, 1645.

CORNELIUS vander Lyn, of *Alkmaar*, being raised to this high office, resolved to distinguish his regency, by making the company masters of the other passage into the *Indian* seas, between *Cape Comorin* and the island of *Ceylon*, which he saw happily effected. He was also the patron of a very important design, which was that of discovering the passage to *Europe* by the way of *Japan*; and though this proved abortive, yet, like all great attempts, it produced some advantages, even from its miscarriage, and gave the first certain intelligence, that

A. D.
1645.

^r *Geographie Moderne*, p. 907.
^s *Juques*, tom. iii. p. 306—316.
^t *GRAAF*, p. 143.

[•] *Conquête des Îles Mo-*
[•] *Voyages de NICOLAS DE*

there was a passage by sea to the islands of *Japan* from the opposite coast of *Tartary* ^u. One of the vessels employed in this expedition being wrecked on the coasts of his dominions, the *Japanese* emperor took umbrage at these inquiries, and it was found necessary to send an embassy to quiet him. Some other parts of the south continent were visited by certain *Dutch* ships homeward-bound, and having held this employment, with great honour, for five years, this worthy person yielded up his charge to his successor, and returned into *Holland* ^v.

A. D. 1650. *CHARLES Reiniertz*, of *Amsterdam*, succeeded in this high office, and sat there without meeting with any extraordinary difficulty, or distinguishing himself otherwise than by a mild and prudent administration, till he was removed by death, *May* 18th, 1653 ^x.

1653. *JOHN Maatsuyker*, of *Amsterdam*, took upon him the government, which he held much longer than any of his predecessors, or than any of his successors have hitherto done. He was a person of great abilities, had been long in the company's service, and irreproachable in his fidelity; so that the directors at home confided in him intirely, and gave him such powers, as set him almost above all restraint ^y. Yet it was under his direction, that their embassy miscarried in *China*; that many hardships were put upon them in *Japan*; and that the island of *Formosa* was lost. But, to balance these, he managed very successfully two wars against the king of *Macassar*, and others, upon the continent of *Asia*. He was also very fortunate against the *Portuguese*; extended the trade, and the territories, of his masters, on every side; and kept the officers in their service, of all ranks, in so good order; and executed the instructions he received so punctually; that no thoughts were entertained of sending him a successor; and therefore he remained governor-general till the time of his death, which was *January* the 4th, 1678, in the twenty-fifth year of his regency ^z (U).

RYKLOP

^u NIEUVILLE Hist. de Hollande, tom. ii. p. 391.

^v Voyage de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 144.

^x NIEUVILLE Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 107.

^y Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 345.

^z Voyage de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 144.

(U) This gentleman distinguished himself in the year 1644, by his negotiation of a treaty with the *Portuguese* at *Goa*, where he acquired a great reputation, by his candour and frank behaviour (22). After he was invested with the govern-

(22) Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 318.

ment,

RYKLOF van Goens, who had served the state so effectually at *Ceylon*, and on the coast of *Coromandel*, succeeded in this great employment, in which nothing very extraordinary happened, during somewhat more than two years that he held the regency; and then he returned to *Holland*, to pass the remainder of his days in quiet, but died in his passage home^a.

A. D.
1678.

CORNELIUS Speelman, of *Rotterdam*, was invested in this dignity, upon the departure of his predecessor, *November* 5th, 1681. He went to the *Indies* in a very ordinary station, and raised himself, by his merit to the post of book-keeper-general at *Batavia*, and president of the council appointed to take care of the successions of the *Chinese*; which offices he discharged with so great honour, that, in the year 1663, when he was in the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was made governor of the coast of *Coromandel*; where, however, some exceptions were taken at his proceedings, for which he was recalled to *Batavia*^b. General *Maatsuyker*, who had a kindness for him, perceiving that none of the counsellors of the *Indies* were willing to charge themselves with the management of the war against *Macassar*, gave the su-

1681.

^a HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 343, 344. ^b *Histoire Metallique*, tom. iii. p. 286.

ment, which he managed with as much state, and yet with as much ease, as any of his predecessors; the seamen began to give him the name of *The Great Maatsuyker*, which, by degrees, became a kind of surname; and very deservedly, for though it was at first given on the score of that unusual pomp and magnificence, which he affected upon certain occasions, and which no man became better, yet it belonged to him for the very opposite reason; because no man valued it so little, or indeed despised it more. He managed it, however, with great address; and is thought to have concluded more than one advantageous treaty for the company, by dint

of a little extraordinary feasting and parade; at the expence of which, however, the council of the *Indies* could not help clamouring; which had no effect upon him, and was not so much as well received by the directors at home, as the reader will be hereafter informed. But, after this dispute, they let him alone, and he actually governed at *Batavia* as if he had been a sovereign prince. The company felt the good effects of his temper and abilities, long after his decease, some of the best officers she ever had in her service being bred up under him, and most of the courts in the *Indies* respecting the great *Maatsuyker's* memory, and the company for his sake (23).

(23) *Journal du Voyage de Siam*, par l'Abbé de Choisy, p. 187.

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promote command to *Speelman*, who, as we have shewn, twice reduced that monarch to the necessity of demanding peace; and the last time brought him so low, that he was content to come in person, and pay his homage to the council and regent at *Batavia* ^c. In consequence of these great exploits, he made a kind of triumphant entry into the city; and, as a reward, was appointed first an extraordinary, afterwards an ordinary, counsellor of the *Indies*, next governor of *Ceylon*, and ^d, May 13th, 1678, he was appointed director-general; which office he is said to have executed with greater punctuality and exactness than any of his predecessors; which made way for his being raised to the highest office in the government, which he held but very little above two years, dying *January* the 11th, 1684, in the fifty-fifth year of his age ^e; and, which is very remarkable, on the very same day died the next officer to him in rank, who, if he had survived, might probably have succeeded him (X).

A. D.
1684.

JOHN Camphuis, of *Haerlem*, was elected, upon the death of Mr. *Speelman*. He had not much to boast of in point of birth, being put apprentice to a goldsmith, at which trade he worked as a journeyman some time; but, finding

^c Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 349.
^e Journal du Voyage de Siam, par CHOISY, p. 187.
Metallique, tom. iii. p. 287.

^d Jour-
nal du Voyage de Siam, par CHOISY, p. 187.
^e Histoire

(X) The name of this illustrious person was *Balthazar Borth*, whom we have already mentioned, in the former part of this chapter, on account of his twice commanding in chief the squadrons sent by the company to the assistance of the *Chinese*, in the years 1662 and 1663 (24). He was appointed director in chief at *Malacca*, *October* the 15th, 1665; and though, as we have already observed, that office is distinct from the governor, yet, three years after, he was advanced to that dignity likewise, by an express order from the directors at home, as the most distinguishing mark they could give him of

confidence and respect (25). In 1670, he returned to *Batavia*, and was appointed a counsellor extraordinary of the *Indies*. In 1678, he became counsellor in ordinary, and was advanced to be president of the council of justice. And when *Cornelius Speelman* was elected governor-general of the *Indies*, Mr. *Borth* succeeded him in the post of director. Upon the death of both these great men, *Speelman* at the age of fifty-five, and *Borth* in his fifty-eighth year, medals of gold were distributed at their funerals, to perpetuate the memory of their virtues and fortunes (26).

(24) *Cramer Bort's Voyage*, p. 20. *Dapper Gezantschap naar China*, fol. 74—127. (25) *Histoire Metallique*, tom. iii. p. 287. (26) *Idem*, *ibid*.

the wages small, and being of an enterprising genius, he resolved to try his fortune in the *Indies*. He came to *Batavia* during the regency of *John Maatsfuyker*, the great patron of industry and merit; and, having obtained a seat in the secretary's office, he was soon taken notice of by the general, who advanced him gradually, till he came to be at the head of that office^f. From thence, in 1671, he was named chief of the factory at *Japan*, and went thither again in 1673 and 1675; which must have made a great alteration in his fortune, as it is one of the most profitable places the company can bestow. He was then named a counsellor of the college of justice; and General *Maatsfuyker* made him his secretary, intending to have done more, but being removed by death, it was thought that the fortune of Mr. *Camphuis* would remain at a stay^g. Those, however, who were in this sentiment, quickly saw their mistake; for, in 1678, he was made an extraordinary counsellor of the *Indies*, and somewhat more than two years afterwards, he became an ordinary member of the council; in which he had scarce sat three years, when the Governor-general *Speelman*, and the Director-general *Borth*, dying on the same day, there were great intrigues set on foot about a new election. It so happened, that most of his brethren had a prejudice against Mr. *Camphuis*, of which they made no secret to each other; and therefore several of them, when the election came on, having a secret envy to those who were most likely to carry it, they gave their voices to *Camphuis*, supposing it impossible that this should have any consequence. This expedient, however, occurred to so many of them, that, upon collecting the billets, Mr. *Camphuis* had a clear majority, and was declared president of *Batavia*, to the great surprise, and intire dislike, of those who elected him. He took possession, however, of the government, in the management of which, he shewed a very great capacity; but the counsellors of the *Indies*, were so disturbed at his election, and so little able to reconcile themselves to a transaction of their own procuring, that they quickly quarrelled with him, and carried their resentment to such a height, as not to perform the functions of their office for two years together; which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, if the governor-general had not conducted himself with equal firmness and prudence in his administration, during that space, at the end of which arrived the company's decision, when the council were in hopes of having

^f Journal du Voyage de Siam, par CHOISY, p. 187. ^g Histoire Metallique, tom. iv. p. 214.

him at their mercy. But they were once more sadly disappointed; for the directors intirely approved his conduct, confirmed his authority, and left it in his power to make them feel the whole weight of his resentment^a. The governor-general, however, was so thoroughly satisfied with this triumph, and so little inclined to sustain any longer a burden which he had long thought insupportable, that, on the 24th of September 1691, he voluntarily resigned his employment; reserving, however, a guard of twelve men, for the security of his person (Y).

- A. D. 1691. *WILLIAM van Oudfboorn*, of *Amboyna*, was elected, upon his resignation, and held his government with great reputation for almost thirteen years, resigning it voluntarily August 15th, 1704¹.
1704. *JOHN van Hoorn*, of *Amsterdam*, was elected in his room, and held this high office between four and five years².
1709. *ABRAHAM van Riebeck*, of the *Cape of Good Hope*, being of the same family with the first governor of that settlement. He was a person of great worth and honour, and held his high employment to his death, which happened the 17th of November, 1713¹.
1713. *CHRISTOPHER van Zwoel*, of *Amsterdam*, distinguished himself chiefly by his severity towards the *Chinese*; which had a very bad effect, and might have been still more

^a Journal du Voyage de Siam, par CHOISY, p. 187. Histoire Metallique, tom. iv. p. 214. ¹ TACHARD Voyage de Siam. Histoire. Metallique. tom. iv. p. 214. ² HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 133.

(Y) Mr. *Campbuis*, besides his guard, reserved the second seat in the council of the *Indies*, and lived at a country-palace, which he built, without the new gate at *Batavia*, which he adorned with fine gardens, and where he had a noble collection of strange beasts, and rare plants, till the 18th of July 1695, when he breathed his last; directing, that a gold medal, weighing sixty-six florins, should be given to each of the persons that sup-

ported his pall at his funeral. On these medals were several pious inscriptions, with the arms which he had assumed, being an arm with a goldsmith's hammer; the whole calculated to shew, that the prosperities of this world had never effaced from his mind either the memory of his low original, or the thoughts of the world to come. He died in his fifty-eighth year (27).

fatal, if he had not been removed by death, the 12th of November 1718.

HENRY Zwaarderkroon succeeded him, and cancelled all that he had done against the *Chinese*. He resigned his employment the 8th of July 1725, having acquired as large a fortune as almost any of his predecessors. A. D. 1718.

MATTHEW de Haan, of Dert, entered upon the government August 7th, 1725, and died on the 1st of June 1729. 1725.

FREDERICK Derven, of Delft, was chosen upon the demise of the former, laid down his employment May 29th, 1730, and returned home in October 1732. 1729.

DIRK van Cloon, of Batavia, entered on the government July 24th, 1732, and departed this life March 10th, 1735. 1732.

ABRAHAM Patras, of Grenoble, assumed the government August 30th, 1736, and deceased on the 6th of May 1737. 1736.

ADRIAN Valkenier, of Amsterdam, was settled in the government September 28th, 1737. 1737.

GUSTAVUS William, Baron van Imhoff, of Lier, was elected December 2d, 1740, returned home July 12th, 1741. 1740.

JOHN Theedens, of Frederickstadt, was elected November the 6th, 1741; laid down his employment May 23d, 1743; and died March 19th, 1748. 1741.

GUSTAVUS William, Baron van Imhoff, of Lier, was appointed to this employment at home, December 13th, 1741; was confirmed and authorized by their High Mightinesses April 6th, 1742; arrived in Batavia, was received, and installed in his charge, May 28th, 1743; was promoted by their High Mightinesses to the rank of general of foot March 22d, 1748; deceased November 1st, 1750. 1748.

JACOB Mossel, of Enkhuyzen, elected November 1st, 1750; installed the 24th of July 1752; appointed by their High Mightinesses general of foot April 25th, 1754. 1750.

AFTER the governor, the director-general has the greatest authority, and is the second person in the council of the *Indies*. *The director-general, the second officer in the company's service, the nature of his office.* This employment demands likewise a great deal of care and attention, and he who is invested with it has the buying and selling all the commodities that enter into or go out of the company's magazines. He orders what forts, and what quantity of each sort, of goods shall be sent to Holland, or elsewhere.

where. He has the key of all the magazines, and every officer in the company's service makes a daily report to him of the state of every thing under his charge. In a word, he has the supreme management of whatever relates to the company's commerce, as well at *Batavia* as at other places; and the members of all the factories belonging to the company are accountable to him for their conduct in their respective stations. He has his set hours of business as well as the governor-general, when those who are under his inspection are to attend; and, in both cases, these are not forms, but rules which are not to be dispensed with; and it is by their strict adherence to these that all things are kept in such perfect order, and that the necessary business of the company does not swell by neglects into such a bulk as begets perplexity and confusion. Besides, the examples of these great officers have a powerful and general effect; some are ashamed, and all are afraid, to be less assiduous in their respective charges than those great men who are at the head of affairs^a. Neither is this useful and expedient only, but absolutely necessary; since human wisdom cannot foresee what a day may bring forth; and, how paradoxical soever it may seem, one might produce a multitude of arguments to prove, that it is to the continual danger this government is in, and the sense those who administer it have of that danger, that it owes its safety. One must allow that this is no desirable, but experience seems to shew that it is for all that no ineffectual, protection.

Of the post of major, who is also in time of war major-general, and the military establishment in the Indies. THE third person in the government is the major-general, who, under the governor, has the command of all the forces. The regular troops in the constant service of the company, even in time of peace, are in number about twelve thousand men, exclusive of their militia in their respective governments, which are kept in very good order, and under an exact discipline, amounting, in the whole, to at least one hundred thousand men: but, as this is a matter of importance, it is necessary that we should insist a little farther upon it. The military establishment is much the same throughout the *Indies* as in the United Provinces; the troops in the company's service being as regularly paid, and as well disciplined, as those in *Holland*. The first officer in command in time of peace has, strictly speaking, no higher rank than that of major, under whom are captains, lieutenants, and ensigns; but, when the

^a JANISON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 363. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 79. 80.

troops are in the field, the lieutenants and ensigns are at the head of companies, the captains lead brigades, and the major, acting as major-general, commands in chief^b.

THE natives of the country are under their own officers, *The state* who are capable of rising to the rank of a captain, but not *of the mi-* higher. The burgesses of *Batavia* choose also their own officers, as high as captains of horse and foot: they are under the command of a colonel, who is also one of the counsellors *throughout the Dutch territories* of the *Indies*, and at the same time president of the council of war. By virtue of these regulations all the company's settlements are kept in a constant state of defence at a far less charge, and without any of those inconveniences that must naturally attend the keeping in their service a number of officers with superior titles, the pay of which, generally speaking, makes one third of our military establishments. At the same time care is taken that all the corps, as well of militia as of regular troops, are kept always complete, and fit for service; so that on any emergency there is a constant force at hand, which may be relied upon; more especially considering that in every settlement there is one or more good fortresses, thoroughly supplied, and in excellent repair, which consequently is in no danger of being taken before competent succours can be received from *Batavia*; and this disposition of things is one of the most essential points in the company's system of politics^c (A).

IN

^b BASNAGE Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, cap. xxxvii. Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé CHOISY, p. 87. ^c L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 81.

(A) It may be very easily conceived, that, if the *Dutch East India* company were to keep in each of their colonies a body of regular troops sufficient for its defence, it would be attended with an excessive charge; whereas by putting it into the hands of the inhabitants, they save all expence, and have their business better done; for, when people fight for themselves, they are very seldom wanting in courage. It might be surmised, that this must be attended with danger; but against this there are two provisions; the first is, that the superior officers are named by the company; the second, that in their fortresses they have regular troops in the pay of the company. But, after all, the great advantage arising from this disposition of military power lies so deep, that few have taken notice of it (28).

(28) *Janicon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 370.

The

Of the maritime power of the company in the Indies, and its regulation.

IN reference to the maritime power of this potent society, it consists of about one hundred and eighty ships, from thirty to sixty guns, with about twelve or thirteen thousand officers and seamen in constant pay; and, in case of necessity, they are always able to equip, in a few weeks, at *Batavia*, forty sail of larger ships, which they could man without any difficulty. This great naval force is regulated on the same foot, and according to the same maxims, as the military establishment; that is, there are no officers wanting necessary to the preservation of good discipline; nor are there any honoured with high titles merely to secure large appointments, without any benefit to the state. The whole fleet is under the direction of one officer, who has the modest title of commander, or commodore: he has under him a vice commander; and, besides these, there are no flag-officers, but every captain has the command of his ship. When their vessels are in the harbour of *Batavia*, the captains are obliged to repair every morning to the commander, or commodore, in order to make report to him of the state of their vessels, and to receive his orders: yet even this commander does nothing of consequence without the consent and approbation of the governor-general, to whom in fact all the officers of the company, civil, military, and marine, are accountable; and whose authority in this respect is as absolute as the nature of his command, and the service in that distant part of the world, requires, in order to prevent factious cabals or confederacies, which would be highly prejudicial to the service^d.

Of their ecclesiastical establishment.

THE ecclesiastical government at *Batavia* consists generally of eleven persons, all ministers of the reformed or presbyterian religion, five for the two *Dutch* churches in the city, and that in the citadel, besides the minister that resides in the island of *Onroost*, three *Portuguese* ministers, and two *Ma-*

^d JANICON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies tom. i. p. 364. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 111, 112, 113.

The fact is this; the governor can no-where be guilty of any great violence, much less of treason, because the force of their colonies is not composed of mercenaries, but of men of property; and, on the other hand, if they should make any insurrection, the fortresses and naval force being in the hands

of the governor and his officers, they never want power sufficient to defend themselves till they can be relieved. Abuses in smaller matters there may be, and will be, in all administrations; but it is a thing of vast importance to have great points secure.

layans. The five last are *Dutchmen* by birth, as well as the former, though they preach in the *Portuguese* and *Malayan* tongues. And as it is necessary that the state should be very well informed of whatever passes amongst their clergy when they meet together, the eleventh person is a deputy on the part of the government, who is to see that they preach or practise nothing prejudicial to the civil government, or inconsistent with those laws which the company has prescribed. Besides these ministers, the consistory is composed of eight elders and twenty deacons. One great branch of their business is, to send ministers into other governments, where, after a certain term of years, they are relieved, and return to *Batavia* or to *Holland*, to enjoy in peace the fruits of their labour. Sometimes a preacher has been known to make so good use of his time, that, on his return, he has bought a noble sief, and, of a pastor, immediately became a man of quality *.

IN other little places they have no ordinary minister, but *Unity in* one is sent regularly every three or four years to baptize, *religion* marry, and give the Lord's supper; which is so much the *one of the* more necessary, because the synods have taken a resolution not *company's* to permit any religion but the reformed to make any progress *indispensable maxims* in the dominions of the *East India* company. The *Lutherans* for a long space of time have warmly solicited for a church at *Batavia*, but have been constantly refused it, tho' certainly *of govern-* their demand was reasonable, especially in a place where *Mohammedans* and pagans are freely tolerated in their religion, and even the *Chinese*, who worship the devil himself! This ecclesiastical council have also dependent upon them the consolators of the sick, schoolmasters, and catechists. Of these last the company have a great many in their service on board their ships, whose duty it is to say prayers constantly every day, and to instruct such as embrace the Christian religion. These catechists are for the most part natives of the country; and, as they speak several languages, they are better enabled to give the necessary instructions, and to teach the confession of faith to so many different nations, who, after being converted and baptized, are to receive the communion. For the better preservation of uniformity, there is an annual visitation, with great punctuality and decorum, made by the ministers amongst all the new converts, when they fail not to make strict in-

* BACHAG Description historique de Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, cap. xxxvii. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. iii. p. 105, 106. * Ibid. p. 107, 108.

quiries, and to root out as soon as possible all new opinions * (B).

The number of Christians in their Indies is very considerable, and daily increasing.

In consequence of these regulations, the reformed religion makes a great progress, especially among the negroes, of whom there have hundreds at a time demanded baptism; which, however, is not rashly granted; since all are obliged to be well instructed, and to be able to make their confession of faith, before it is bestowed; and in this the *Dutch* are so strict, that they do not dispense even with princes and princesses. It is well enough known, that the *Chinese* are so obstinately addicted to their great *Confucius*, as not to be over-ready to embrace any other religion; yet there are from time to time some of them who abjure their idolatry, and embrace the Protestant faith. In all the eight governments there are many schools erected and supported at the expence of the company; as for instance, there were near one hundred in the island of *Ceylon* in the year 1720; and it was then computed, that the company had three hundred eighty five thousand Christian subjects in that country only; but some of these were of the *Romish* communion, and consequently were not

* Voyage de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 336, 337. L'Expédition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 109, 110.

(B) The *Dutch East India* company have certainly great reason to guard against religious disputes in their territories, to which we must attribute their inflexibility with regard to the *Lutherans*; which, tho' it cannot be justified on a religious, is yet very excusable on a political principle. In *Europe* the States General act wisely in allowing a toleration in their dominions, because, as things are circumstanced, no danger can arise from thence. The directors of the *East India* company act upon the same principle when they permit *Mohammedans* and pagans the free exercise of their religion, because no danger can result from thence; but many inconveniencies might arise from the indulgence of different sects of Christians in

their dominions, both to the state and to the reformed church. For if this were allowed, it would excite an emulation of making converts; which emulation, instead of being advantageous, would be really prejudicial, to the Christian religion, because it would furnish the *Mohammedans*, who are very zealous for, and very indulgent in, the propagation of their faith, with a very plausible objection against Christianity, and at the same time throw a stumbling-block in the way of all conversion, since the natives, who are both a cunning and a penetrating people, would naturally say, you must agree amongst yourselves who is in the right, before you undertake to convince us we are in the wrong.

permitted the open exercise of their religion; and in *Ambouyna*, and the adjacent islands, they have ninety thousand subjects, of which at least the third part of them are Christians, not nominal only, but really so from principle, and in some measure in practice ^a (C).

At *Batavia*, and in all other governments, they have a chamber of accounts for orphans, in which there is a president, who has for his council half the company's servants, of the quality of copemen and upper copemen, and half of

The chamber of orphans at Batavia, which is

^a *Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 110.*

(C) The *Dutch* are blamed by some writers, who it may be have not inquired thoroughly into the matter, for not making the propagation of Christianity so much a point of government as they ought to do. When they first came into the *Indies*, there might be very probably great truth in this; but then it was because their circumstances would not allow them. They were continually in a state of war and confusion, and those who had the direction of the company's affairs found their military and commercial concerns as much as they could manage; besides, they were in some measure scandalized by the behaviour of such of the natives as called themselves Christians, whose practices were generally speaking not at all better than their neighbours; who, upon examination, were found to be acquainted with a few unedifying ceremonies, and to know very little of the doctrines of Christianity. Add to all this, that numbers of them, when they came to propose alliances to the *Dutch*, offered to become of their religion, let it be what it would (29). They were not therefore to be blamed for rejecting offers of this kind, more especially as they saw of how little advantage it was to the *Portuguese* to have had so many thousands of these nominal Christians under their dominion. They chose, therefore, to make fewer, but better Christians; and in length of time, and the descent of a few generations, they have so far carried their point, as to have in their dominions multitudes of Christians, and, amongst them, many thousands that are good men, and good subjects, upon principle; which is of real utility, as the company have found by experience (30). Yet there is no doubt to be made that Christianity might be better promoted, and flourish more abundantly, if their own examples were consistent with their principles; a circumstance that would reflect highly upon the *Dutch*, if they were singular in this respect, and the same objection did not lie strongly against other Christian nations settled in the *Indies* (31).

(29) *Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 376, 377, 378, 379.*

(30) *Tanizem Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 372.*

(31) *Dellon, Graef, Kolben, &c.*

*the model
of other
chambers
thro' the
Indies.*

the best burghers, besides a secretary, and other assistants. They sit once a week, and order the disposal of all orphans and deceased men's estates, as they think fit. They are sworn to deal justly, and to keep secret the concerns of the chamber. The secretary of the office must give three thousand pagodas security for the performance of his trust; and be responsible for all goods sold at auctions, for which he receives three *per cent.* upon the amount of the sale; and, as he is responsible, he may deny any man leave to bid or buy, whom he thinks it not safe to trust. The secretary also enters the wills and inventories; and posts the journal, which is kept by one of the masters; and takes care of the papers that belong to the office. The chamber of orphans may call whom they will into council, to advise with in difficult matters; and no person may refuse to come and sit with them, though it was the governor himself. The council is allowed two and an half *per cent.* out of the estates of the deceased, for what is received upon the sale of goods, but nothing on money left in cash; which two and an half is equally divided betwixt the president and all the masters; besides which, they have each money for a gown yearly, which is charged on the deceased person's estate. If any man or woman dies leaving children under age, the chamber of orphans take care of the estate, and provide for their bringing up, till they arrive at the age of twenty-three years; and then they receive what their parents left, with interest. If the parents of the children have any estates in *Europe*, the chamber of orphans where such persons die writes for the effects to be sent them; which is accordingly done¹.

*How the
money is
secured for
the benefit
of the
children,
which is
brought
into that
chamber.*

THE money the chamber of orphans pays into the company's cash at *Batavia* brings in nine *per cent.* and it is often let to freemen, and others, at twelve *per cent. per annum*, upon good security; but at *Policat* it is usually put into the company's stock at six *per cent. per annum*. If a person dies, and leaves no will, or relation in *India* to inherit, the chamber of orphans takes care of the estate, and gives the deceased man's account current credit for the same, and there it remains till the heir demands it. If any person dies with a will, and leaves his widow in trust for the children, though their own mother, the chamber of orphans may, if they please, require the estate, and keep it for the children; and, if they allow the mother to keep the estate and the children, they always take a copy of the will, and security from the mother

¹ Groot Placart Boek, iii. deel. fo. 169. Management of the Dutch in India, published by Mr. LOCKYER.

for the estate. The chamber of orphans may keep the estate in their hands, and manage them as they please; but, for better security, it is usually put into the company's hands, at the interest before-mentioned, and they have the company's bond for it. If a person dies leaving a will, and does not give such a proportion of his estate to his children as the law requires, they will not allow the will, but require their full part for the children. If a man dies in the company's service, and they owe him wages, the chamber receives it, and enters it to the credit of the deceased. By these wise regulations, and by a strict adherence to them, the company has obtained great reputation * (D).

THE company, besides one third of their half of the fiscal's *In what* confiscation, allow also fines on offences, and the confiscations *manner* of the estates of men executed, for the use of the Poor. There *provision is* are many overseers and masters of the poor at *Batavia*. At *made for* *Polcat* they have but two, and those not masters of orphans, *the poor*.

* BARNAGE Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, chap. xxxvii.

(D) It is not to be supposed, that, with all the care that can be taken, there are not some frauds committed here as well as elsewhere; but it is also true, that whenever they do happen, and are discovered, which generally happens likewise, they are very severely punished; which is all that can be done to prevent them, and which renders them less frequent. There have been instances of putting people, who made a great figure, to the torture, where deficiencies have happened, and they have refused to give an account of the sums that came into their hands (32). But even in these cases the orphans have not been sufferers, but the loss has been made good to the chamber by the company. Indeed if it was not for this precaution, all others would be vain; but, where

the government is answerable for the frauds of its officers, and where that government is also responsible for its conduct, it is hardly possible that offences should be committed, and offenders escape; for this plain reason, that the negligence of the government in that case would be considered as an offence at home, and therefore the members of the council of justice at *Batavia* dare not suffer lesser criminals to escape with impunity, for fear of being looked upon as greater criminals themselves (33). To this, therefore, we must attribute such examples of severity as those before-mentioned; and without such examples, and the consequences they produce, things could not have been preserved through such a series of time in that condition they now stand.

(32) *Voyage de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes*, p. 201.
présent de la République des Provinces-Unies, tom. i. p. 387.

(33) *Janßen Etat*

but

and precautions
against its
being em-
bezzled.

but others. They have cognizance of all poor Christians under the government, whether they be *Dutch, Portuguese*, or others, and take care for their relief, by making collections in churches every *Sunday*, and distributions according to their necessities. The poor always have a considerable stock beforehand, which has been gathered from the confiscations of persons detected in private trade, and charitable gifts. This stock they let out to the company upon interest, which they constantly receive, and employ as is needful; and, though the interest of the stock be sufficient to maintain the poor, yet they never neglect the weekly collections in churches, to increase the stock as much as they can: for they say, it may so happen, that, by great wars and losses, many may be maimed, made widows and fatherless, and then the principal may not be enough to maintain them. The overseers or masters of the poor keep a fair book of all receipts and payments, that is, an account of cash, and an account of what is paid into the company's stock at interest, with a roll of the names of all persons to whom they give alms, and what they give to every one. At *Batavia* there are collections for the poor every *Sunday* morning and evening in all their churches; and the like practice in this, as indeed in most other respects, is likewise observed in other settlements¹.

Excellence
of these
provisions.

THERE can be nothing better calculated for the safety and prosperity of the company than these provisions for orphans, and such as become indigent; since it keeps up the spirits of all, from the knowledge they have that neither they, nor their children, shall ever want bread; and, at the same time that it keeps them from being desperate, it retains them in their duty. Some indeed have suggested, that the company is more benefited by this than either the orphans or the poor, as the makes use of a large sum of money at a small interest, considering the profit that accrues from it to the society; and, to put this in a stronger light, it is said, that the company very frequently lends this money at an advanced interest, from which nevertheless neither the orphans or the poor receive any benefit. But view this in another light, and all this hardship will disappear. The lowness of the company's interest is balanced by the security of constantly and punctually receiving it; whereas if trusted in private hands, though more might in some cases be made, much more would be embezzled; whereas in this way a man dies with the satisfaction of knowing, that what he leaves his children will have; that they

¹ Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS GRAAF. Management of the Dutch in India, published by Mr. LOCKYER.

become

become the wards of the company; and that his private fortune, and that of the public, stand upon the same bottom. In reference to the poor, again, the public has an interest and a right in seeing them provided for, which, if this fund of charity should fail, they must be obliged to supply; so that, being answerable for the deficiency, theirs is certainly the best security ^m (E).

BUT we come now to the particular detail of the company's officers; and, in respect to this, it is conceived the constant prosperity which has attended it is in a great measure owing to that nicety of judgment shewn in adjusting all their salaries, and allowances for diet, to the several qualities and degrees of their servants; so that none has so little as to be pinched by necessity, nor any so much as to set them above the performance of their duty, which is generally speaking the ruin of such governments as pursue a contrary conduct; for the more easy understanding of this point, we shall take their inferior officers first, and so ascend gradually to the governor-general of the *Indies*. The under-assistant, or, as they stile him in *Dutch*, *Scriver*, or writer, is the lowest degree, and is chiefly supplied by soldiers taken out of the guards, who receive from nine to fourteen guilders *per menssem*. Next is the assistant, at twenty guilders *per menssem* salary, and four rixdollars diet. After him the upper assistant, book-keeper, or secretary, from twenty-eight to thirty-six guilders *per menssem* salary, and four rixdollars diet. In the fourth place the

A succinct detail of the legal appointments to the officers in the company's service.

^m NEUHOFF, GRAAF, JANICOW.

(E) There is no doubt that the *Dutch*, as well as the *Portuguese*, have felt the fatal effects of adopting the manners of the natives, from their living amongst them in the *East Indies*. We are informed by very credible writers, that luxury is arrived at a very great height in *Batavia*; and that people, who make no despicable figure, who dress in jewels, and who appear in public with slaves to attend them, are notwithstanding upon the lists of the poor, and receive annual supplies from the public charity, whether through

connivance, corruption, or from a political consideration that it would not be proper to let certain persons sink there into an abject state, who have formerly lived in affluence, is out of our power to determine (34); but, from whatever cause this springs, it is certainly more excusable than the custom at *Goa*, which we have mentioned in a former section, of letting such people go a begging, because that brings a national scandal, which it is presumed this method is calculated to prevent.

(34) *Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par Nicolas Graaf.*

under-copeman, or under-merchant, from thirty-six to forty-five guilders *per mensem* salary, and eight rixdollars diet. Then the copeman, from fifty to sixty-five guilders *per mensem* salary, and eight rixdollars diet. Next to him upper-copeman, from eighty to one hundred and twenty guilders *per mensem* salary, and twelve rixdollars diet; yet some from the lesser chambers are sent out at seventy-two guilders *per mensem* salary. At *Batavia* and *Ceylon*, where provisions are dear, they have thirteen rixdollars diet. In the seventh rank, a commodore has one hundred and fifty guilders *per mensem* salary, and twenty rixdollars diet. The eighth, director, has two hundred guilders *per mensem*, and thirty rixdollars diet. The governor has the same, as also an extraordinary member of the council of *India*. A member ordinary of the council of *India* at *Batavia*, each three hundred and fifty guilders *per mensem* salary, and one hundred rixdollars diet. The director-general has six hundred guilders *per mensem*, and one hundred rixdollars diet. And, lastly, the governor-general of *Batavia*, as we have before mentioned, has one thousand two hundred guilders *per mensem* salary, and two hundred rixdollars diet; and every time he goes to visit the fleet, one thousand five hundred rixdollars gratuity, which however he seldom does, except on its departure for *Europe*. But, besides, he has many legal perquisites, which may be said to raise the value of his office beyond our estimation ^a (F).

^a Management of the Dutch in *India*. published by Mr. LOCKYER. Groot Placaat Boek, iii. deel, fo. 169.

(F) There have been several exceptions taken in respect to the emoluments arising from this great office; but whoever considers the point attentively, and takes into his consideration the dangerous consequences, that must necessarily attend the putting an officer vested with such high powers under too close restrictions, will certainly see things in another light. In the first place, it is reasonable that a man, who gives his talents, his time, and his experience, to the public, should have an ample compensation; for this

is plainly a point of justice. In the next place, allowing him this makes the office desirable; notwithstanding that excessive fatigue, that perpetual application, which is required in him who administers it; so that this is a point of policy. And, lastly, that a man, upon his resigning this high employment, or having a successor sent him, should have a large private fortune to live upon, and out of which he may be made accountable for any acts of violence or injustice, is evidently a point of prudence (35).

- ALL persons in the service, whether merchants, divines, civil magistrates, soldiers, or seamen, are ranked in certain degrees, have their privileges, and take their places accordingly. The governor-general is allowed wine, and all other liquors and provisions, out of the company's warehouse, without limitation. All others, down to the assistants, are allowed, monthly; liquors, spice, oil, wood, rice, vinegar, candles, &c. according to their quality, very largely. The upper copeman's allowance is twenty canadars of *Spanish* wine *per menssem*, besides mum, white wine, and other liquors, twenty-four pounds of wax for candles, corn for poultry, rice for slaves, &c. so that the diet-money allowed them is only for fresh provisions. Soldiers are ranked in the same manner; viz. first, a common soldier receives from nine to fourteen guilders *per menssem*, as the under-assistant. Next, serjeant's pay and diet, as the assistant. Then ensign's pay and diet, as the under-copeman. After him, lieutenant's pay and diet, as the copeman. The fifth, captain's pay and diet, as the upper-copeman. And the sixth, major's pay and diet, as the commandore. Military persons give place to the civil of the same rank; viz. a commandore precedes a major and upper-copeman, a captain; and a copeman, a lieutenant; but a major precedes an upper-copeman, a captain a copeman, and a lieutenant an under-copeman. There are three majors in *India*, one at *Batavia*, one at *Ceylon*, and one at *Amboyna* or *Banda*. They assist the governor in military affairs, and have the command over all other officers and soldiers, but have no proper company of their own.

SEAMEN are ranked in the same manner; viz. first, a common seaman, from nine to fourteen guilders *per menssem*, as a common soldier; next, third mate, gunner, boatswain, and steersman, from eighteen to twenty-four guilders *per menssem*; and the assistant, carpenter's wages, from forty to fifty guilders *per menssem*. The under-steersman, or second mate, from twenty-four to thirty-six guilders *per menssem*, as the upper-assistant. After them, upper-steersman, or chief mate, from fifty to sixty guilders *per menssem*, in the under-copeman's rank. The fifth are skippers, from sixty to one hundred and fifty guilders *per menssem*, in the copeman's rank; and the sixth, commodore's, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guilders *per menssem*; besides which they have the ship's allowance for provision; and, when in *Batavia*, they have road money paid them every month for fresh provisions and fruit; but, in other roads, they are supplied with these things

* Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF aux Indes, p. 323, 324.

from the factories on shore. They have none who have the title or pay of captain at sea ; and the commodores are very few ; sometimes not more than one in *India P.*

Ecclesiastical system in all these respects. THE ministers pay and allowance stands thus ; viz. first, the predicant or preacher's pay and diet, the same as the upper-copeman's. The second, dominees, or visitors of the sick, twenty-four guilders *per mensem*, as the assistant. The ministers are all sworn not to write of, nor intermeddle with, any matter relating to the affairs of the state, or to commerce. In all governments they are allowed a predicant ; and in *Batavia* two or three to spare, in case of mortalities. In all directions they have dominees only who read the scriptures, and printed forms of prayer, mornings, evenings, and *Sundays*. With them the surgeon's pay is from forty to fifty guilders *per mensem*, that is, from four to five pounds of our money ¹ (G).

Conditions upon which persons are commonly IN all these several stations, as high as that of upper-copeman, every man agrees to serve for a time certain, commonly for five, sometimes only for three years ; but, whatever the term be, he is free when it expires, that is, he remains under

¹ P Management of the Dutch in India.

¹ Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF aux Indes. Management of the Dutch in India.

(G) This maxim of giving the post of honour, in every instance, to such as are employed in the management of the company's commerce, though it appears very strange to some writers, is however very just, as well as very natural. The judicious and impartial reader will easily perceive this, if he considers that the sovereignty is placed in a trading company ; that the vast dominions which they possess were originally acquired, have been gradually extended, and are constantly maintained, by their trade, upon the right management of which their safety and power abroad, and their prosperity and importance at home, have hitherto always

depended, and must ever depend. This therefore being their capital interest, those who manage it must naturally have the preference ; for, if that should be given in general to military persons, it would absolutely change the nature of their establishment, and that in a manner altogether inconsistent with the interests both of the company and of the States. This prerogative, therefore, is plainly necessary, and, experience has shewn, is both practicable and salutary ; which perhaps, had the thing been only speculatively considered, even the wisest politicians might have doubted (36).

(36) *Basnage Description Historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies*, tom. xxxvii.

no obligation to continue in the company's service, but is at liberty to return home, or to settle himself as he thinks fit. However, if nothing better offers, and he petitions, his term is renewed in the next superior degree to that which he had; so that every man, if he lives, may make his way without having many friends, or more than a common stock of merit. This common course of things does not, however, bind the company, or those intrusted with the direction of its concerns, from taking another method whenever they see proper; so that a writer, if he be faithful and diligent, though he contracted for three years, shall be promoted in three months; and, if he has any opportunity to signalize himself in the company's service, he is sure to be preferred. When a chief dies, or is removed, the succession is not a thing of course; but, if the third person in the factory is the most capable, the second is removed somewhere else, and he who deserves it is preferred to the superior post; so that it frequently happens, that a man rises in three years time to be an under-copeman, and in three years more to be an upper-copeman^{*}.

MARRIED men are paid their whole salaries; such as are single, but half; every officer's salary commences from the time he enters the company's service, and determines upon his return, both outward and homeward-bound voyages included. In obtaining this there is no sort of trouble; for at the end of the year every man has a copy of his account, as it stands in the company's books, which he may keep, or send home, or sell in the *Indies*; which account, when transmitted to *Holland*, is paid at sight. If a man, when his time is determined, resolves to stay in the *Indies*, he may settle where he pleases in any of the company's towns; and trade in whatever he thinks fit, except the company's commodities, or even in them if he takes a licence; so that diligence and fidelity never fail to put a man in the way of making his fortune, either in the company's service, or out of it^{*}. There is, however, a degree of strictness in preventing such as are actually in the company's service from trading, which, it has been doubted, has not so good an effect as is expected, because where temptations are frequent, men will sometimes fail; and, if this be overlooked, it is a bad example; if constantly punished, it carries an air of severity, and frights those people from service who perhaps are best qualified. But, all consequences considered, the company hath not hitherto given into the way of indulgence, but insist peremptorily upon a due obedience to the rules

^{*} L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 16, 17. ^{*} Voyage de NICOLAS DE GRAAF aux Indes, p. 299.

which they prescribe, under severe penalties. Yet in a country where men can convert their wealth into jewels, which lie in a narrow compass, it is no difficult thing to bring larger estates into *Europe*, than it would be convenient for them to avow while in the *Indies*. Neither are there other methods wanting to answer the same end; and, when once this wealth is returned to *Holland*, all is safe. This naturally leads us to speak of the manner in which returns are made; and brings us to shew, that the *Dutch* flotilla's from the *Indies* are as regular, and it may be of no less value, than those that come annually into the ports of *Spain*.

The season and circumstances of the homeward bound ships sailing from Batavia.

THE *East India* company's ships, then, usually sail from *Batavia* for *Holland* five times in a year. The first go in the month of *July*; and this Squadron consists of four or five sail, which touch in their passage at the island of *Ceylon*. The second, making a fleet of sixteen or twenty sail, did not formerly sail till the month of *December*; but that regulation is changed, and they sail now constantly in the month of *October*. The third Squadron of six or seven vessels sails in *September*; the fourth, which commonly consists of four or five, in *January*; and the last vessel in the month of *March*, but not till the *Chinese* fleet is arrived which brings the tea; for of this the best part of the cargo of the homeward-bound vessel is composed; and therefore this is commonly called the tea-ship; but the common people call it the book-ship, because it brings the current account of the company for the year, by which they see the state of their trade in the *Indies* (H).

How the commandis

It is to be farther observed, that all these vessels, laden with the riches of so many countries, sail from the same port

† Management of the Dutch in India, published by Mr. LOCKYER.

(H) There is nothing that deserves more attention in this section than this circumstance, which we have mentioned more than once, that the *Dutch East India* company maintain an exact uniformity in their conduct at home and abroad; and, as far as it is practicable, decide and adjust every thing within the compass of the year. Some exceptions there may be, but these are few in number, and in their nature inevitable. As to what

respects their general concerns, and the regular course of their policy and commerce, there is no kind of procrastination permitted; but, as the general accounts are annually made up in the *Indies*, so the servants of the company are immediately paid upon their return to *Europe*; and this readiness and punctuality is a prodigious benefit to the service, which indeed could very hardly, if at all, be carried on without it.

of *Batavia*. The ships from *Mocha*, which bring home the regulated coffee, are the only vessels in the *India* company's service allowed to proceed directly home, without going to *Batavia* at all. As to their admirals out of *Europe*, the flag is borne by turns; *Amsterdam* squadron carries it three years, and the *Zealand* squadron every fourth year. The *Amsterdam* having two parts of the stock, the other lesser chambers add theirs to it, and the *Zealanders* have one quarter of their own. The merchant who is sent admiral must either take his passage in the *Amsterdam* or *Zealand* squadron. If a copeman or under-copeman goes from port to port in any ship, they have the command of her, and also of the fleet, or all ships in company, by the company's settled order in their articles. When there is a fleet together under the command of a commandore, the council is to consist of copemen and skippers. When a ship is single, the council is to be of copemen, skipper, under-copeman, book-keeper, and steerfman; and they are always to steer their course by the printed directions, and to set off their work ever day upon charts, which are delivered up the very day on which they come to *Batavia* or *Holland*. There is an under-copeman or book-keeper in every ship, who keeps an account of the ship's expences, as stores, provisions, and men's wages, in the nature of a purser; and they are to see the provisions so given out, that none be spoiled. These take place as they are capable of preferment, in their factories, by their time of service; and they are often taken out of factories when they are wanted, and others put in their places. If he that is upon a ship as a book-keeper be but an assistant, he takes place of the steerfmen, or next to the skipper, by reason of his office, or, as they in respect term it, the pen^u.

ALL chiefs of factories, &c. have free power to dispose of their ships and men while they are under their chiefship, and as occasion requires in the company's service. They may take out men, ammunition, provisions, and stores, tho' such ships come there casually through accident or necessity. Thus every thing relating to this subject is so fully and clearly regulated, that doubts or difficulties rarely arise. In their return to *Holland* they always make some stay at the *Cape*, as well to take in refreshments, as to be informed of the company's orders that may concern any of the passengers on board; some of whom perhaps are ordered back, that their conduct may

^u Voyage de NICOLAS DE GRAAF aux Indes, p. 364, 365, 366, 367.

be examined in the *Indies*, and to receive the news of the state of things in *Europe*, as, by the way, they carry gazettes, or news-papers, home with them, that contain the principal transactions in the *Indies*, of which we are now to take leave, and to conclude with a brief representation of the manner in which the company's affairs are conducted at home ▾ (I).

▾ *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, p. 161. *Memoires de Dr. GARCIN*.

(I) This power, which all who have the supreme direction of the company's affairs anywhere, are trusted with in regard to the ships upon the coast, is a rational and necessary branch of their system, as the foregoing observations fully shew; neither can it be attended with any inconvenience, provided those who have this authority are constantly called to a strict account for the use they make of it. It is possible this may not be done; and it is highly probable that if it be not, mischiefs will ensue. But this does not discredit the system; it only shews defect in the administration; and though there may be many such defects in different branches, yet, when they arrive to any considerable height, cor-

rection must ensue. Sometimes the company have granted extraordinary powers to such as have been intrusted with the inspection of abuses; and while this is done from time to time, they will be in some measure kept under; for utterly to extirpate fraud and speculation in the affairs of a trading company, is as little to be expected as the making men perfectly virtuous, and consequently rendering them in the highest degree happy, by the wise institutions of government (37). But, in both cases, though success is never to be hoped, yet it must be always endeavoured; and the consequence will be, that matters will go on tolerably well, and not either stand still, or fall to ruin.

(37) *Yanigen Etat profane de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, cap. xii.

S E C T. XXVII.

The domestic Oeconomy of the Dutch East India Company. The immense Profits that have resulted to Holland from this Commerce. The Nature of Dividends and Transfers; concluding with some Observations and Remarks upon the foregoing Particulars.

AT the time the original stock of the *East India* company *Establishment of six* was subscribed by men of property residing in different *chambers,* places, there were six chambers erected, one in each of the *and seventeen di-* cities and great towns, from whence the subscriptions came; *rectors, in* *Middleburgh*, on this account, being considered as the centre of *whom the* commerce for the province of *Zealand*; and from these six *supreme* chambers the seventeen directors are deputed, called in the *power, and* *Dutch* language *Bewinthebers*, who are sometimes also stiled *sovereign* the assembly or council of seventeen. They meet four times *authority* a year successively at *Amsterdam*, and twice at *Middleburgh*, *of the com-* but not at all in the other towns. These deputies are in some *pany are* measure the sovereigns of this illustrious company, yet under *vested.* the authority of the States General. These seventeen directors are chosen in the following manner; eight by the chamber of *Amsterdam*; four by that of *Zealand*; *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Horn*, and *Enchuyzen*, send one for each; and the *Maese*, *Middleburgh*, and *North Holland*, choose one by turns. These seventeen directors govern the company, and represent the sovereignty of the whole body, the sentiments of which are determined by plurality of voices. They regulate all affairs of consequence, such as making counsellors of the *Indies*, captains, lieutenants, in land and sea-service, and equipping of ships, the sale of the goods, the division of profits; and all the particular chambers are obliged to conform themselves to their orders. They likewise appoint the time for the sale of the goods, one half in the chamber of *Amsterdam*, a fourth in that of *Middleburgh*, and a sixteenth in each of the other four chambers, at the time by them assigned, to the highest bidder, by auction *.

BUT, besides these seventeen directors, each of the cham- *Besides* bers have more belonging to the same body: thus *Amsterdam* *these, there* has ten, exclusive of the eight sent to the sovereign court; and *are direct-* *Haerlem*, *Leyden*, *Utrecht*, *Dort*, and *Tergae*, have each of *ors settled* them one there, as have the provinces of *Guelderland*, *Frieze-* *in each of* *land*, and *Zealand* likewise; besides, their four directors have *the cham-* *bers, for* *the ma-*

* *Traité General du Commerce*, par SAM. RICAUD, p. 4.

management
of their
concerns.

eight or ten more from other towns of the province. All these deputies are to give their advice, in their respective chambers, for the benefit of the company; and when any of the deputies die, the towns to which they belong name three others in their stead, out of which the magistrates choose one. This committee meets twice a week, and change their president each month; so that every one presides in his turn. There are two advocates belonging to the company, who transmit what is resolved upon to the *Indies*; upon which the officers of the company there form their resolutions, and issue their orders. There are eight deputies for the affairs of the marine, war, and building of ships; four to inspect their magazines, and the goods that are sent to and come from the *Indies*; four who are to take care of the money which the company pays and receives; and the rest are charged with the accounts, and other affairs relating to order and justice, which is done to the meanest mariner as well as to the greatest officers, and with equal expedition (K).

Obliged to
render an
account of
the state of
the com-
pany, and
its trans-
actions, to

THE whole, though it seems at first sight independent of the state, is however kept in great subordination by means of the wise regulations made in establishing the directors, and the care taken that not any two shall be related to each other; which in a very great measure prevents combinations, and all those practices by which public establishments are converted into private jobs; and what ought to redound to the com-

† *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, cap. xiv. Memoires de Dr. GARCIN.*

(K) The reader may find, in a great many treatises, accounts that differ very widely from these; but then he ought to reflect, that every complaint is not well founded, and that conviction does not follow from violent charges, but convincing proofs. Where these appear, as in many cases no doubt they may appear, a just exception is raised against what is advanced in the text; but exceptions demonstrate, rather than destroy, general rules; and though there should be every year some par-

ticular cases, where individuals are hardly dealt with, yet this is not the peculiar misfortune either of the *Dutch* nation or the *Dutch East India* company. We have no intention to extenuate, much less to apologize for, or defend, male-administration, either in the *Indies*, or in *Europe*; all we aim at is, to shew the rectitude of the plan upon which their management is founded, and the consequences that would attend a right administration, if strictly and steadily pursued (38).

(38) *Basnage Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, cap. xxxvii.*

mon benefit of a nation, conveyed into the pockets of a few *the States* private men. Once in three years the States-General demand *General* and receive a strict account of the company's whole trans- *every three* actions, in order to be satisfied that they keep within the *years, by* bounds of their charter; that they do justice to their proprie- *which all* tors; and that they manage their trade so as that it may not *its depend-* be prejudicial to the Republic; which regulation may be *ency is se-* justly esteemed the principal cause that hitherto the affairs of *secured.* this company have been so perfectly well conducted ².

In order to this examination or controul of the company's *Some mo-* accounts, the ancient practice was, for the States General to *dern alte-* name a committee of their members to go to *Amsterdam,* and *rations for* there examine the books of the *East India* company upon the *the security* spot; which took up a considerable time; and during that *of the pro-* whole space this committee from the States had their charges *priests,* defrayed by the company. But in the year 1728 they thought *and the be-* fit to make a representation to the States General, setting forth *nefit of the* the inconveniencies and unnecessary charge this method occa- *company.* sioned; praying, that their High Mightinesses would consent to its alteration, and allow the company to send a deputation to the *Hague,* to lay their accounts before them; which, after mature deliberation, was assented to. Since that time another alteration has been made, of much greater moment, and that by the body of the proprietors, who insisted, that the supreme direction of their affairs in *Europe,* and in *India,* should, by a solemn instrument, be transferred to his serene highness the Prince of *Orange,* as stadtholder of the Union, by which he has entrance into all the assemblies of the directors by his representatives, and consequently the power of looking into and regulating their proceedings; which indeed was the sole thing necessary to remove the inconveniencies introduced by time, and to purge out such errors as had grown up imperceptibly, and for which no adequate remedy but this could have been provided * (L).

THE

* JANÇON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 387. * These facts are taken from public and private informations.

(L) The good effects of this new regulation have been already visible, to the great satisfaction of the proprietors, and the public. In all trading societies whatever, if there is no secrecy, there must be danger; and, on

the other hand, there will be danger, if there be too much secrecy; for though every proprietor has not a right to every secret of the society, yet their secrets ought not to be monopolized, and so kept in the hands

*Method
observed in
the ma-
nagement
of their
magazines,
docks,
workmen,
and sailors.*

THE magazines of the company are kept in excellent order. Such as are intrusted with the care of them give large security; and are liable, besides, to severe punishments, in case they are guilty of any breach of trust. The same strictness is shewn to all degrees of persons in their service; nor are the directors themselves exempted, in whom the smallest fraud would, if discovered, be punished with speedy and exemplary justice. This keeps up that spirit of care and diligence which is so absolutely requisite to the right management of commerce; and all the under-officers, moved by the example, as well as constrained by the inspection, of their superiors, discharge their duty very exactly; so that the dock or yard in which their ships are built and repaired, is kept in as exact order as that of any private man, though there are seldom less than twelve hundred persons employed at a time. They do not, however, exert the same authority over the sailors and under-servants of the company that return from the *Indies*; but, on the contrary, allow them all the liberty they can desire, and suffer them to live in what manner, and at what expence, they please; which is likewise done from a principle of true policy, since it affords them the means of spending in a short space all that they have acquired in long service; so that in five or six weeks they are generally speaking reduced to their primitive state of indigence, and consequently are obliged to enter again into the company's service for a fresh term^b.

Some abuses, notwithstanding, there may be, but even these become in their con-

THUS the liberty of the subject is preserved intire, and the company nevertheless seldom wants a regular supply of able and seasoned seamen; which has very good effects, because experience shews, that such as are used to these eastern climates go many voyages without prejudice to their health; whereas raw seamen die in great numbers, to the vast prejudice of the state. The utmost care is taken that all employed in this service, both at home and abroad, shall be properly

^b JANICON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 389.

hands of a few, as that the body of the proprietors shall have no just idea of the state of their affairs; for this will beget suspicions, and suspicions, whether well or ill founded, are always attended with bad consequences.

Since the investing the stockholder with this power, which has been executed by his representatives, the company's dividends have been augmented, and the price of the stock has advanced (39).

(39) This is taken from the Dutch gazettes, and other public papers,

qualified

qualified for the stations in which they serve; and therefore it ^{sequences} is a rule that none can enter into office before they have under-^{service-}gone a proper examination; and, though there may be some ^{able.} instances where interest or favour may have procured dispensations in this respect; yet these occur but very seldom, and are not therefore of very great consequence. The same thing may be likewise said with respect to frauds, of which without question there sometimes happen both small and great in the *Indies* and at home; but as these can never be long carried on without detection, and as every new discovery produces fresh precautions, they are not very detrimental, upon the whole, to the interests of the society* (M).

WHEN the company first began to raise settlements, and ^{Time has} establish colonies, in the *Indies*, there is nothing more certain ^{wrought a} than what the great *De Witt* has observed, that few people ^{great} went thither but what were of blasted characters, or ruined ^{change in} fortunes, that is, in lower stations; but in process of time ^{the persons} the face of things intirely changed, and great solicitations ^{sent by the} are requisite to obtain even mean employments. All of them, ^{company to} as we before observed, from the highest to the lowest, are ^{her settle-} bestowed either by the council of seventeen, or by the particular chambers. The great posts, such as governor-general, the governments of *Ceylon* and the *Cape*, together with the ^{ments.} counsellors of the *Indies*, are never conferred but upon such as have deserved them by long and faithful services, and for the most part on the recommendation of the council at *Batavia*; but counsellors extraordinary, who, though they are allowed to give their opinions, yet have no votes, are often sent out in that quality from *Holland*, as officers likewise are

* *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois*, cap. 14.

(M) If it should be said, that what is above asserted is matter of fact that stands in need of proof, the answer is far from being difficult. The state of the company's affairs at home and abroad, the produce of their sales, the value of their dividends, the price of their stock, the visible credit of the company, taken in the aggregate, amounts to an invincible proof; the rather, because it is the only kind of proof the nature of the thing will admit;

and those who will not be satisfied with this, can never be satisfied at all. We see from daily experience, as well in *Holland* as in other countries, that thro' misfortunes and mismanagements the greatest companies may decline, and come almost to nothing; and therefore, if, from contrary effects, we are not allowed to infer right conduct, and real prosperity, it will be impossible to reason upon things of this nature either with certainty or so much as probability.

in all the inferior stations, but at large, and without particular appointments, that the council of the *Indies* may dispose of them as the service requires ^d.

The prodigious rise of the original stock of the East India company.

UPON the first erecting of the company; we have shewn, that the capital consisted of near six millions and a half of florins, which was divided into actions of three thousand florins each, or five hundred pounds *Flemish*; which appellation of actions they still hold, though much altered in their value, in the same manner with our stocks, the title of which remains the same, whether the stock rises or falls: As for the actions of the *East India* company, they have risen a thousand *per cent.* that is to say, an original action, which was subscribed at three thousand florins, has been actually sold for thirty thousand. The rise and fall of these actions, like that of our stocks, depends partly on the real value, compared with the ordinary interest of money, partly upon the circumstances of affairs in *Europe* in general, and of the Republic of the United Provinces in particular. As for instance, before the breaking out of the war in 1672, the actions of the *Dutch East India* company were sold at six hundred and fifty *per cent.*; yet during that war they fell to two hundred and fifty, and rose again after the peace. But whatever the price of actions may be, a principal director must have two in his own possession, to qualify him for that post; and none are capable of a vote in an election, who are not possessed of one whole action at least. The salaries of the directors vary according to the chambers to which they belong. Those eighteen that are chosen by the city of *Amsterdam* have three thousand florins a year; yet there are others that have but twelve hundred, but these may be chosen if they have no more than two actions ^e.

Method of buying and selling this stock, and the cheapness and security of transfers.

THE manner of buying and selling *East India* stock is very easy and expeditious. When the parties have settled the price between themselves, they go together to the *India-bourse*, where the seller applies himself to the clerk of the book, in which his stock is entered, and desires him to transfer so much from his account to that of the buyer; which being done, he signs it, and afterwards signs a receipt for the purchase-money; and, the whole transaction being performed in the presence of a director, he signs the book likewise; so that there is not so much as a possibility of any fraud being committed; yet

^d GRONDEN en Maximen van de Republick van Holland, 1 deel, cap. xvi. BASNAGE Descr. histor. du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, cap. xxxvii. ^e Traité general du Commerce, par SAMUEL RICAUD, p. 6.

the whole expence of this transfer amounts to no more than seven shillings and six pence of our money, upon one whole action of three thousand florins, and in the same proportion for all smaller sums, and the brokerage upon an action comes but to twelve shillings. The directors, who have the sole management of the company's concerns, settle not only the times, but the quantities and qualities, of the company's goods that are to be exposed in their sales; from the produce of which, their dividends are paid, and are high and low, according to the profits made by the company. This, however, must be understood with some restriction; for certain it is, that, from the first establishment, they have never divided to the full extent of their profits, and for very good reasons; because long wars, and other chargeable expeditions, must be defrayed out of this reserved stock, to prevent a great and apparent decrease in their dividends, which would necessarily occasion a very great fall of their actions. Besides, they have constantly paid the state very large sums, for the renewing of their charters, and for such other acts of state, as they have procured from time to time in their favour. It has been found also requisite for them to keep large sums in bank, to answer the exigencies of the state, as well as the company, in times of great difficulty and danger. Add to all this, that they have reserved vast quantities of spices, and other rich commodities, that their sales might not lower the price of them too much; and, upon this principle, they sometimes burn great quantities of spices. They formerly had recourse to another method, for the benefit of their proprietors, which has been paying their dividends in cloves, mace, and nutmegs, at a very low price, by which those who receive them gained very considerable advantages^f (N).

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^f BASNAGE Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, c. 37. Traité gen. du Com. par S. RICAUD, p. 6.

(N) It would be a very difficult, if not impracticable, undertaking, to aim at the computation not only of the intire value of the commerce of the *East India* company, but even of any single branch, otherwise than by the help of their dividends, and in the manner suggested in the text; which, however, cannot lead us to any competent notion of the gross amount of their annual returns from the *Indies*; though some have ventured to fix this, one year with another, at sixteen millions of guilders. But, in respect to these, we may help our conceptions a little, by reflecting how great a share the *Dutch East India* company still retain of this commerce, in all its branches, notwithstanding the prodigious efforts that have been

*Reasons
which render it ex-
pedient to
conclude
this chap-
ter with
some obser-
vations.*

THE proper and immediate subject of this chapter being thus brought to that period we promised, and set in as true a light as it was in our power, it may, perhaps, not prove either unpleasant or unuseful to the reader, if we shut up all with a very few observations, concisely stated, fitted for his farther consideration, and then submitted to his candid decision. All history is but written experience; and though it may not be either necessary or expedient for such as assume the office of historians, to write comments upon their own works, yet this part of ours, being of a very mixed nature, may claim some peculiar privileges, or at least justify the taking such liberties, as may render it more applicable to the present course of things, and so invest it with the greatest excellence of experience, that of affording a rule for action, as well as a lesson of improvement. It is in most cases sufficient to relate things clearly, and to deliver all matters of fact without bias; but there are some few in which this is not all that is requisite, to give them that appearance, and to impress that conception of them, which their weight and importance deserve. To judge of these cases, must be the province of him into whose hands they fall; and if in this he is so unlucky as to mistake, it can only be imputed to his indif-

been made, more especially within a century past, in favour of other nations. As to the spice trade, pepper excepted, they are possessed of the monopoly, and were never so thoroughly or so securely settled therein as at present, and while they retain this, they can never fail of being masters in the *Indies*; that is, of trading more largely, and upon better terms, than their neighbours. They hold also their monopoly of the trade of *Japan*, and enjoy the mines of *Liquor*, from whence they derive still farther advantages of the same kind. They draw prodigious quantities of valuable commodities and manufactures out of their own dominions, which they annually bring home to *Europe*, and which they are constantly im-

proving in quality, and augmenting in quantity; the consequences of which, if we duly weigh, will sufficiently convince us, that their profits must be much larger than those of other nations who trade to the *East Indies*; and that therefore, though they are not the least jealous, yet they are the least like to be hurt by new establishments, and have the greatest security of being able to carry on this commerce, for ages to come, with prodigious profit, notwithstanding all the attempts that may be made to interfere with them; because it is not easy to foresee that they can be ever in danger of losing the superior advantages before-mentioned, and many others that might be enumerated (40).

cretion; which, with every candid peruser, the rectitude of his intention will excuse, more especially in matters relating to commerce, addressed to a trading nation. After this apology, proceed we next to the observations (O).

FIRST then, this history of the *Dutch East India* company *First ob-* fully vindicates, from all suspicion of exaggeration, what an-*serva-* tient writers have recorded of the wealth, the power, and tion, the prosperity, of *Sidon, Tyre, and Carthage*, which, from *that this* low beginnings, rose to such height and splendor, and main-*vindicates* tained themselves in it, through a long series of ages, by the *whatever* wise management of extensive commerce, we may easily con-*has been* ceive, that all we find reported of them might have truly *said as to* happened in times past, since we see an empire raised from a *the power* lower and more unlikely foundation, to a wider compass of *of commer-* dominion, and in actual possession of all that she acquired in *cial states:* our own times. We discern from hence, that trade is as true and solid a principle in respect to power. as ambition or a thirst of glory; and that it is as possible for merchants to manage great designs, as military heroes. We may be convinced, from this detail, that a naval power is superior to any other kind of force, and that a small squadron of ships,

(O) The remarks and reflections that are made on other parts of general history, chiefly regard statesmen and politicians; but, with respect to speculations upon commerce, they extend to all ranks and degrees of people; and there cannot be any thing either more entertaining or of more general utility, than to spread them as far as it is possible, as this is the most effectual method of correcting vulgar prejudices, eradicating errors of an old standing, and engaging such as have leisure and abilities to employ them in the study of points of the greatest consequence, points capable of being reduced to practice, and which may be of universal benefit. There never was an age in which the curious

and inquisitive had so great opportunities of gratifying themselves in these particulars, as in the present; and therefore it becomes us to exert our diligence in that respect, as well for our own benefit as that of posterity. Besides, it is, in some measure, a new field of inquiry; it is a kind of knowledge in which the moderns have a confessed superiority; and there cannot therefore be any thing more honourable for our age or country, than to push this to the utmost, and to make it appear, that, where we have advantages, we are as able to use, and to improve them, as those who went before us, and who, for our benefit, have done so much in the cultivation of other subjects (41).

(41) See the Preface to the last edition of the *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, and the *History of the trading Companies in Europe*, at the end of the second volume of that work.

well directed, is capable of achieving as much, or more, than a well disciplined army^z.

since it
evidently
surpasses
any that
we find
mentioned
in antient
authors.

THE very summit of *Alexander's* glory was, that, with a handful of men, he pierced through the greatest empire in *Asia*, and first led the *Europeans* to the banks of the *Ganges*. It is to the credit of those, who lived in far later times, that, with forces much inferior, they not only attempted to lay the foundations, but have actually succeeded, in raising an empire in the *Indies*, greater in that respect than his. The same high and haughty spirit that enabled him to push his conquest so far, rendered his possession of so little duration. That spirit, as it was natural, diffused itself through those whom he commanded; and the same ambition that rendered him the conqueror of the *Indies*, quickly deprived his successors of that conquest. But those who acted upon less airy motives, gave a different turn of mind to those they employed, and, by combining interest with obedience, have been not only able to acquire, but to maintain. Well therefore might the antient states, acting on the same principle, and governing their conduct by the like maxims, lay such foundations of power as lasted longer than most of the great empires so much celebrated by antiquity; and as the progress and prosperity of this company throws such a light of probability upon those early histories, so we may learn from them, that empires thus founded, are only brought to decay by intestine commotions, in conjunction with universal corruption; for these are the diseases of free governments, as ambition, pride, and resentment, work the ruin of despotic systems of power. Acute distempers are terrible in their symptoms, which, though milder in chronical cases, experience shews us are no less fatal in length of time^b (P).

Wz

^z DE WITTE *Gronden en Maximen van de Republieck van Holland*, iii deel. ^b BASNAGE *Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies*, c. 37. JANKON *Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies*, c. 12.

(P) It is a point of great consequence towards keeping either the natural or the politic body in good health, to be well acquainted with its constitution, and to have a just notion of those diseases to which it is most liable. It must, indeed, be allowed, that it is alike impro-

bable, that bodies of either kind should be rendered immortal; but this, instead of discouraging, ought to excite us to be the more assiduous in our endeavours to find out the most proper and efficacious remedies for all diseases, since tho' death in one case, and tho' dissolution

in

WE may, in the second place, observe, that, with respect *Second ob-* to a particular nation, the value of the *East India* trade is, *servation,* from the facts contained in this chapter, set beyond objection *that this* or suspicion: for, had there been the least degree of truth or *proves the* reality in the narrow notion of a country's being undone by *commerce* a commerce that carries out bullion, and is attended with *to the East* some loss in seamen, soldiers, and servants, how evident must *Indies is a* it have been from the state of *Holland* long ago? The com- *real ad-* pany, if that kind of reasoning had been right, instead of *vantage.* supporting, must have subverted the commonwealth. *Hol-* land is without mines, and of no great extent; so that an impoverishing and destructive trade must have drained her long ago of her last man, and her last florin. There could not therefore be a more decisive experiment than this, as to the true nature of the *East India* trade, or more capable of bringing to light those secret sources of mischief, which some have suggested to lie hid, under the specious appearance of profit ⁱ.

BUT now, after a trial of one hundred and fifty years, *The truth* what discovery has been made? Is either the company on *of this not* the decline, or the commonwealth exhausted by her means? *to be at all* doubted,

ⁱ BASNAGE Description historique du Government des Pro- *since expe-* vinces Unies, c. 36. *rience* shows it.

in the other, will certainly come, in spite of all our care in both cases; yet we have a great and plain interest in preventing this as long as we can. The basis of commercial empire rests upon frugality and industry; the opposite qualities to these are the most dangerous in such a state; that is, luxury and idleness; but frugality and luxury are, in a great measure, comparative things; and there are circumstances when frugality may be dispensed with to a certain degree, without danger; and luxury permitted to a certain extent, without any just apprehensions. But it is otherwise with indolence and idleness; for, if the former be lost, or the latter prevail in any considerable degree, the cure is

very difficult, if not impossible. The reason of this is easily discerned; idleness is a political scurvy, with which, when the bulk of any nation is infected, they grow in love with their disease, and are less afraid of its consequences, than remedies. We may therefore, from this observation, collect, that whatever motives there may be consistent with political wisdom to permit, or at least to connive at luxury, there can be none to wink at idleness; and from thence there follows an inference of prodigious importance; which is, that, in whatever nation this appears, it is a sign that the disease has reached the noble parts, and that such a state is at the very brink of ruin.

Certainly neither the company was ever more powerful than she is at present; her naval force is at least equal, and her military strength by land not much inferior, to that of the republic, when this company was erected. It is, indeed, true, that the dividends for many years past have not equalled those in the earlier times of her commerce; but, taking it upon the whole, she has divided above twenty *per cent.* upon her original capital, from the date of her first charter, one year with another. Is not this a prodigious thing! and yet, is this all? Has not the *Dutch* nation received, from the increasing expences of the company at home, as great or greater advantages, than from the sums she has actually divided? Let us consider what this is. About twenty years ago, it was computed that the company had divided to her proprietors, in less than one hundred and thirty years, upwards of one hundred and eighty millions of their money, or more than eighteen millions of ours. The truth of this fact cannot be called in question, while there remains any such thing as certainty from evidence ^k.

By which all objections, how specious soever, are absolutely confuted.

THERE is likewise to be taken into this reckoning, whatever extraordinary sums the company has, from time to time, paid, either upon the score of renewing her charters; for the assistance of the state in times of public exigency; or by way of conciliating the public favour, as in building that magnificent structure the town-house of *Amsterdam*; the vast sums that have been paid for duties, in the course of such a number of years; and the prodigious estates which, though raised in the *Indies*, have been drawn over, and spent in *Holland*; and lastly, the profits of the trade driven with the goods brought into *Holland*, for obtaining *Indian* commodities; since, notwithstanding these goods are bought with money at the company's sales, yet that money is raised by the sale of goods which must bear down their price, and occasion a large profit upon them, on their exportation. Upon this review, therefore, and upon the reflection, that, in the very same proportion in which the trade of this company has been extended, both that and the naval power of the United Provinces has increased, while the maritime power of the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* has declined, as they lost the monopoly of the *Indian* commerce, we must be persuaded, that the reasoning advanced in the first chapter of this part of our work, is thoroughly supported by experience, and that it is impossible

^k See the table of dividends made by the East India company, from the time of its establishment, inserted in the *Dictionnaire de Commerce*.

a thing of this nature should be better proved, than that the commerce of the *Indies* has been of inestimable value to the *Dutch* commonwealth, and that the encouragements she has constantly given to the *East India* company, ought to be regarded as flowing from principles of true policy, and an evidence of the wisdom with which the public affairs in that country have been managed ¹ (Q).

THE third observation that arises upon the contents of *The third* this chapter is, that a steady and strict adherence to a wise *observa-* and prudent regulation, is a certain and safe method of *pre-tion, that*

¹ BASNAGE Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces Unies, c. 36.

(Q) We may seem, in this observation, to contradict flatly the sentiment of that great politician *John de Witt*, who thought it would have been more advantageous to the *Dutch* state, and consequently a higher point of wisdom in their government, if the *East India* trade had been laid open. We judged it necessary therefore to add this note, to shew that this was not our design. We are very sensible, that the pensionary *John de Witt* was too well acquainted with matters of this nature, and by far too good a judge of the interests of his own country, for us to venture to charge him with a mistake. But the true state of the case is this: at the beginning, the carrying on this trade, otherwise than by an exclusive company, was found impracticable; and when it had been so carried on for some time, the company came to have such an interest, and the visible profits to the nation were so great, that it was not thought expedient to refuse them the continuance of their charter. Yet, for all this, it may remain a doubt, and it is

indeed the very doubt that Mr. *De Witt* had, whether, if this first renewal had been denied, the trade might not have subsisted, and have been still more beneficial to the subjects of the States General, than it has been (42). But, without pretending to resolve this doubt, what we assert is, that the States have acted very wisely in the manner in which they have supported the company, since they held it proper to support it; which, after the renewing the charter once, we think was likewise the wisest course; and in this we are so far from opposing Mr. *De Witt*, that we have, on our side, if not his opinion, yet his example; for he was at the head of the councils of the republic, when the company's charter was again renewed, when they paid pretty largely for it, but were not refused it; because, as things were then circumstanced, no doubt that able statesman, and his associates in the government, thought it a measure very dangerous, if not impracticable, and therefore very prudently declined attempting it.

(42) *Gronden en Maximen van de Republieck van Holland, 1 deel, c. 16.*

*punctuality
and per-
severance
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serving any system whatever in its full vigour. Such writers as have given us their thoughts upon the *Dutch East India* company, and the manner in which her affairs are administered, have generally expressed their astonishment, that no extraordinary revolution has happened in their dominions, from the wonderful change of their circumstances. But this surprise, perhaps, will cease, when we remark that, in reality, no very perceptible change has happened in the maxims of her government. In the infancy of the company, the people she sent abroad were equally unhappy in their circumstances and characters; and this, if we may believe the pensionary *De Witt*, continued to be the case down to his time; which he attributes to the severity of the rules prescribed by the company to those in their service. But, perhaps, there might be more candour, and as much truth, in saying, that the strictness of the company's frame of government arose from the knowledge she had of those that were to live under it. Her care therefore was, to provide such regulations as might prevent private vices from becoming prejudicial to the public interest. Now, whatever motive led to this maxim, there could not possibly be a better principle established for a government like theirs. To honest men, the strictness of laws can never be grievous; because their own inclinations would keep them in that very track which those laws prescribe: but to men of another disposition, they are necessary, as well to keep things from falling into confusion, as to oblige them to discharge their duty ^m.

*And this
has been
also assisted
by the dis-
cretionary
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neral.*

BUT, with all this exactness and precision in their instructions, and in the model of their constitution, there was another ingredient thrown into the composition, which has sufficiently tempered it for general use; that is, the absolute power left to the governor-general, without any check, but that of his own discretion; the bounds of which, perhaps, were never known, or executed, in their full extent. *John Maatzuyker*, who was general twenty-five years, expended, upon certain occasions, larger sums than the salary allowed him by the company. The council of the *Indies* disputed the legality of his demands upon the treasury; upon which, having first soberly remonstrated, and shewn his reasons, without convincing his opponents, he at last produced a secret power from the company, to take what appointments he pleased; which put an end to the dispute ⁿ. This power in

^m DE WITTE *Gronden en Maximen van de Republieck van Holland*, iii deel, c. 2. ⁿ Management of the Dutch in India, published by M. Lockyer.

the governor, and the great authority of the council of the *Indies*, serves in such cases as absolutely require it to moderate the letter of their regulations, and to make things easy to the company's servants, in all stations: for it is very well understood, that the spirit of those rules is to support the company's interest, and not to put such as are in her service under unreasonable difficulties; and therefore it passes for a practical maxim in the *Indies*, that he who will not mind his own business, will never mind that of the company's; and therefore, riches are the way to preferment, as well as preferment to riches. Those who administer the company's affairs in that part of the world, know very well, that it is not pleasure but profit that brings people thither; and, provided that men pursue their profit, without prejudice to the company, they never fail to give them all the encouragement in their power; because this has a good effect, both at home and abroad.

Those who return, carry their fortunes back to *Holland*; *Wealth* and the apparent change of their circumstances, in the course of a few years, excites men of spirit and industry to take the same method of arriving early at an easy condition in life. This has, in a great measure, altered the condition of things in the *Indies*, and many go thither now, who are not driven by indigence, and that too in stations conferred upon them, from a just regard to their birth and education. These men never complain of the company's strict regulations; because, in reality, they never feel them; they know very well that their own interest depends upon that of the company, and come thither with a resolution of doing what is required to be done; that, in virtue of their diligence, and punctual discharge of their duty, they may, in a reasonable course of time, acquire wherewith to return both with wealth and dignity. Whatever therefore there is now of iniquity and corruption, is not to be found in any great proportion amongst those who are in the actual service of the company in the *Indies*; and when any instance of this kind appears, those intrusted with the administration in that part of the world have so great an interest in preserving things upon their present foot, that they are very ready to bring to light, and punish it; of which the reader has seen some recent examples. On the whole, therefore, as the increase of their power, and the extent of their dominions, have been gradual, in consequence of a strict adherence to those fundamental maxims before-mentioned, things have rolled on constantly in the old channel, and are like to continue therein; for as, on the other hand, there is no great probability that any of the *European*

powers

powers should have either inclination or capacity to undertake any thing to her prejudice ; so, on the other hand, it is not very likely, that she should make any farther accession to her territories, but rather content herself with maintaining what she has already acquired, and reaping quietly the profits of an establishment which will be always most admired by those who are best acquainted with its history, and with that amazing series of successes and good fortune, which has attended almost all its enterprizes, from the time of its erection to this day (R).

Very natural that this amazing success should produce rivals.

THERE is no room to wonder, that success so extraordinary as that of this company, should excite both envy and imitation ; but it may be thought no inconsiderable proof of the truth of our remarks, that, notwithstanding other nations have exerted their utmost strength, and their utmost policy, in order to fix, upon a solid foundation, establishments of the same nature, they have not been able, even in any tolerable degree, to accomplish their end ; though, at the same time, the lustre of this company has so far dazzled their eyes, that, notwithstanding repeated disappointments, they have still persisted in the pursuit of the same design, and, by their

(R) It may, perhaps, be objected, that we reason in the text intirely from the company's success; which some may incline to think no direct proof of its merit, but rather of its good fortune. In answer to this, we desire it may be considered, that though this objection may be rationally enough raised in particular cases, and as to the company's conduct in any given transaction, yet, as to the whole of its conduct, it is very absurd and unreasonable; and consequently no objection at all. What we allege in the text is not grounded on a few particular facts, picked out, and set in a strong light, for that purpose, but upon a long regular series of events, flowing from the constant

and steady execution of a particular system, which is not only the best and clearest, but indeed the only method with which we are acquainted, of distinguishing its nature. Besides, such as long ago opposed the carrying on the *East India* commerce, as well here as in *Holland*, appealed always from the experience of those times to that of posterity ; affirming, that whatever immediate good effects that commerce might produce, yet, in a course of years, what they predicted would infallibly come to pass. There cannot therefore be any thing more reasonable, than to conclude the falsehood of their prophecy a full refutation of all their objections (43).

(43) See Sir William Monson's *naval Traacts*; and the judicious *Discourses upon the East India Trade*, by Thomas Mun; as also the two chapters in Mr. *Baſnage's* work, that have been so often quoted.

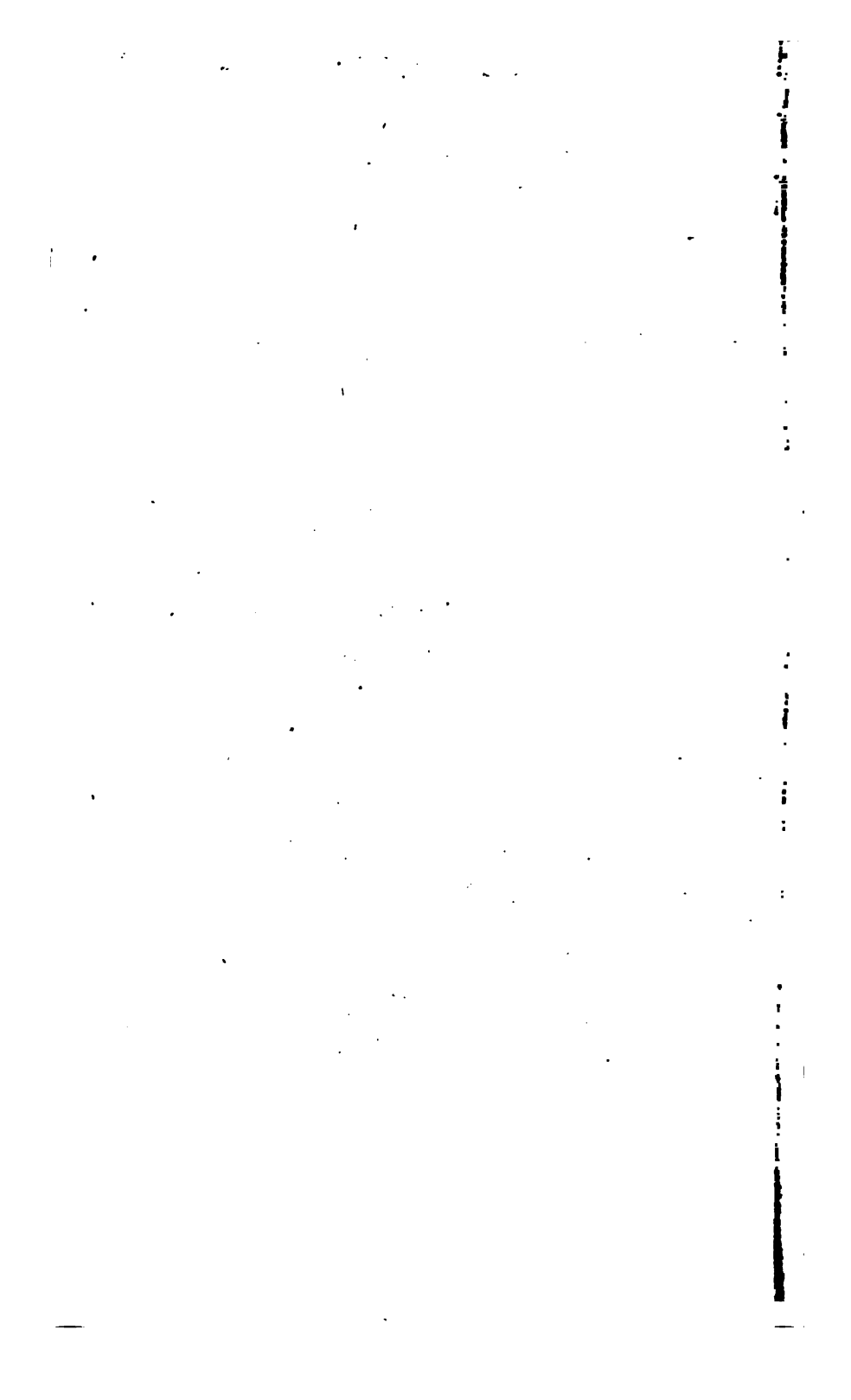
perseverance,

perseverance, have at length fallen into some share of this trade ; which makes the following chapters necessary, wherein we are to give a succinct account of the rise and progress of these establishments, and of that distribution of the commerce of the *Indies*, which, at this time, subsists in *Europe* ; where, after the possession of two hundred and fifty years, it remains still an object more desirable than ever, notwithstanding the confident assertions of some, that the wealth of *Europe* would, in a far less space of time, be absolutely exhausted, if this trade continued : so dangerous it is to reason in commercial affairs, from any thing but facts ; or to suppose, that any commerce can be detrimental, which encourages industry, and increases a naval power ; though, at the same time, they may cross certain maxims, plausible in appearance, but false at the bottom, and which therefore could not stand the test of experience.

The END of the TENTH VOLUME.

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